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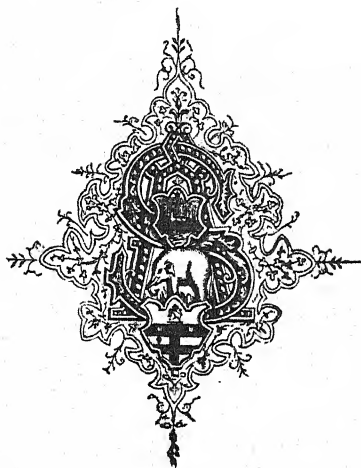


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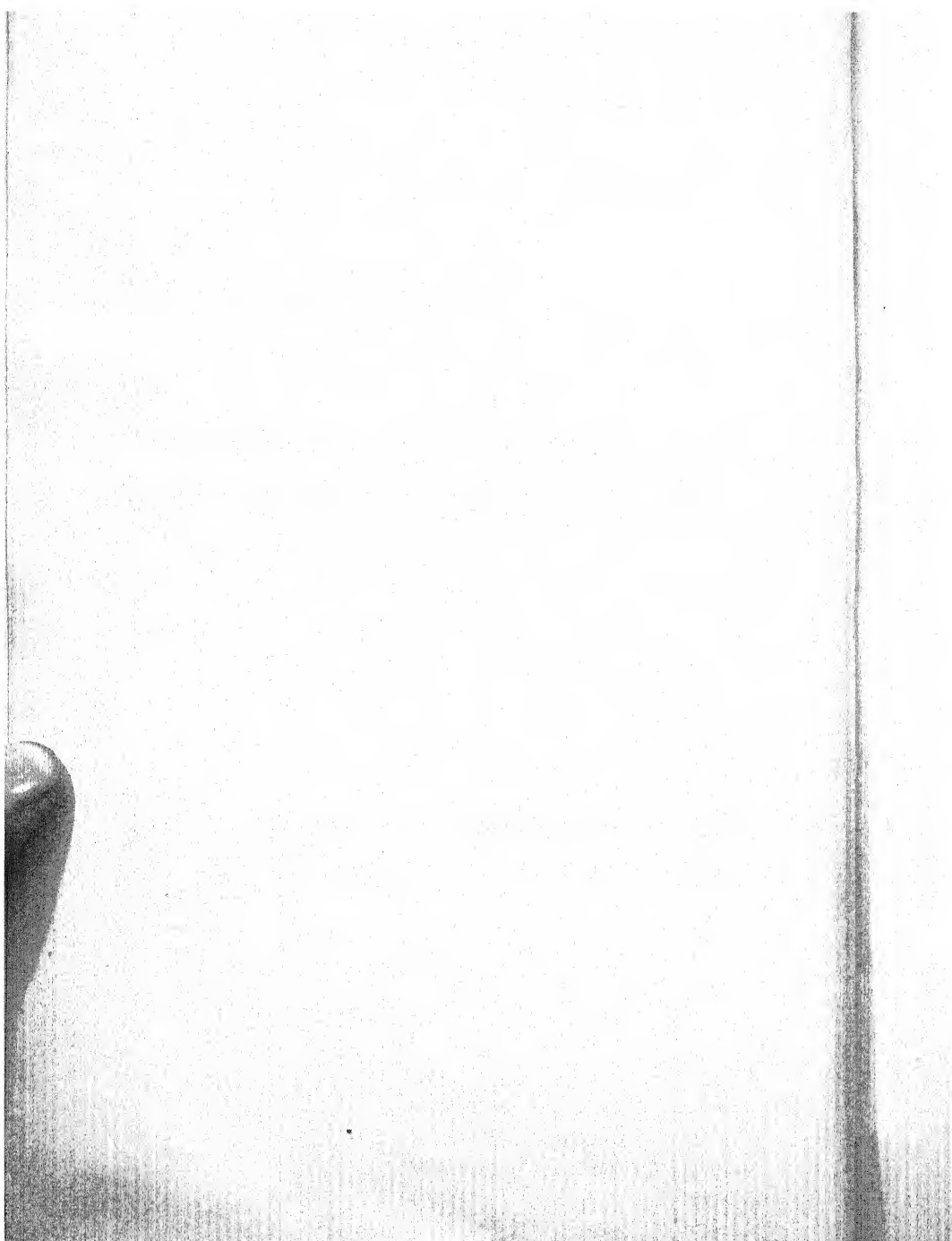
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A CORRECTION

In my review of Miss Getty's *Gaṇeśa* (*JRAS.* for 1937, p. 700) I pointed out a supposed misprint: *Bhāla candra* for which I proposed to read *Bāla candra*. The compound *bhāla candra*, however, as an Indian friend informs me, is a well-known epithet of Gaṇeśa, so that the mistake is mine and not Miss Getty's, to whom I offer my sincere apologies.

J. PH. VOGEL.

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JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY 1937

PART I.—JANUARY

The Weight Standards of Ancient Indian Coins

By A. S. HEMMY, B.A., M.Sc.

THE indifference of the ancient Indian to the maintenance of definite chronicles even when a voluminous literature of a philosophical and religious kind existed, has left the historian, apart from meagre foreign accounts, with little written evidence of the course of Indian events other than fanciful epics and legends. Under such circumstances, he has had to utilize to the utmost such deductions as can be drawn from material sources, and among these one of the most important has been the ancient coinage. The aftermath of Alexander's invasion left various Græco-Bactrian kingdoms and principalities extending through Afghanistan and the Punjab as far as Muttra, of which many coins have been found, and these have often proved useful for dating purposes. In this paper, however, investigation is confined to the much more obscure early indigenous coins of the years previous or not long subsequent to the Christian era, with a view to discovering what weight standards are present, and what they imply.

1. There is a large collection of these coins in the British Museum catalogued by Mr. J. A. Allan, Keeper of the Coin Department, whilst in Calcutta at the Indian Museum and the Bengal branch of the Royal Asiatic Society there are

collections catalogued by Mr. Vincent Smith and Pt. B. B. Bidyabinod.

In the classification adopted by the British Museum, here followed, are placed first a number of groups of uninscribed silver coins described as "single type". These are subdivided according to the symbols impressed upon them: (a) marked Persian standard, North-West India; characterized by a radiating pattern with hexagonal symmetry (Fig. 1, A) in several variations. (b and c) Two classes of North India with quite different patterns (Fig. 1, B, C). (d) Sultanpur Find type, of South-West India (Fig. 1, D). (e) Konkan Find type, also of South-West India (Fig. 1, E), and a few coins of unknown provenance. In all sixty-nine coins at the British Museum.

Then we have a large collection of silver coins known as "silver punch-marked". Of these there are, omitting those noted as seriously damaged or which seem to be much worn, 570 at the British Museum, 196 in Calcutta, and a single hoard of 108 coins (of which 103 are included) found near Patna and now in the Museum of that place; in all 869 coins. They have been cut out of hammered plates of the metal, sometimes in rectangular shape, sometimes in circular or oval form. A series of symbols have been impressed by punches of different kinds. Examples of the inscriptions, if they are inscriptions, are shown in Fig. 1, F, G, H, J, K. There is also a group designated "copper punch-marked", made in the same way in rectangular shape from copper bars. Those in the British Museum are all of the same pattern, with symbols differing from those on the silver coins, though bearing a general resemblance to them (Fig. 1, L). Of these 226 are considered. The Calcutta specimens, few in number, seem to belong to a different series and are omitted.

Next comes a series known as "uninscribed cast" coins. They are all of copper. They have been cast in linear batches and the connecting tongues of metal cut. In a few cases this has not been done, so pairs and triplets of coins occur. They

may be divided into two classes by their shape—rectangular, which are believed to be earlier (104 specimens), and circular, which are late (163 specimens). The symbols on these coins are somewhat different from those on the punch-marked series and not so elaborate (Fig. 1, m).

We then come to a large series of known provenance, and grouped accordingly. These are called “tribal” coins. The districts for which any considerable collection of coins has been found are : (1) Taxila (near Rawalpindi), 242 copper specimens ; (2) Mathura (near Delhi), 173 specimens ; (3) Ujjain (in Bhopal), 161 ; (4) Kausambhi (near Allahabad), 75 ; (5) Audambara (Kangra Valley, Punjab), 47 ; (6) Ayodhya (Oude), 112 ; (7) Kuninda (Ambala), 96 ; (8) Pancala (north of Lucknow), 126 ; (9) Yaudheya, 107.

These are all the copper coins considered. They are, with a few exceptions, die-struck. Many are uninscribed, including all except four of the Ujjain coins. Of the latter a characteristic example is shown in Fig. 1, n. They bear a closer resemblance to the punch-marked than the uninscribed of other provinces, which show a general similarity ; Fig. 1, p, is an example from Taxila. The majority of tribal coins, however, show inscriptions, generally in the Brahmi script, though many specimens are in Kharosthi. Some names on these have been identified and have been of value for dating purposes. A certain number of silver coins are found, 81 in all, but no large collection in any one province. They show the same characteristics as the copper coins.

2. The earliest coins are the punch-marked. They have been found in collections containing Graeco-Bactrian coins up to the time of Menander, i.e. 150 B.C., and even, at Coimbatore in Madras Presidency, with a denarius of Augustus. How far back they go is uncertain. Cunningham hazarded 1000 B.C., but Vincent Smith considers none could be previous to 500 B.C. The consensus of opinion now does not put them so early, but assigns them probably to the Mauryan Empire, which lasted from 323 till 185 B.C., or at

earliest to the time of Nanda (c. 372 B.C.), King of Magadha, who anteceded that empire.

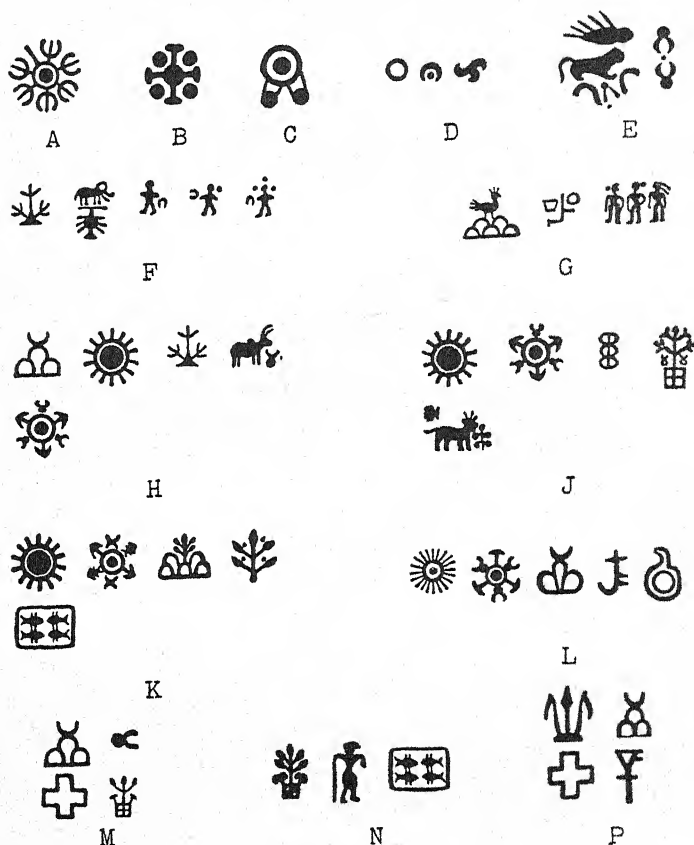


FIG. 1.—Characteristic Symbols on Indian Uninscribed Coins of various Types. Single Type Silver : (A) North-West India, Persian Standard ; (B) North India ; (C) North India ; (D) South-West India, Sultanpur Find ; (E) South-West India, Konkan Find. Silver Punch-marked Series : (F, G, H, J, K). Copper Punch-marked Series : (L). Copper Uninscribed Cast Coins : (M). Copper Ujjain Series : (N). Taxila Series : (P). (*By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.*)

The tribal coins are subsequent and vary in date from late third century B.C. up to the fourth century A.D., when they were superseded by the coins of the Gupta Empire.

Of the various tribes the first five on the list are on the whole earlier, not reaching in the main into the Christian era, the others are on the whole later, though they overlap into the first century B.C. Yaudheya is quite late and lasted till the fourth century A.D.

3. The weights of all these coins have been determined, and various suggestions have been made as to the standards to which they are related. Vincent Smith connects them to the present-day Indian unit, the *rati* of 1.825 gr. (or .1182 gm.), and suggests the silver punch-marked coins were struck to a scale of 32 *ratis* (58.4 gr., 3.78 gm.). The copper punch-marked coins he considers to be based on a quite distinct scale, that of the *pana* or *karshapana* of 80 *ratis* (146 gr., 9.46 gm.), but as mentioned before, the Calcutta specimens, which are few in number, belong to a different series from those at the British Museum.

Colonel Belaiew¹ has considered two coins which bear a representation of the *bismar* or steelyard upon them. One, of copper, is from Taxila and weighs 107 gr. (6.93 gm.). The other, of silver, is from Ayodhya, and weighs 36 gr. (2.33 gm.). He points out that the first weight is approximately half and the second one-sixth of the Indus (Mohenjo-Daro) standard of 212 gr. (13.72 gm.). On this evidence he states that the Mohenjo-Daro standard reappears in the ancient coins called "punch-marked". As this standard goes back to 3000 B.C., long previous to the Aryan invasion of India, this conclusion, if substantiated, would be extremely important. It is necessary, therefore, to examine carefully the value of the evidence.

To begin with, the two examples are die-struck, not punch-marked. They both belong to the Tribal period, which is subsequent to that to which the punch-marked coins belong.

The Taxila specimen is of a group of three identical specimens, for which the weights are 107.0, 112.5, and 123.0 gr.

¹ *Ancient Egypt*, pts. iii-iv, Dec., 1933, p. 76. Also *Rev. Num.*, 1934, p. 121.

respectively. The Ayodhya coin is one of a group of identical specimens, of which the weights are respectively 36.0, 38.0, 26.8, 30.0, and 36.0. In both cases we have a wide range of choice and no principle of selection, nor has allowance been made for the loss by corrosion which is apparent.

In Fig. 7 the distribution of weight in various tribal series is represented. Not only is it extremely irregular, but there are no gaps. It would be quite easy to select specimens, the weight of which could be adduced in support of any unit whatever. Unless a considerable body of specimens conforms to a given standard, there can be no confidence that such a standard is present. A method of analysis is required which will bring out uniformities of this sort.

4. In the last December number of *Ancient Egypt*¹ such a method has been enunciated for the examination of systems of ancient weights. It is based on the fact that, owing to the imperfection of early balances and other factors, there is an accumulation of small errors, positive and negative being equally likely. As a consequence we can apply the mathematical Law of Errors, which states that the frequency y with which a variation equal to x occurs is given by the formula $y = ke^{-h^2x^2}$, where k is the frequency with which the standard itself occurs and h is a constant, called the Measure of Precision, which is the larger, the more precise the accuracy. In this case, y is the number of specimens present for which the weight differs from the standard by an amount x . To apply this method in practice, it is necessary to have a large number of specimens—amounting to hundreds—otherwise the form of the frequency curve may be masked by chance groupings. The values need not be particularly accurate, though the greater the variability, the larger the number of specimens needed. In dealing with weight systems, it is necessary to eliminate all damaged or worn specimens for which the divergence from the original weight exceeds a

¹ Hemmy, "The Statistical Treatment of Ancient Weights," *Ancient Egypt*, Dec., 1935, p. 83.

certain small percentage, so that we may take positive and negative variations to be equally likely.

The situation with regard to coins is different. Whereas ancient weights are usually of hard stone, not liable to corrosion, coins are of metal, which is. Moreover, coins have to endure much handling and therefore wear. We can no longer consider positive and negative errors as equally likely. It is necessary to determine how this consideration will affect the form of the probability curve, as the curve given by the above equation is called. Owing to the imperfection of early balances and weights, we may suppose that the coins originally varied about the standard according to the Law of Errors, though, if they emanate from a single source, the measure of precision may be expected to be much larger than in the case of weights which have been repeatedly copied by different hands.

Let us suppose that the probability curve *ABCDEFGH* in Fig. 2 represents the distribution of weight of a series of coins as originally minted. The probability curve is symmetrical about the maximum ordinate, or *y*-axis. It is horizontal at the maximum, curves down rapidly, then becomes nearly straight, reverses its curvature and approaches the *x*-axis without ever meeting it, i.e. it is asymptotic to the *x*-axis.

By wear and corrosion all the coins lose more or less weight. How much we do not know, except that those beyond a certain limit of loss are rejected. The number of coins now possessing a certain weight is made up of some retaining their original weight, together with an integration of numbers of coins of originally higher weight, which have lost weight sufficient to bring them within the given range. Under the circumstances this cannot be expressed mathematically, but a simple, if rather artificial, hypothesis enables us to find the kind of modification to be expected. For simplicity let us suppose that a proportion *b* of the specimens of each weight changes by an amount *q* gr., the remainder changing by a smaller amount *p*. Let $x_1, y_1; x_2, y_2; x_3, y_3$ be the co-ordinates of three points, *E*, *F*,

G , on the curve (Fig. 2.). All the specimens represented by the ordinate, EN , are shifted to points of lower weight, but, on the other hand, by_3 of the specimens represented by GQ and $(1 - b)y_2$ of the specimens represented by FP are reduced to the weight ON if $x_3 - x_1 = q$, and $x_2 - x_1 = p$. Hence y_1 is changed to $y_2 - b(y_2 - y_3)$.

If E is on the right-hand side of the maximum, y_3 is less than y_2 and $(y_2 - y_3)$ is positive. The ordinate is diminished to KN , the more the steeper the slope of FG . The new curve, therefore, moves at first to the left of the probability curve.

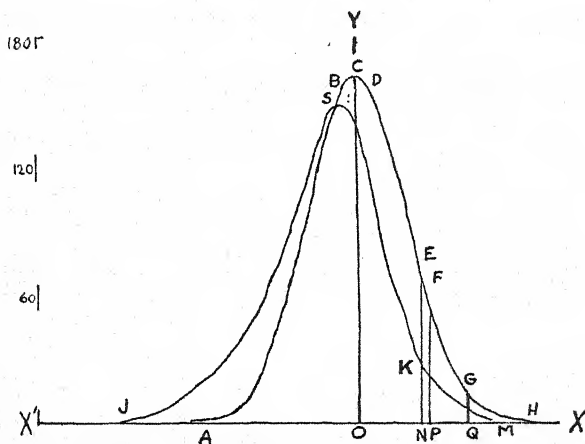


FIG. 2.

For the approximately straight portion ED , the corresponding portion of the new curve will also be nearly straight, if PQ or q is not large. Between D and C the slope approaches zero and then changes sign, the reduction of the ordinate diminishes to become zero at S , where the two curves intersect. After that, the ordinate is increased, and the skew curve, as it is called, is above the probability curve. Its course is represented by $JSKM$.

5. In the light of this discussion we may consider the series of Indian coins enumerated above. The largest and most

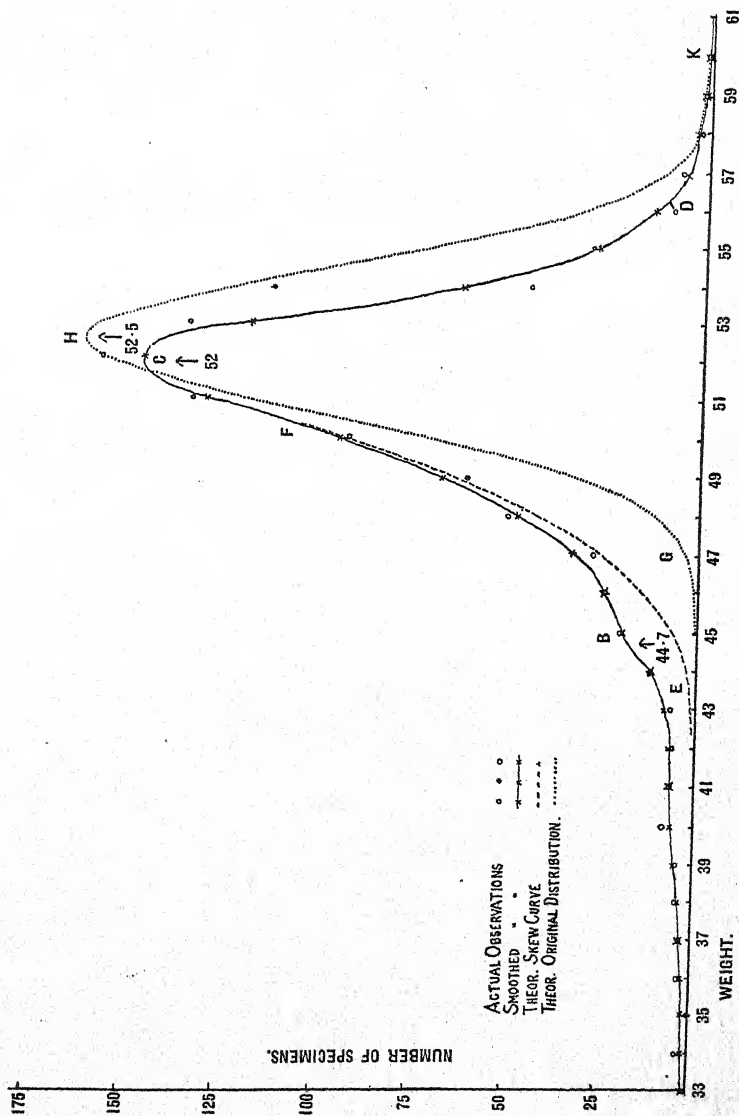


FIG. 3.—Distribution of Weight. Silver Pui 24-marked Coins.

uniform series is that of the silver punch-marked coins. It ranges in a continuous series from 37 gr. to 60 gr. As all the data available are in grains the analysis will be conducted throughout to that standard.

Grouping the specimens by steps of 1 gr. to the nearest grain, a series of points (marked by small circles in Fig. 3) is plotted with the weight in grains as abscissa and the number of specimens as ordinate. The only coins omitted from consideration are a few marked as much worn, 4 below 36 gr., one of 83 gr., and certain plated ones.

The points are fairly regular except, as may be expected, where the ordinate is small. To compensate for the fact that

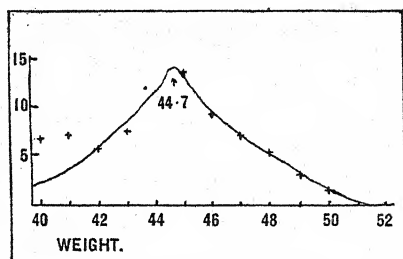


FIG. 4.—Max. near 45.

the number of specimens is not infinite, as theory requires, a smoothing process is adopted. This consists in replacing each ordinate by a mean. The formula adopted is to replace b by the quantity $(a + 2b + c)/4$, where a , b , c are the values of three successive ordinates. This is equivalent to taking the mean of a and b and of b and c and then the mean of these two means.

The result of this process is represented on the figure by crosses, through which the continuous curve, $ABCD$, is drawn. It will be seen that this curve shows an unmistakable resemblance to the skew curve in Fig. 2, with a maximum at 52, except for the hump at B . 52 multiplied by 4 is 208. The revised principal unit of the Indus system, as given in the article cited above, is 13.625 gm. = 210.2 gr. Agreement

could hardly be better. The only marked divergence of the actual smoothed curve and a theoretical skew curve is in the neighbourhood of *B* at 45. Accepting the skew curve as coinciding with the smoothed curve along the line *DCB* as far as *F*, its probable continuation is sketched as the broken line *FE*. In Fig. 4 the differences of ordinates of this curve and the smoothed curve are plotted against the same abscissæ.

TABLE I.—DATA FOR DETERMINATION OF MAXIMUM NEAR 45

Weight													
Gr.	51	50	49	48	47	46	45	44	43	42	41	40	
Ord.Sm.													
Curve	129	95.7	68.0	48.5	33.0	24.7	20.2	14.0	8.5	6.5	7.0	6.7	
Ord.													
Skew													
Curve	127	90	61.5	42.0	26.0	16.5	8.5	4.5	2.0	1.5	1.0	0.7	
Diff.	2	5.7	6.5	6.5	7.0	8.2	11.7	9.5	6.5	5.0	6.0	6.0	

The resulting curve is evidently a probability curve with a maximum rather below 45, say, 44.7. On the lower side at 40 and beyond there is an excess but the figures involved are not large. There is always a certain surplus of specimens showing marked divergence from the mean owing to gross irregularities, and this becomes most apparent when the ordinates are small.

There is therefore a subsidiary standard of weight slightly below 45. The number of coins pertaining to the two standards will be proportional to the areas of the respective curves. The coins of the Indus standard are in large majority, the others form only about 4 per cent of the total.

The maximum at 52 is slightly below the Indus standard as a result of wear. In Fig. 3 a suggested probability curve for the coins as originally minted has been plotted as the dotted curve, *GHK*. The constants of this curve ($h = .36$ and $k = 161$) have been chosen so that there is a maximum at 52.5, the ordinates become very small near 60, and the area of the curve is approximately equal to the area of the skew curve *EFCD*. The total number of coins does not change, hence the equality of areas.

The relation of this curve to the skew curve is just what theory requires.

This close agreement must be taken as strong evidence, on the one hand, of the satisfactory nature of the theory, on the other, that the unit of weight of the Indus system, found at Mohenjo-Daro more than 3000 B.C., persisted after the invasion of India by the Aryans and lasted at any rate until the period of the silver punch-marked coins.

As regards the 4 per cent of coins which conform to a unit of 44.7 gr. (2.90 gm.), in the article "Statistical Treatment"¹ evidence is adduced to show that in the Babylonian system of weights the following standards were present: 116.9 gr. (7.575 gm.), 126.9 gr. (8.225 gm.), 135.4 gr. (8.775 gm.), and 142.7 gr. (9.25 gm.). 45 is one-third of 135. It may therefore be concluded that the standard of 45 gr. is derived from a Daric of 135 gr. and is further confirmation that such was present in Babylonia.

We also see that silver coins of the period, under Indian conditions of wear and corrosion, lose on the average comparatively little weight, about 1 per cent for the maximum frequency or *mode*.

6. SINGLE TYPE SILVER COINS. (a) Daric Standard.

The number of specimens in each group is insufficient for the application of the statistical method to the problem, but fortunately the evidence is unmistakable. There is a group of 24 from North-West India and 9 from South-West India (Konkan Find). The distribution is as follows:—

Weight . . .	45	44	43	42	41	40	39	38 gr.
No. of Spec.								
NW.I. . . .	0	10	4	2	2	1	2	3
Konkan . . .	1	5	2	0	0	0	1	0

In both these cases a standard of about 44 gr. is clearly present.

¹ Loc. cit.

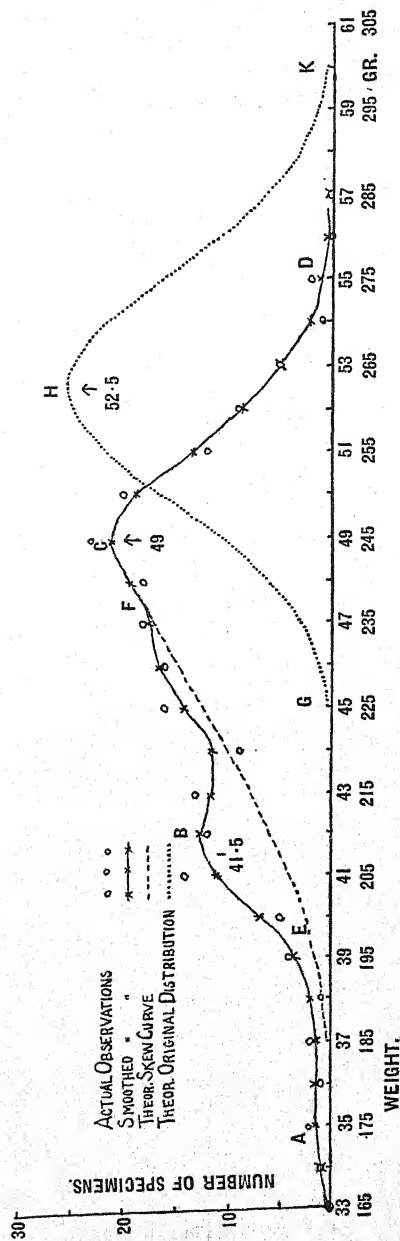


Fig. 5.—Distribution of Weight. Copper Punch-marked Coins.

7. SINGLE TYPE SILVER COINS. (b) Indus Standard.

Three groups are recorded at the British Museum, two from North India and one from South-West India (Sultanpur Find). The first two belong to the same system with the following distribution :—

Weight . . .	28	27	26	25	24	23	22	21 gr.
No. of Spec. . .	1	11	4	13	4	0	2	1

There are only four coins in the Sultanpur Find, of weights 108.7, 98.3, 50.0, and 49.5 gr. These are all obviously related to the same standard as that of the silver punch-marked coins.

8. COPPER PUNCH-MARKED COINS.

The Calcutta coins labelled as such include coins belonging to a different series from those so labelled at the British Museum and are therefore excluded. They appear to belong to Tribal series. At the British Museum is a collection of 217 coins. The first 12 run in weight from 359 to 315 gr., there is then a gap and from 275 we get a series running continuously down to 162 gr. It is this latter series here considered. A graph is plotted in Fig. 5 in which the weights, grouped in steps of 5 gr., are the abscissæ, and the corresponding numbers of specimens are ordinates. The points are marked as small circles in the diagram. The results are smoothed by the formula $(a + 2b + c)/4$ and represented by crosses through which is drawn the continuous curve. The general resemblance to the curve for silver punch-marked coins is apparent, with a principal maximum at 245 gr. and a subsidiary one near 210 gr. It is evident that the distribution is an orderly one and that the curve is the resultant of a skew curve with a maximum at 245 combined with a minor one corresponding to the other maximum.

The broken line, *EF*, represents the probable continuation of the skew curve with maximum at *C*. In Fig. 6 is a graph obtained by plotting against the weights as abscissæ the differences between the ordinates of the smoothed observations and this curve. This shows that the best position of the

maximum at *B* is midway between 205 and 210. If we divide the values of the weights by 5 we obtain the result that the copper punch-marked distribution has a principal maximum at 49 and a minor maximum at 41.5. Comparing this with the silver punch-marked distribution with a principal maximum at 52 and a minor one at 44.7, these figures must surely be related. The group of twelve coins lying above 315 appears to be a class with a ratio to the main body of 3 to 2. Taking two-thirds, the distribution of the unit gives a maximum at 225.

The shape of the skew curve for copper is of the same type as for silver and agrees with theory, but the effect of wear and corrosion is much more apparent, a result to be anticipated.

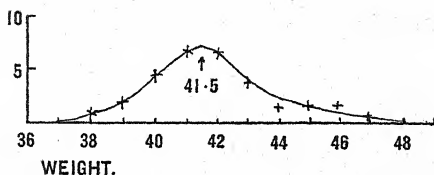


FIG. 6.—Max. near 42.

The dotted curve, *GHK*, represents a theoretical original distribution curve, the constants being determined by the same principles as in Fig. 3.

We may infer that under Indian conditions for the period, a loss of weight for the majority of copper coins equal to about 7 per cent occurs.

The factor of 5 used in this calculation is an unusual one in the ratios of coins, but if we suppose that the values of silver and copper bullion are in the ratio of 15 to 1, not improbable at the period, the copper coins would have a purchasing value of one-third of the silver ones. Both types must have a common source.

This analysis of punch-marked coins shows that both silver and copper coins, if originally minted reasonably accurately to a given standard, diverge, under Indian conditions, in a manner to be anticipated theoretically. If, therefore, such

uniformity does not occur, there must be reasons other than wear and corrosion.

8.75
A very small proportion of these coins belong to the Daric standard, the remainder belonging to the Indus standard must have come from a single mint. They have been picked up in every province from Afghanistan to Mysore. At that period, only the Mauryan Empire influenced so large an area. Moreover, as the extreme irregularity of the subsequent tribal coins, to be seen in Fig. 7, shows, only a strong and capable administration with strict regulation in detail could have imposed so exact a uniformity. The evidence therefore points to the one outstanding administrator of that dynasty—Asoka.

By the above analysis we are given a measure, 1 per cent for silver coinage and 7 per cent for copper coinage, by which we can roughly estimate the average change of weight in any other group of Indian coins of the same period.

9. TRIBAL AND UNINSCRIBED CAST COINS. (a) Silver.

In contrast to the punch-marked coins, relatively few silver coins in these classes have been found. We enter a period of comparative poverty. There are only about eighty or ninety in the lists, although there are several hundred copper coins. Of the tribal areas, the principal sources of silver coins are: Mathura, 33 specimens; Kuninda, 24; and Ayodhya, 20. The Kuninda coins vary between 29 and 38 gr., with a definite maximum at 34. The sixth of the Indus unit is 35, so the two are probably connected. Neither the Mathura nor the Ayodhya coins show any degree of orderliness, and the number of specimens is too small for any attempt at statistical analysis.

10. TRIBAL AND UNINSCRIBED CAST COINS. (b) Copper.

The number of specimens available being large, an analysis has been attempted, but the data are so irregular that the results can only be regarded as rough indications.

To begin with, the coins have been graded in order of weight, taking logarithmic steps. The main advantage of this grouping is that the range of the step is a definite percentage of the value of the mid-point. Here the range of the logarithmic step has been taken as $\cdot 025$ and the steps commence from the logarithm $\cdot 9875$. The object of this is to bring the logarithm 1 (and so round numbers of the anti-logarithms, which are the weights of the coins) into the middle of a step, and away from the margins, where they would bias results.

It is not necessary to take logarithms of the weights. The limits of the logarithmic steps are: $\cdot 9875$, $1\cdot 0125$, $1\cdot 0375$, $1\cdot 0625$, etc., the middle points being 1, $1\cdot 025$, $1\cdot 05$, etc. These limits correspond to weights 9·7, 10·3, 10·9, 11·6 gr., etc., respectively. We count the number of coins with weights between these limits and plot these numbers against the logarithmic values. In Fig. 7 are the graphs so obtained for the more prolific tribal series, as well as for square (early) uninscribed cast coins.

A glance at these curves shows that there is a chaotic confusion in the distribution of their weights. It would appear that several standards were in use simultaneously; even then, so wide is the range of variation, it is impossible to say with confidence of the weight of a given coin that it is this or that fraction of one or other of the standards. Borderline cases instead of being infrequent become common.

We have seen in the copper punch-marked series, although wear and corrosion have had considerable effect, there is a predictable uniformity. The confusion in the weights of tribal coins must be due to an original irregularity. One seems forced to the conclusion that the coinmakers did not weigh their coins, but merely clipped or cast them to what they considered the right size. Nevertheless, as they must have aimed at some standard, analysis should be able to discover some uniformities.

It is useless to attempt too great refinement in this. It is necessary to work with rather wide groups. The groups used

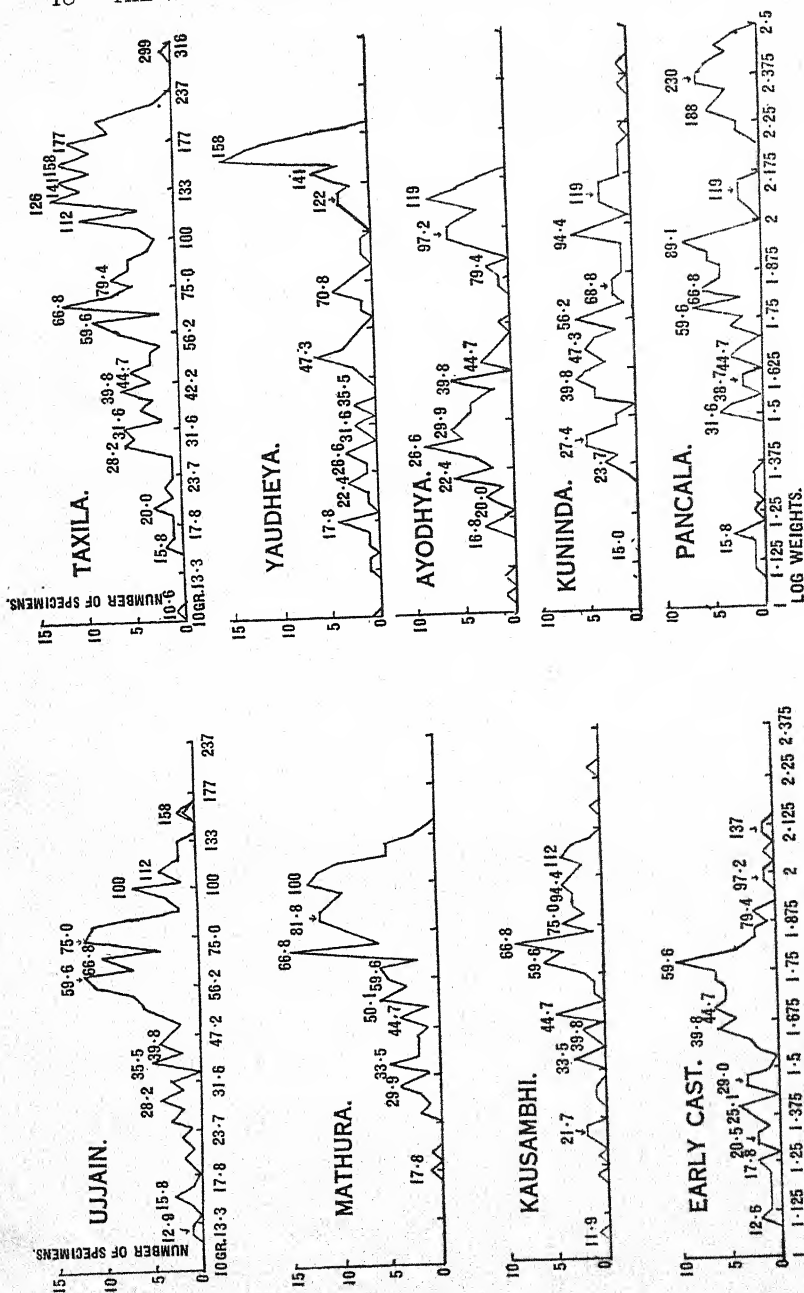


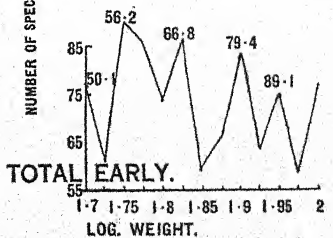
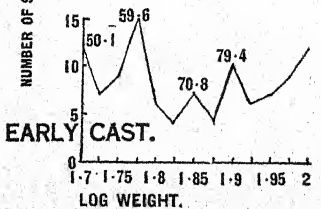
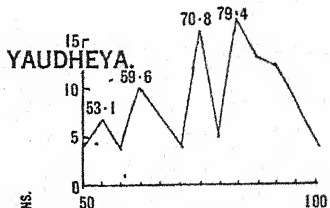
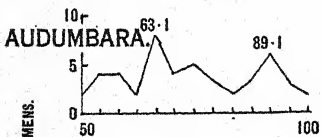
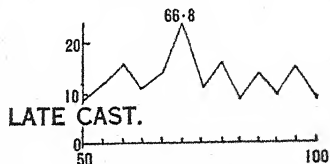
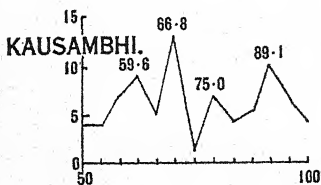
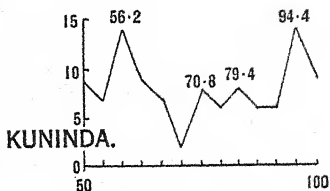
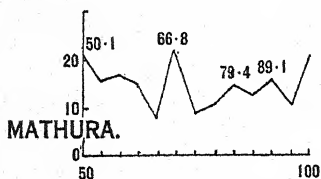
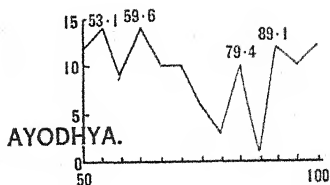
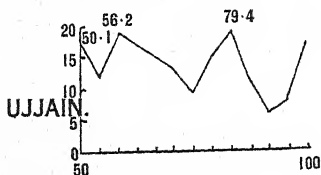
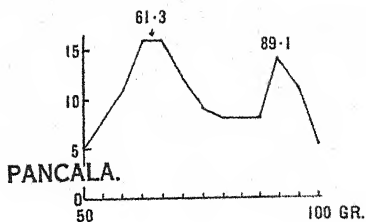
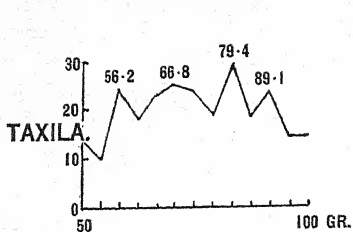
Fig. 7.—Distribution of Weight. Copper Tribal Coins.

above in plotting Fig. 7 are a useful size. They represent a range covering 3 per cent on each side of the mid-point. As search is only being made for the position of maxima and not to draw probability curves, the fact that the ranges are not arithmetically equal does not matter. Rather is it an advantage, for, as the range of a step is proportional to its mean value, the curve repeats itself between any value and its double. Hence we can start from any point. With the absence of gaps, no starting point is defined for us. The subdivisions used in coinage have ratios almost invariably 2, 4, 8, etc., or 3, 6, etc.

The method used in the analysis of the tribal coins is as follows : Coins of weight below 12 gr. have been omitted from consideration as their probable error is large. They are few in number. For the remainder, the weights have been multiplied or divided by 2 or 4, until they come within the arbitrary limits of 50 to 100 gr. The numbers of specimens within the range of each step is added up. This gives the number for which the value of the mid-point is the unit. Plotting these totals against the logarithmic values of the mid-point, we get a curve for which the maxima represent the standards aimed at. If there are groups of coins for which the ratio to the standard is a multiple of 3, then we should find subsidiary maxima bearing ratios of 2 to 3 or 3 to 4 to other maxima. The data for the more prolific tribal areas are given in Table II with the maxima in heavier type. The values of the maxima are summarized in Table III and the graphs are plotted in Fig. 8. The column in Table II labelled " Total Early " includes data for less prolific tribal areas with coins of the pre-Christian era.

The maxima are somewhere within the range of 3 per cent about the position indicated, in most cases probably near the middle, but the plus sign indicates a value probably above the middle. The most definitely marked maxima in Table III are in heavier type.

The coinages of the localities named in the first six columns



may be regarded as somewhat earlier than the others, ranging from the beginning of the second century B.C. up to the Christian era. For the next four the range may be a century later on the average, whilst the last two come quite late, Yaudheya extending to the fourth century A.D. The Ujjain coins, which are nearly all uninscribed, together with Mathura and early (square) cast coins, show a distinct maximum at about 50. This points to the maximum 49 discussed under copper punch-marked coins and so, with the 7 per cent allowance for corrosion, to 52.5, the quarter of the Indus standard.

It is to be noted that neither Taxila nor Ayodhya, quoted by Colonel Belaiew, show a maximum at this point.

Associated with this maximum we may consider the maximum 66.8, one-third higher. This is shown by Taxila, Mathura, Kausambhi, and the Late Cast. Adding 7 per cent we get 71, which is one-third of the Indus standard.

The maximum 59.6 (3.86 gm.) is shown by the Early Cast, Kausambhi, Ayodhya, and Yaudheya, whilst Pancala shows a maximum between this and the next, say, 61. Adding 7 per cent to 59.6 we get 64, which is half the Daric standard.

The maximum at 79.4 (5.14 gm.) shown by Taxila, Ujjain, Mathura, Early Cast, Kuninda, and Yaudheya may be associated with this. It is one-third higher. With 7 per cent addition it becomes 85, which is two-thirds of the Daric standard.

Also associated with this maximum is the one at 89.1 (5.77 gm.), one-half higher. This is shown by nearly all—Taxila, Mathura, Kausambhi, Audumbara, Ayodhya, and Pancala. Adding 7 per cent we get 95, which is three-quarters of the Daric standard.

Other maxima are shown, 94.4 (6.12 gm.) by Kuninda and Late Cast, 75.0 (4.86 gm.) by Kausambhi and Late Cast, 53.1 (3.44 gm.) by Ayodhya and Yaudheya, and 70.8 shown by Early Cast, Kuninda, and Yaudheya. None is conspicuous

TABLE II.—DISTRIBUTION OF UNIT, TRIBAL COPPER COINS

Factor.	Taxila.			Ujjain.			Mathura.			Kausambhi.			TL.
	4	2	1	4	2	1	4	2	1	4	2	1	TL.
50.1 gr.	4	2	1	4	2	1	4	2	1	4	2	1	3.25 gm.
53.1 "	—	1	3	2	8	14	—	2	6	13	21	4	3.44 "
56.2 "	—	1	2	4	3	10	—	1	3	12	16	4	3.64 "
59.6 "	—	5	9	4	0	2	24	0	4	11	4	7	3.86 "
63.1 "	—	6	2	13	—	23	—	1	2	5	13	9	4.09 "
66.8 "	1	2	12	10	—	25	—	1	0	10	2	23	4.33 "
70.8 "	1	4	7	12	—	24	—	0	5	4	0	1	4.59 "
75.0 "	1	3	5	9	—	18	—	1	2	12	0	11	5.14 "
79.4 "	3	7	7	12	—	29	—	1	2	12	—	15	5.45 "
84.1 "	1	3	5	9	—	18	—	0	1	12	—	13	5.77 "
89.1 "	2	5	5	11	—	23	—	0	4	11	—	15	6.12 "
94.4 "	1	3	7	—	14	—	—	0	1	10	—	11	

TABLE II.—(Continued)

Factor.	Audumbara.			Early Cast.			Total	Ayodhya.			Kuminda.			TL.
	4	2	1	4	2	1	Early.	4	2	1	4	2	1	TL.
50.1 gr.	4	2	1	4	2	1	77	4	2	1	4	2	1	4
53.1 "	—	1	1	2	2	4	61	1	4	1	6	2	4	3
56.2 "	—	3	1	4	1	0	7	0	9	0	5	5	6	3
59.6 "	—	3	1	4	1	3	90	0	5	1	3	9	14	7
63.1 "	—	6	2	8	1	1	15	0	6	0	8	14	9	14
66.8 "	—	4	0	4	1	0	6	0	5	0	5	10	1	7
70.8 "	—	3	2	5	2	2	86	3	4	0	3	10	0	2
75.0 "	—	3	0	3	0	3	1	0	4	1	1	1	1	8
79.4 "	—	2	—	2	3	1	4	66	0	2	1	—	—	6
84.1 "	—	3	—	3	2	6	2	83	3	5	2	—	—	8
89.1 "	1	5	—	6	4	0	—	64	1	0	0	—	—	6
94.4 "	2	1	—	3	5	1	—	75	6	3	3	—	—	6
							59	2	2	3	6	—	—	14

TABLE II.—(Continued)

Factor.	Pancala.	Puri.	Late Cast.	Yandheya.
50-1 gr.	4 2 1 ½ 4 TL.	1 ½ TL.	4 2 1 ½ TL.	4 2 1 ½ TL.
" "	1 0 0 0 4 5	0 0 0	0 3 6 9	0 1 3 0 4
" "	1 0 0 3 1 8	- - -	0 4 7 12	1 3 2 0 7
" "	1 0 2 2 6 11	- 2 2 2	3 9 4 16	1 0 1 2 4
" "	1 0 7 2 6 16	- 6 5 6	0 3 8 11	0 1 6 3 10
" "	3 4 2 2 5 16	- 1 5 6	1 6 7 14	1 2 1 3 7
" "	0 3 6 0 3 12	0 5 5	1 8 15 24	1 0 1 2 4
" "	1 0 4 0 4 9	2 10 12	4 3 4 11	4 2 4 6 16
" "	0 2 4 0 2 8	1 3 4	0 6 10 16	0 0 2 3 5
" "	1 2 5 0 - 8	5 - 5	3 4 1 8	1 0 1 15 17
" "	1 0 5 0 - 8	- 0 - 0	4 1 13	1 1 0 11 13
" "	1 3 8 2 2 - 14	0 - 0	1 7 2 10	3 2 1 6 12
" "	0 2 4 5 - 11	0 - 0	6 7 1 14	3 2 1 0 8

TABLE III.—COPPER TRIBAL COINS. VALUES OF MAXIMA

[illegible]

and if real may be due possibly to a slight lowering from the value of the range above.

The maximum at 56.2 (3.64 gm.) which with 7 per cent becomes 60, which is definitely shown by Taxila, Ujjain, Kuninda, and Late Cast, and the associated 84.1 (5.45 gm.) shown in the Late Cast, requires more explanation. If not a lowering of the 59.6 standard, a possibility may be a relationship with the silver coins of Menander, who about 160 B.C., from his principality of Kabul and the Punjab, conquered a great part of the Indus Valley. His silver coins are amongst the few uniform series of the period and centre upon 38 (2.45 gm.). Fifty per cent above 38 is 57. Another possibility is to derive it from the indigenous standard, the *rati* of 1.825 gr. (.12 gm.). 32 *ratis* equal 58.4 gr.

The maximum at 50 is only conspicuous at Mathura and Ujjain and in the Early Cast, where kingdoms minted coins in the years immediately succeeding the break-up of the Mauryan Empire. Taxila does not show it, presumably it came more under the influence of the West with Daric standards. It is curious that Kuninda, which indicates an Indus standard in its silver coins, gives no such indication in its copper coins. As the cast coins show the same irregularity as do the tribal ones, they can hardly be contemporaneous with the punch-marked, but must also be subsequent.

The first six Tribal Areas in Table II together with corresponding totals for certain less prolific areas, the coinages of which lie wholly within the pre-Christian era, have been added together and the results tabulated in the column labelled "Early Total". We see that there are definite maxima for ranges with mid-points 50.1, 56.2, 66.8, 70.4, and 89.1. Thus, taking the coinages as a whole, it is clear that both Indus and Daric standards are apparent.

I desire to express my thanks to Mr. J. A. Allan, Keeper of the Coins Department, British Museum, for the material and information so readily supplied.

11. CONCLUSIONS

(a) The theory of the distribution of the values of ancient weights can be applied to the case of the weights of ancient coins when it is modified to allow for wear and corrosion.

(b) The modified distribution curve is a skew curve with maximum at a lower value than for the original distribution. On the heavier side of the maximum the curve is more embayed, on the lighter side, less steep.

(c) Adopting the classification of the British Museum, silver punch-marked coins show a distribution curve in close agreement with that expected theoretically.

(d) The principal maximum is at 52.0 gr. (3.37 gm.). This is half a grain less than one-quarter of the principal standard of weight of the Indus (Mohenjo-Daro) system. This is very strong evidence that this system persisted up to the time when these coins were minted. The same standard is shown by certain smaller groups of "single type" silver coins found both in Northern and South-West India.

(e) The change in the position of the maximum for silver coins due to wear and corrosion under average Indian conditions for the period is about 1 per cent.

(f) About 4 per cent of the silver punch-marked coins are distributed about a maximum of 44.7 gr. (2.90 gm.). This maximum is also found in a group of "single type" coins from North-West India and another from the Konkan near Bombay. This standard is evidently one-third of a Daric of 135 gr. (8.75 gm.).

(g) Copper punch-marked coins show a distribution curve of the same type as do the silver ones. There is a principal maximum at 245 gr. (14.78 gm.), and a subsidiary one at 207.5 gr. (13.45 gm.). Reasons are given for considering these coins conform to the same standards as do the silver ones.

(h) The loss due to wear and corrosion for copper coins reduces the position of the maximum by about 7 per cent.

(i) The agreement between observation and theory shows that with any large group of coins the effect of wear and

corrosion on the distribution curve can be predicted. If the results are in marked variance, other causes must be at work to produce the variation.

(j) The uniformity of distribution of weight in punch-marked coins, both silver and copper, shows that those conforming to the Indus standard must have come from a single mint. Their widespread provenance indicates the Mauryan Empire, and the uniformity of weight indicates capable and strict administration. This points to Asoka.

(k) The tribal coinages minted after the break-up of the Mauryan Empire show extreme irregularity in their weight distribution. In each area several standards seem to have been in use simultaneously and only the roughest efforts made to secure uniformity. The uninscribed cast coins show the same behaviour.

(l) Only Ujjain, Mathura, and the early cast coins give any indications of the Indus standard of the punch-marked coins, but more areas show a grouping about the third of the 210 gr. (13.625 gm.) standard.

(m) The majority of the coins conform to units one-half, two-thirds, or three-quarters of the Daric standard.

(n) Taxila, Ujjain, and Kuninda show a unit about 60 gr. (3.89 gm.) after allowing for loss. This may possibly be derived from the indigenous Indian standard, the *rati*, of 1.825 gr. (.118 gm.).

Archaic Chinese Characters

Being some intensive studies in them

PART I

By L. C. HOPKINS

THE CHARACTER 四 *ssũ*, FOUR

THE Chinese numeral 4 is a syllable pronounced *ssũ*, and was originally written by four horizontal lines, 𠄎, but by the time of the Han Dynasty (and perhaps before, for the form occurs on the Stone Drums), and ever since, the scription as above was substituted. And the question with which this note is concerned is: What was the origin of this substituted form? The author of the *Shuo Wen* makes the Lesser Seal Version 𠄎, his 503rd Radical, and describes it thus, 象四分之形 *hsiang ssũ fên chih hsing*, depicts division into quarters. This is a poor explanation. If a quadrilateral was chosen as an adequate symbol of the numeral 4, that was surely enough, and the two interior strokes are superfluous, irrelevant, and misleading.

My own explanation of the Lesser Seal form, and of its modern descendant 四, is very simple but revolutionary. It will perhaps be derided by the present able school of Chinese epigraphists of the *Academia Sinica*. But in the end I am fairly confident it will win acceptance. Briefly, I maintain that the Lesser Seal form derives from the upper element in the *Shuo Wen*'s so-called *ku wên*, or ancient scription, of 𠄎 *ssũ* (whether Rhinoceros or Buffalo), the lower element being discarded.

The passage from this 𠄎, through an intermediate and conjectural 𠄎 and 𠄎 to 𠄎 is short and easy. Indeed, when the requirements of the 楷書 *K'ai shu* script (the

modern "pattern" style) are borne in mind, as these are seen for instance, adapted in Kanghsi's Dictionary, even when cited as (so-called) *ku wên* characters, the first of the above "intermediate" forms is hardly "conjectural" at all, for we find it *mutatis mutandis* in 𪛗 *ssŭ*, Kanghsi's *ku wên* of 𪛗, the so-called Rhinoceros, where the original curved lines are straightened, and small circles have become small squares. A tiny copula between the tops of these squares, and the modern character 四 *ssŭ* appears.

Fundamentally different from this explanation, is the theory of Mr. Ting Shan, 丁 山, as it is presented in his notes on the numerals, in the *Chia Ku Hsiieh* 甲骨學, Section 14, pp. 6-7. Owing to the diversity of our views, I had made a full translation of the passage in question, but the space available does not allow this to be inserted. A summary of his argument, however, is as follows.

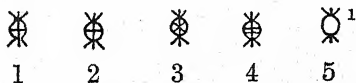
The Lesser Seal, and its modern descendant 四 *ssŭ*, derives, he contends, from an ancient form differing only from the present one by containing a short horizontal stroke, thus 𪛗. This ancient form he analyses as a figure of a *mouth*, in which the short stroke stands for the *tongue*, above which the two curved lines represent the *breath collected* before escaping as sound. This complex was intended to express a word meaning audible breathing, and was augmented in later times to 𪛗, now pronounced *hsi*, but very possibly in an earlier stage of the language, homophonous with 四, now pronounced *ssŭ*. And as the Numeral 4 was pronounced *ssŭ*, this Numeral usurped the character designed to represent audible breathing, for which consequently an augmented successor had to be introduced, having 𪛗 *k'ou*, mouth, at the left side.

Such is the view of Mr. Ting Shan. But to my mind, such interpretative imagery of the small graphic elements in the medieval successor to the primitive 𪛗, springs from the prompting of a too ingenious fancy, and my own simpler and more humdrum solution may perhaps, despite its novelty, commend itself as more convincing.

東 *Tung*, East.

This is a common character, easy to write, to remember, and to understand. Its composition, according to the *Shuo Wen* dictionary, is reasonable, and moreover, touched with a rare gleam of poetic feeling. We are told by an authority cited by the *Shuo Wen* that 東 *tung* consists of "the sun amid trees", 日在木中, *jih tsai mu chung*, that is, the rising sun seen through trees, a pleasing little picture, indeed. But as to that, it does not seem to have occurred to anyone, so far as I know, that the composition of this picture would be as appropriate to the sun setting in the west, behind trees, as to the sun rising in the east. And in any case, the scene as described above is not the picture conceived and drawn by the early Chinese artist for the character 東 *tung*.

The excavations in Honan have disclosed not only the normal form of *tung*, but several variants (and that they are variants is certain), which are shown below, and prove at once that the sun goes out of the picture.



And what takes the place of the sun? A more prosaic and and homely object is represented, as Mr. Hsü Chung-shu, 徐中舒, explains in the following note²:—

"The character 東 *tung* is the archaic form of the [modern] character 囊 *t'o* [a sack, bag, or hold-all]. The *P'i Ts'ang* [of Chang I, circa A.D. 230] states that when without a bottom, the article is termed 囊 *t'o*, and with a bottom, it is called 囊 *nang*. The *Ts'ang Chieh P'ien* [of Li Ssü] says that *nang* is a *t'o* without a bottom. To fill things into a sack and to tie its two ends, is figured by the form 𡗗.

¹ See Lo Chên-yü's *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i*, No. 1, ch. 3, p. 20, No. 2, ch. 2, p. 5, No. 3, ch. 6, p. 26, No. 4, ch. 6, p. 46, No. 5, in Jung Kêng's *Yin Ch'i Pu Tz'ü*, vol. i, Fig. 403.

² Cited in Chu Fang-p'u's 朱芳圃, *Chia Ku Hsueh* 甲骨學, Part I, Inscriptions, Section 6, pp. 2, 3.

On a certain Bronze Ting, the character 重 *chung*, heavy, is written 𧰨, which depicts a man carrying on his back a sack, 象人負囊形 *hsiang jên fu nang hsing*. With a bag to pack things, 囊以貯物 *t'o i chu wu*. 'Things,' 物 *wu*, later ages called 'tung-hsi 東西' [which is also the term for things in the colloquial, lit. east-west], and *tung-hsi* is a changed pronunciation of 囊 *nang*, 東西者囊之轉音也, *tung-hsi chē nang chih chuan yin yeh*."

I must confess that I cannot understand how the two syllables *tung-hsi*, or even only *tung* the first of these, can be termed a changed pronunciation, or changed final, of the syllable *nang*. But with the main assertion of Mr. Hsü Chung-shu that 東 *tung*, and its variants shown above, represent a sort of hold-all secured by tying at both ends, or, in the alternative, as I conjectured in *Pict. Recon.* No. 4, in *JRAS.*, January, 1922, a bundle of firewood tied round the middle, I am in agreement. The future will no doubt show which of these two ascriptions is correct. But I may call attention to the last sentence of the Paper just referred to, which ran: "Particular note should be taken that in one (I should now write *two*) of our examples the burden carried would, if standing alone, be the character 東 *tung*, East." These two examples were, 𧰨 𧰨.

Hsü Chung-shu's explanation is followed by a short note by Mr. Ting Shan, 丁山, who, after remarking that "Hsü's explanation very is", or as we should put it, "is very sound," goes on to comment on the *Shuo Wen*'s derivation of the character 囊 *p'iao* from 囊 *hun*, contracted, and adds, "But the truth is that the component element 𧰨 is 囊 *nang*, . . . When a *nang* has nothing inside it, but is bound at both ends, it is accordingly termed a 束 *su*, or bundle; but after being filled with things, it appears swollen, 則形拓大 *tse hsing t'o ta*, and 𧰨 is a *nang* that is swollen, hence the term *t'o 囊*. Now *t'o* and *tung* have the same initials [dentals],

hence the borrowing in the archaic script to write *tung* in the expression 東方 *tung fang*, the Eastern Quarter.

Ting Shan's conclusion that 𠂔 is the old form of *nang*, an empty sack, seems reasonable enough, but unfortunately that form is found as a variant of 東 *tung* in a broken fragment of three characters transcribed by Jung Kêng¹ as 𠂔 自 東 *ch'ên tzu tung*, in his Fig. No. 403, of which words *tzü tung* is clearly "from the East", while "from a sack" is clearly senseless.

To sum up shortly. The character now written 東 *tung* was not a combination of *wood* and *sun*, but pictured some sort of sack or hold-all capable of being secured by tying at each end when filled for carrying on the back. This is the view of Mr. Hsü Chung-shu, and Mr. Ting Shan, which no doubt may be right. Personally, I think it possible that their supposed sack or 囊 *t'o*, was rather a load of sticks secured by lashing round the middle of the burden.

Mr. Hsü lays it down in four words, "Tung (東) is the archaic character *t'o* (囊)"; this *may* be correct, but the phonetic identity of the existing syllables *tung* and *t'o* in ancient times, requires somewhat more evidence than the statement of Mr. Ting Shan that *tung* and *t'o* both have dental initial consonants.

And if I may hazard a conjecture (but not a random guess), in view of the sound and original sense of the word *tung*, and the construction of the character, it is to 重 *chung*, heavy, that the future will show 東 *tung* to be related.

良 *Liang*, Good, kind, fair.

The composition and significance of this character, as explained by the *Shuo Wen*, are hopelessly unconvincing. It gives 𠂔 as the Lesser Seal, and adds three *ku wên* forms, which only increase the fog enveloping the origin of the character, they are 𠂔, 𠂔, 𠂔.

¹ In his 殷契卜辭 *Yin Ch'î Pu Tz'ü*, vol. ii.

The Lesser Seal differs but little, it will be seen, from the third of Hsü Shên's alleged *ku wên* forms. His analysis of the Lesser Seal is: From 富 *fu*, full, contracted, and 𠂔 *wang*, for the phonetic; an explanation, which fails to satisfy, and on which Tuan Yü-ts'ai in his edition has nothing to say.

The Bronzes have examples such as 𠂔 *Chün Ku Lu* *Chin Wen*, vol. vii, p. 17; 𠂔 *ibid.*, p. 70; 𠂔 *ibid.*, 9, p. 38; 𠂔 Cowrie, H. 333.

But neither do these forms help us much. There remains, however, a type, found only so far in three examples, on which I have founded a conjecture, though I do not wish to stress it overmuch, that may prove the solution of the origin of this character. The examples are, 𠂔 twice, on a fragment of bone illustrated in Lo Chên-yü's *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i*, ch. 2, p. 21. Here the character is preceded by 在 *tsai*, at, in one case, and by 于 *yü*, in the other, and appears to be a place-name. The third example, occurs in composition, in 狼 *lang*, wolf, in ch. 6, p. 48, of the same work, as 𠂔.

The equation of these forms with 良 *liang* is not mine only, but was published by Wang Hsiang 王襄 many years ago, and after him by Shang Ch'êng-tsu. Jung Kêng in his *Yin Ch'i Pu Tz'ü* is silent as to the character.

The conjecture that I now venture to put forward is that this form 𠂔 represents a stream crossed by a bridge; that it is the archaic original of 梁 *liang*, a bridge, and was borrowed, as a convenient homophone, to write 良 *liang*, good, the word we have been considering.

It is pertinent to recall that no archaic example of 梁 *liang*, bridge, has yet been found so far as I am aware. And there I will leave both the brook and the bridge, for those to cross who can.

The Dating of Chinese Bronzes

By BERNHARD KARLGREN

ONE of the fundamental tasks of archæological research in regard to the dating of archaic Chinese bronzes is to determine which bronzes date in the Chou period and which are pre-Chou, i.e. of the Yin (Shang) period. In my work "Yin and Chou in Chinese Bronzes" (in *Yin and Chou Researches*, 1935, also in *Bull. Mus. Far East Ant.*, 1936), I have tried to establish a real dating in regard to a great number of inscribed bronzes by aid of their inscriptions. I found three types of inscriptions which I concluded to be of pre-Chou time: those containing the so-called 亞 *ya hing*, those which had the three symbols traditionally (but very tentatively) interpreted as 析子孫 *si ts' sun*, and those which had the symbol traditionally transcribed as 舉 *kü*. In this way I obtained a considerable number of illustrated bronzes which I used as research material for determining the types of bronzes existing prior to the Chou era.

In an article "Notes on Professor Karlgren's system for dating Chinese Bronzes", in *JRAS.*, 1936 (p. 463 ff.), Mr. Herrlee Glessner Creel has called in question the correctness of my conclusions as to the date of the *ya hing*, *si ts' sun*, and *kü* bronzes. He writes (p. 466):—

"Reduced to its simplest terms, his method is first to find three symbols occurring in inscriptions, which he refers to as *ya hing*, *si ts' sun*, and *kü*, which he postulates as Shang. To test this he has selected a corpus of 108 inscriptions, in which one of these symbols occurs together with 'real texts', i.e. several readable characters. Examining these he concludes that 'None of these texts contain anything that points to Chou'. He continues: 'In category A below we have brought together 337 cases of the three inscription symbols; they are all cases in which we have pictures of the vessels. If we were to add the *ya hing*, *si ts' sun*, and *kü* inscriptions occurring

in non-illustrated publications, the number would rise to something between 450 and 500. These 450-500 bronze inscriptions never contain Chou time criteria; the 649 inscriptions of categories B, C, and D, which contain Chou time criteria, never have the *ya hing*, the *si tsü sun*, the *kü*. Our conclusion that these three symbols existed only in Yin time and were obsolete in Chou time is fully corroborated' (p. 23).

... "All this is rather complicated and a bit confusing. Yet logically it is a distinctly weak chain. . . . Furthermore, the crucial terms in this argument are left wholly undefined. Karlgren never tells us what are the 'Chou time criteria' which his 450-500 hypothetically Shang bronzes lack. Nor, incidentally, does he ever deal with the fact that mere absence of Chou time criteria does not at all prove that a bronze is Shang. Fundamentally we are asked to believe that 'None of these texts contain anything that points to Chou' because Professor Karlgren tells us that this is the case. No other evidence is given us, and the whole case rests upon this point. Basically, the argument is one from authority rather than from proof."

Nothing could be more erroneous than these remarks of Mr. Herrlee Glessner Creel's. They grossly misrepresent both the contents of my book and my line of argument.

In the first place, it is so little true that "Karlgren never tells us what are the 'Chou time criteria' which his 450-500 hypothetically Shang bronzes lack" that I have devoted a large section (pp. 30-83) of my book to a detailed analysis of the points in the 649 inscriptions (sections B, C, and D) which form "Chou time criteria", i.e. indicate them as belonging to the Chou period. Roughly summed up, these Chou time criteria are: Names of kings of the Chou dynasty, temple names of the Chou kings, names of the Chou capitals, Tsung Chou, Ch'eng Chou, and P'ang king, names of princes, of princesses, or other persons with the clan names of the feudal states of Chou time, names of other persons known to be of the Chou time.

That these were the "Chou time criteria" on which I built was fully and explicitly stated in several places of my book. In my summary, p. 135, I said: "By purely epigraphical arguments we have set aside a group of 337 vessels . . . as having been made in Yin time: their characters *ya*, *si ts'i sun*, *kü* never (with two exceptions) occur in our 649 inscriptions *which contain Chou time names and facts*." And most fully I developed my argument on p. 21:—

"These three symbols frequently occur together with real texts of sometimes considerable length. Thus, if they were current in Chou time at all, we should expect them to crop up sometimes in the beginning or at the end of the 649 inscriptions which we can prove to be of the Chou era.

"When these three symbols stand together with real texts, the latter never contain anything which points with any certainty to the Chou period, i.e. these texts are never of the kind which we have registered in categories B, C, and D below; in other words: the inscriptions which we have registered in categories B, C, and D, and which have this in common that they all contain something which reveals them to be of the Chou epoch,¹ never have (in the same way as they sometimes have other extra symbols, e.g. the 𠂔 and a bird . . .) an additional *ya* or *si ts'i sun* or *kü*.

"There can only be one conclusion: these three symbols, the *ya hing*, the *si ts'i sun*, and the *kü*, were OBSOLETE at the time when the Chou dynasty started. If they are never combined with provable Chou inscriptions, in spite of the fact that they do occur together with real texts, it is because they are of another age than the Chou inscriptions: and since they are not from Han time (this being excluded by the script type of their texts), they date from pre-Chou time, i.e. from the Yin dynasty."

It is easily seen that it cannot be said, with Mr. Herrlee Glessner Creel, that "this is logically a distinctly weak chain";

¹ I.e. of course: Chou time names and facts, as fully developed on pp. 30–83.

nor that "the crucial terms of this argument are left wholly undefined"; nor that "we are asked to believe that none of these texts (i.e. of the *ya hing*, etc., bronzes) contain anything that points to Chou because Professor Karlgren tells us that this is the case"; nor that "basically the argument is one from authority rather than from proof". On the contrary, the argument is very complete and definite and also very cautious. It would be difficult to find a scientific argument forming less of a "logically weak chain". It is strictly logical and conclusive:

The only real and binding Chou time criteria in an inscription are necessarily Chou time names and facts;

Our 337 illustrated vessels with *ya hing*, *si ts'i sun*, and *kü* inscriptions never (but for two exceptions) contain any Chou time names and facts, and our 649 inscribed vessels containing Chou time names and facts never have *ya hing*, *si ts'i sun*, or *kü*;

Ergo the 337 vessels do not belong to the Chou period but to the pre-Chou period.

This conclusion is something very different from Mr. Herrlee Glessner Creel's formulation "that mere absence of Chou time criteria does not at all prove that a bronze is Shang". If I had operated with ten or twenty inscribed vessels, my argument would not have been conclusive. But when it comes to about 1,000 inscriptions, matters stand differently. It is inconceivable that 649 inscriptions, containing Chou time names and facts ("Chou time criteria") should lack the *ya hing*, *si ts'i sun*, and *kü*, if these latter symbols were really current in Chou time, when at the same time we have hundreds of vessels with these symbols, sometimes in lengthy inscriptions, which never contain Chou time names and facts. My conclusion is therefore not a tentative theory; it is, as far as I can see, a *fait acquis*, based on a strictly logical argument, and a very useful *fait acquis* at that, since it gives us a comprehensive bronze material proved to be pre-Chou.

When I said just now: "The only real and binding Chou

time criteria in an inscription are necessarily Chou time names and facts," I touched upon another question also discussed by Mr. Herrlee Glessner Creel, a question which is far more important, since his paper, on this point, contains a positive idea of his. He writes (p. 469):—

"If Professor Karlgren considers that 'None of these texts contain anything that points to Chou', there are many who will disagree with him. The very form of the characters of many of these inscriptions . . . seems definitely of the Chou period. But that criterion is difficult to express objectively. Let us consider the character 彝 *i* 'sacrificial vessel', which happens to occur twenty-six times in the forty-four of Karlgren's supposedly Shang inscriptions I have studied. Sun Hai-po quotes four Shang forms of this character in his great index to the bone inscriptions; we know the Chou form from innumerable bronze inscriptions. They differ in that whereas the Chou form in almost every case shows the 'hour-glass' shaped excrescence on the tail of the bird which becomes 采 in the modern script, the Shang forms in every case lack it. But every one of these twenty-six instances of the character *i* occurring in supposedly Shang inscriptions quoted by Karlgren agrees, not with the Shang but with the Chou form."

This is very interesting. It would seem that the author has found a valuable criterion: inscriptions the character forms of which do not agree with those known from the Yin (Shang) oracle bones, but with those occurring in sure Chou inscriptions (sure because they contain Chou names and facts) are not from Yin but from Chou time.

And yet he is entirely wrong. His theory would purport, on the one hand that the character forms known from early Chou inscriptions did *not* exist anterior to Chou, on the other hand that no script forms existed in Yin (Shang) time different from those of the oracle bones; but this surmise is incorrect.

It is a fact well known and recognized by the Chinese scholars from the first appearance of the oracle bones

that the bone graphs and the *bronze graphs of Yin time* were in many respects different, largely due to the difference in material and technique. And that this is so can be definitely proved. In an excellent article, "Ku wen ts'i chung ch'i Shang Chou tsi si" ("The Shang and Chou Sacrifices in the Archaic Documents") in the *Yen king hüe pao*, 19, Mr. 陳夢家 Ch'en Meng-kia has adduced as examples of Shang (i.e. Yin) bronze inscriptions bearing upon sacrifices ten lengthy inscriptions (with an average of thirty characters)¹ and there cannot be the slightest doubt that Mr. Ch'en is right: the contents, name forms, date forms, phraseology are quite in the same tenor as the oracle bones, and obviously of Yin date. And yet the bronze graphs, in many instances, do not at all agree with the oracle bone graphs but with those well known from provable early Chou inscriptions.

Quite particularly amusing is the very example chosen by the author, the character 彝 *i*, which is stated by him to occur, not in its "Shang form" but in its "Chou form" in twenty-six of my "supposedly Shang inscriptions". In several of the Yin (Shang) bronze inscriptions adduced by Ch'en Meng-kia (e.g. Kün ku lu kin wen, 2 hia, 80, *ibid.*, 2 hia, 86, T'ao chai ki kin lu, 3, 32, Cheng sung t'ang tsi ku i wen, pu shang, 13—the last one with *ya hing* at the end!) we find it in what Mr. Herr'lee Glessner Creel calls its "Chou form", with the "hour-glass"-shaped excrescence at the end of the tail. This is all the more funny because one of these inscriptions, the famous "Mou-ch'en" inscription of Kün ku lu, 2 hia, 86, has been universally recognized by the Chinese oracle bone experts (Lo Chen-yü, Ye Yü-sen, Kuo Mo-jo, etc.) as a typical and indubitable Yin bronze inscription and made use of for throwing light on some difficult points in the bone

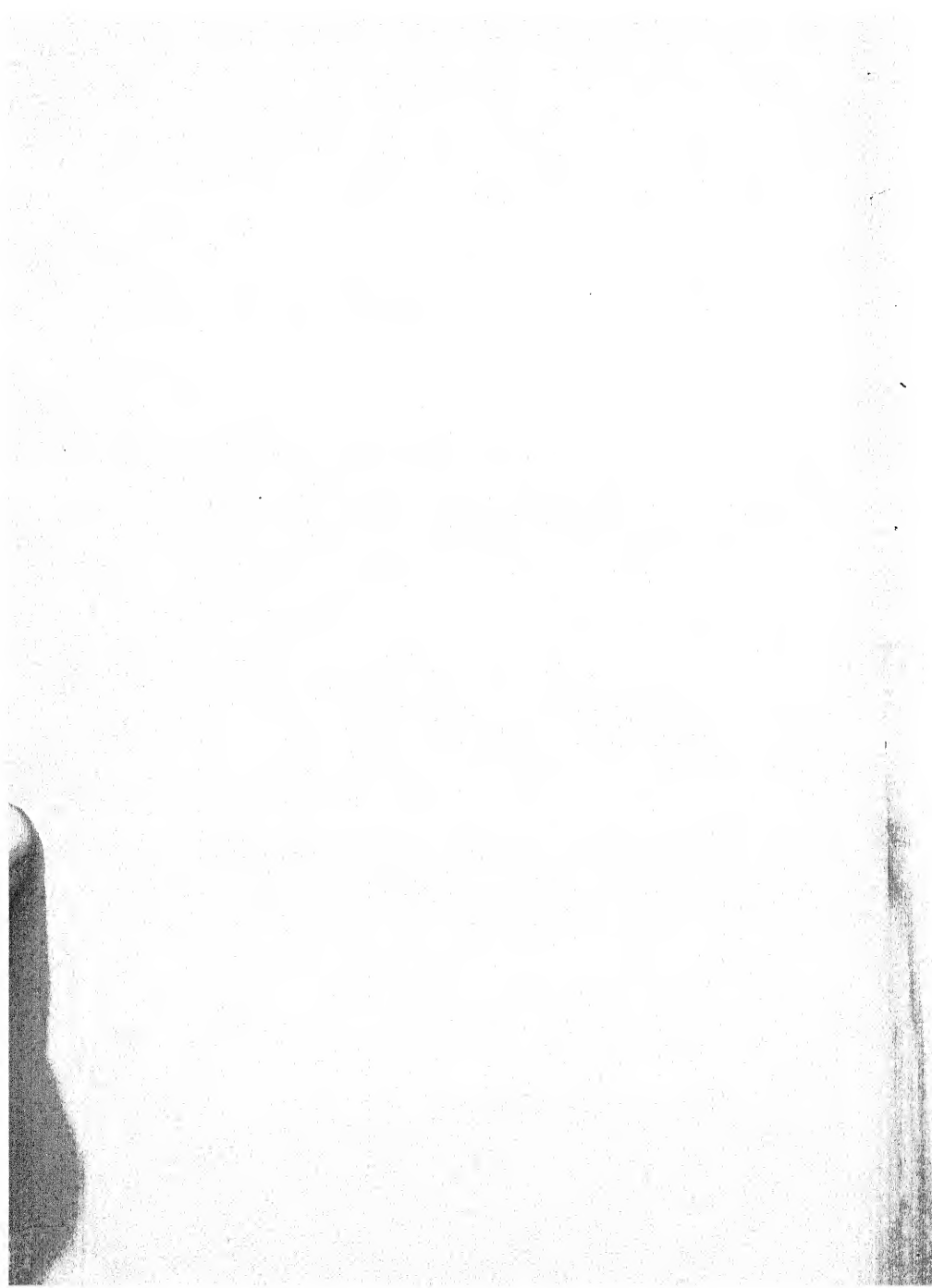
¹ Mr. Herrlee Glessner Creel refers to his Chinese teachers ("an argument from authority rather than proof") for the opinion that the Yin inscriptions extremely seldom run to more than one or two characters. This is a view not at all shared by many Chinese "authorities" (cf. e.g. the *Yin wen ts'un* and *Sü Yin wen ts'un*), and is decidedly wrong.

epigraphy. In this famous Yin bronze inscription the 彝 *i* is written in what Mr. Herrlee Glessner Creel insists is Chou fashion as against Yin fashion (the latter being determined by a reference to Sun Hai-po's concordance to the bone inscriptions), i.e. with the "hour-glass" excrescence which he makes a shibboleth. Here his argument breaks down entirely.

Let us proceed one step further. The author tells us that his teacher, Professor Liu Tsie, considers that the formula 寶尊彝 *pao tsun i* is to be taken, "tentatively at least," as a criterion of Chou date. It is somewhat unfortunate for him that this formula occurs in the very bronze inscription, Cheng sung t'ang, Pu shang 13 (that with the *ya hing* at the end!), which not only Ch'en Meng-kia has adduced as a Yin (Shang) inscription, but also the great authority Lo Chen-yü has expressly defined as being of Yin time, not of Chou time.

The fact remains : the only real, reliable, and binding Chou criteria in an inscription are, as I have stated *passim* in my book and repeated here, the mentioning in it of CHOU TIME NAMES AND FACTS.

It is unnecessary to continue. Sufficient light has been shed on the nature and value of the remarks made by Mr. Herrlee Glessner Creel.



Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm and Shauqī

BY A. J. ARBERRY

IN the summer of 1933, within the short space of two months, Egypt, and with her the whole Islamic world, was twice plunged into deep mourning, by the deaths of two men who, widely divergent in circumstances and character though they were, were in their generation the greatest and the most universally esteemed of Arabic poets. In their own country they had won titles which well indicate the appreciation, even the affection which they enjoyed: Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm was called the "Poet of the Nile", but Shauqī was called the "Prince of Poets".

Modern Arabic poetry is, however, in the West a most neglected study: and if foreigners to the language have been slow to recognize such merits as it may contain, they are at least to be condoned for their remissness; for even Egyptian critics were long unwilling to admit the greatness of their fellow-countrymen. So one distinguished scholar has written: "We have writers among us who have made innovations in prose, and writers who have renovated the classical prose-style: these writers have two merits, the merit of innovating what never existed before, and the merit of renovating what time had put into oblivion. We also have poets: but they have innovated nothing, they have invented nothing, they have produced nothing new. They have only acquired their personality from antiquity, and borrowed their literary glory from the ancients. They have only one merit—the merit of renovation: they continue to lack the complementary merit of innovation and creation."¹

Behind this sweeping condemnation lies a whole literary controversy. Professor H. A. R. Gibb's *Studies in Contemporary Arabic Literature* have traced the striking developments in prose-style which, largely under the impetus of

¹ Taha Ḥusain, *Ḥāfiẓ wa-Shauqī*, p. 9.

journalism, have effected a fundamental change in the very basis of Arabic prose. The problem of adapting the medieval Arabic of the early nineteenth century to the changed circumstances and exacting requirements of modern life may be said to have been very largely solved : though lexicography still presents many great difficulties, which it is the labour of the Royal Egyptian Academy to circumvent. In this revolution poetry played no part. Poetry, until comparatively recently, was not directly affected by changing circumstances : and in the very nature of things poetry is far more conservative than prose, especially Arabic poetry, which has always been confined by the chains forged by grammarians and prosodists. The following specimens, selected from the writings of two well-known poets of the nineteenth century, show how rigid Arabic poetry remained during this period of flux.

From a satire of Yāziji (d. 1871) :—

Keep from me ! I do not heed thee ;
 Well have I discerned thy treason.
 Yea, I know thee, and can read thee :
 Never man had better reason.

I have lived with thee at leisure
 Till my heart is weary of thee.
 Thou hast sickened me past measure—
 Go, I do not longer love thee !

From an elegy by the same :—

Death ever takes our cherished loves away,
 Yet does not wrong in this, for so we prize.
 Now he has stol'n that pearl, upon whose ray
 The watching Pleiads wept with envious eyes.
 We had a treasure, reckoned it our own :
 A swift fate swooped and snatched, and it was gone.

Bārūdī (d. 1905), a distinguished politician in his day, while keeping closely to the conventional forms of classical Arabic poetry, already shows some traces of a more modern spirit. The following extract exhibits his skill in *ghazal* :—

Love left a little fragment of my mind,
 But separation hath destroyed it all :

My sight deceived my heart ; impetuous, blind,
It followed after passion to its fall.

Thou hast possessed my heart : do what thou wilt
With it, for so a master may design.
If it obeyed thee, count that not for guilt ;
Thou madest it thy slave, and it is thine.

Now careless laughter yields to fruitless tears,
Fair hope by dull despair is dispossessed.
My soul trod passion's path, and knew no fears :
That path knows no companion, and no rest.

I

Hāfiz Ibrāhīm was born at Cairo, of comparatively poor parents, on 4th February, 1872. After passing through the state primary and secondary schools he entered the Military Academy, from which he graduated with the rank of 2nd Lieutenant in the Artillery. His period of active service was entirely spent in the Sudan, where he was under the command of Lord Kitchener. To this period belong some of his most popular poems, poems full of yearning for his native city and his friends there, poems which already breathe that spirit of patriotism which was afterwards to become a blazing flame, burning through the souls of his countrymen. In a letter to some friends in Cairo he writes :—

From one whose weary eyelids sleep doth flee,
Outcast of fate, and wronged by destiny,
For ever severed from sweet intercourse
Of friends, heart sickened with a vain remorse,
To you, my fellows most desirable,
Dear boon-companions of the beaker full,
Who swore a mighty oath ye would not rest
Until this land holds not a soul oppressed :
What boots the Muse of melody and song,
What the sweet minstrel, noblest of his throng,
Than whom Abū Tammām piped not more clear,
Since men, grown heedless of the fleeting year,
Tire the Recording Angel with their vices drear ?
Greetings I send, more fair than chaliced rose,
Warmer than health that in firm body glows,

Greetings of love that ever doth augment,
 A love that cannot into words be pent.
 O might I know if fate will yield at last
 And speed me to you, or if death shall cast
 His sudden dart, and hold me evermore
 In these enfolding hills, where lions roar
 At their red banquet, answering the shrill groans
 Of jackals battling for my whitened bones !
 If my day comes, and I must yield to death,
 By God's name I adjure you, and our faith,
 That, when ye sit together, and the cup
 Is passed by slender *saqi*, and ye sup,
 When the full moon doth cast her shadows long,
 Ye will remember him who shaped this song.

In 1899 Ḥāfiẓ was transferred to the reserves, and then given a commission in the Police, with the same rank ; there, however, he stayed only a short while, and then retired after seeing fourteen years' service in Army and Police together. He was now back in Cairo, and casting about him for means to extract full advantage from his poetical gifts. From early years he had had a passionate love for poetry, and shared that marvellous gift of committing to memory which is the common heritage of Islamic peoples. He could recite long stanzas from Abū Tammām, Abū Nuwās, Buḥturī, Ibn al-Rūmī, Ma'arrī, and many others of the classical poets. To this period belongs a group of poems which make strange bedfellows with his later productions : the panegyrics, the elegies, the occasional pieces with which he sought to win the favour of the Court and the wealthy families. Skilful pieces they are, fully caparisoned with all the well-trying blandishments, all the pious hyperboles which had ever wrung a bag of dinars from a sensitive patron's hand. But Ḥāfiẓ had misjudged his age. The Court was already fully satisfied with a young man of great promise named Aḥmad Shauqī, who had been to Europe and spoke French, and could find no room for a soldier and a policeman, however lyrical. Other patrons were scarcely to be found in this new ungenerous age. Only one patron remained, and to that patron Ḥāfiẓ turned

at last : a fickle patron, a patron that paid ill, but a patron after his own heart. Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm became the Poet of the People.

"The life of Ḥāfiẓ," writes Ḥusain Bey Haikal, the distinguished journalist, "as it appears in his poetry, portrays an entire age in the life of the Egyptian people."¹ "The soul of Ḥāfiẓ," says Ṭaha Ḥusain, "was distinguished by two things. The first was a power and fineness of perception joined with a generous, noble character ; the second was a marvellously strong attachment between this powerful soul and the souls of the masses, their yearnings and desires, their aspirations and ideals. He was not an individual living by himself for himself : all Egypt, nay, all the East, nay, all humanity was at times living in this man, feeling with his senses . . . I know of no poet in these days who has so made his nature a true, pure mirror to his own life and the life of the people as did Ḥāfiẓ."² Truly Ḥāfiẓ served his patron well. This was a patron not only to be flattered ; this was a patron not only to be cajoled : this was a patron to be exhorted and entreated, to be railed at and assailed. This was a patron whom the poet must not follow, but lead. Ḥāfiẓ soon established himself as it were the standard-bearer of an army of ardent nationalists, in revolt against an alien administration. Rarely has such patriotic poetry been written. His poetry of this period, the best period of his literary life, is the poetry of a most ardent lover. So he writes, urging his countrymen to bestir themselves, if they are to attain the freedom which they all profess to desire :—

O Nile ! the time of sleep is past and done.

While Egypt slumbers, within Egypt's shores
Stirs an awakening ; the drug-dazed brain

Too long has numbed her sinews. When God pours
New life into a nation, neither might

Nor tyrant's threat thereafter e'er restores
That state to death. O children of the dawn

So long awaited, lo, your land implores

¹ *Dhikrā 'l-shā'irain*, p. 19.

² *Ḥāfiẓ wa-Shauqī*, pp. 152-3.

That ye remember. Labour now like men,
 Be strong! Stand guard upon your homestead doors,
 Be free! If ye a Constitution seek,
 Doubt not, nor still repine for well-paid scores :
 His right was never won, who slept on sword,
 His never lost who flinched not from the wars.¹

If he could not move his countrymen with such an appeal as this, he could remind them of the past glory of Islam. If those who were now grown men would not accept his challenge, then he must put his hopes in the younger generation, the generation of boys still at school, still learning, their minds filled with the stories of the old Muslim heroes and kings. He teaches them to recite :—

Give back to us our fame and piety,
 Defend the Moslem's proud heredity.
 To God, and God alone, we bow the knee :
 Our sires were knights of war and victory.

We ruled the world an age, and nobly bore
 A glorious name which lives for evermore :
 Came Omar, and the Chosroes' rule was o'er ;
 Such were the golden days of equity.

The skies rained tribute, when Haroun was lord :
 Men lived at leisure ; laden was their board ;
 And virtue found a plenteous reward.
 Our watchword echoed, "Peace, and clemency!"

Ask of Baghdad, "Didst thou a rival own
 When men's religion was Islam alone?"
 Virtue had not through ease to softness grown,
 And knowledge crowned a "claimed supremacy".

We break their faith, unless we burst the bars
 That hem the East, and heal its ancient scars,
 And raise, like them, its glory to the stars,
 Or with proud spirit yield—to destiny!²

It was not only the glory of Islam by which Hāfiz could conjure his followers. For centuries the Pyramids and the Sphinx had been an insoluble enigma to the Egyptians : now scholars had come from the West and resolved that riddle,

¹ *Dhikrā 'l-shā'irain*, p. 54.

² *Ibid.*, p. 256.

and in resolving it revealed a past glory of which the Egypt of Islam had never dreamed. Ḥāfiẓ was quick to grasp the significance of these discoveries : he created the myth of the Immortal Egypt, an Egypt which had been highly civilized when the peoples who now ruled her were savages, an Egypt which would endure, gloriously reborn, long after the West had relapsed into its native savagery. This was a battle-cry indeed ; and as a warrior he cries, through the lips of a personified Egypt :—

The people stood, for they were fain to see
 How I should build fame's firm foundations
 Alone : let those who raised the Pyramids
 In ancient times suffice me for my boast
 When others strive. I am the East's fair crown,
 And grace her brow, as she with myriad pearls
 Adorns my throat. Can any thing be named
 Whose loveliness the Western peoples boast
 Wherein I have no share ? My soil is gold,
 My stream Euphrates, and my sky bright steel :
 Where flows my runnel, vines, and gilded flowers,
 And laurels green abound. Were justice done,
 My men would lord it over old and youth
 Far as the eye can reach ; had they their scope,
 They would discover miracles of wit
 In every science. If the gods decreed
 That I should die, the East must hang her head
 Thereafter. Never man drew bow at me
 And went unscathed : God's hand is my defence,
 Forever. Many an empire has designed
 To work me evil, and has ceased to be :
 So perish all transgressors ! Say to them
 Who doubt my people's glory, and deny
 My sons' accomplishment : "Have ye not stood
 Beneath the Greater Pyramid, and seen
 What I have laboured ? Have ye not beheld
 Those magic carvings which defeat the art
 Of any rival craftsman ? Centuries
 Have not assailed their pigments, though the day
 Itself turn colour. Do ye understand
 Those mysteries of hidden lore, which I
 Hold secret in my cloak ? My glory stands
 Unrivalled, rooted in eternity."¹

¹ *Dhikrā 'l-shā'irain*, pp. 241-2.

In another mood he can write, with a true poet's vision :—

He mastered knowledge to his bent
 That he might raise a monument
 Above Nile's sloping banks, to be
 A sign, a deathless memory.
 What glowering frown wears yonder pile ?
 Fond memory doth ever smile.
 What skill sublime and wondrous brave
 Designed this broken tyrant's grave ?
 Would art had had a worthier trust
 Than thus to sanctify the dust !
 For they had crafts beyond our ken,
 And sciences that lesser men
 Lack wit to grasp ; with dexterous hand
 To rich invention wed, they planned
 Fair idols men might be forgiven
 For worshipping, in hope of heaven.
 These things they planned ; their day is o'er :
 Time seals their secrets evermore.¹

So for some years Ḥāfīz eked out a living, constantly moving with the great though himself barely supported by the proceeds of his military pension and the meagre gleanings of his writings. In 1911, however, some influential friends found him a secure position in the Egyptian Library, where he remained until his retirement in 1932. As one of his biographers has said, his friends were probably moved to do this for him having in mind the practice which not uncommonly obtains in European countries, and more especially in France, where distinguished men of letters find refuge in libraries and museums from pressing financial problems, and there devote their quiet years to study and writing. Unfortunately, however, from one cause or another, the wells of the poet's genius appeared suddenly to dry up. Lacking the all-powerful motive of threatened penury to spur him on, Ḥāfīz relapsed into the fatally easy and genial life of perpetual coffee-houses and tea-parties. The flame of prophecy was swallowed up in the smoke of cigarettes.

It was on his patriotic poems that the fame of Ḥāfīz was built up. They were his most original contribution to Arabic

¹ Ibid., p. 290.

literature ; and there is little doubt that it will be by them, ephemeral as much of them are, that Ḥāfiẓ will live. His ode celebrating the victory of the Japanese over the Russians, which he heralds as a sign that the East is about to roll the wave of conquest back on the West, and as an encouragement to his own countrymen ; the striking dialogue written after the burning of Smyrna and the defeat of the Greeks ; the wrathful denunciation which he hurled at Great Britain on the occasion of the Dinshawai incident ; his graceful tribute to Lord Cromer on his retirement ; these and many other poems which in their day electrified his followers, will need to be taken into account by the future historian, when he comes to analyse the forces and motives which underlay the Egyptian movement for independence. Nor was the skill of Ḥāfiẓ less strikingly displayed in his more strictly classical pieces. His fame as a writer of elegies is well illustrated by the following passage, the exordium of his ode on the death of Saad Zaghlul :—

Night, didst thou witness what disaster sore

Hath flooded like a torrent in our breast ?

Dawn was not risen, when from East to West

The tidings ran : " Our leader is no more."

Tell to the stars : " Saad's radiant day is o'er."

Heaven's constellations are in sable dressed :

White noonday is by darkness dispossessed ;

Night wove a covering, which day's sun wore.

Say to the night, O sun, " Earth's star is set,

And vanished from the earth ; so I depart

From heaven, and veil my face." In mourning weeds

Let me be wrapped, for heavy is my heart.

Mourn thou with me awhile, lest we forget :

A noble grief is loveliest of deeds.¹

In February, 1932, Ḥāfiẓ retired from his post in the Egyptian Library. One of his friends tells us that he then formed great plans of writing, of writing finer poems than he had ever penned before. But fate decreed otherwise ; on a hot day of July in that same year he was suddenly taken ill, and died that night.

¹ Ibid., p. 247.

Shauqī, his famous contemporary and brother-poet, lived long enough to write an elegy for Ḥāfiz, which opens :—

I had preferred that thou my pæan hadst said,
O thou that from the living, being dead,
Takest thy wage : but thou hast gone ahead.

For, whether a man is given length of days,
Or whether sudden fortune strikes, and slays,
He knows his fate, and, being wise, obeys.

So, when God summoned thee, with little pain
Thou didst depart, and comest to that Plain
Where dwells the Prince for whom thy heart is fain.

There dwells Muhammad, with the company
Of all the saints : divine authority
Shines on his brow, and true felicity.

Now is thy longing ended ; now ye tell
Of all the anguish that in time befel ;
Together ye taste bliss, and all is well.¹

II

Aḥmad Shauqī was born in 1868. His father was a Government official of no very high rank. Shauqī was fond of relating that he numbered among his ancestors, besides Egyptians, Arabs, Turks, Greeks, and Circassians. He was educated with a view to becoming a lawyer, and in 1887 went to Montpellier to complete his studies. Here he came into close contact with the French peasants, with whom he loved to live and talk : and how deep an influence these early years in Europe had on him is reflected throughout his writings, and perhaps more especially by the fact that it was at this time that he made the first draft of a drama which he did not ultimately complete until the year of his death—Ali Bey the Great, a historical drama of the Mamelukes.

To this period also belong some of his more curious poems, poems of great erudition, which might have been written by a court-poet of the fourth century, and which in his printed *Dīwān* are furnished with copious footnotes quite indispensable

¹ Ibid., p. 175.

to their interpretation. To this period, and to the years which followed his return to Egypt, when he became attached to the service of the Khedive, belong also his elegies and panegyrics, his set-pieces and occasional verses, which were the foundation of his fame. Excellent no doubt as much of this poetry is, judged by classical canons, yet these poems may not unjustly be said, in the words of the distinguished critic, to "have only one merit—the merit of renovation".¹ It is not proposed, therefore, to quote from them here.

It is a little curious that Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm, who was always accounted by his countrymen by far the more revolutionary of the two poets in politics, should have spent all his days securely in Egypt, whereas Shauqī was in exile for some years. It was a fortunate chance, however, that made him choose Spain as the country where he should spend the troubled years of the War and after-War period. When he was allowed to return to Egypt in 1920 he brought back with him a sheaf of poems written in the true Andalusian style, as well as material which he subsequently worked up into his only prose-drama, *The Princess of Andalusia*. His return was marked by a rapturous reception at the Cairo Opera House, at which he recited a notable poem beginning:—

So, I have come at last, when hope seemed lost,
To thee, my country! I have found again
My vanished youth. So every tempest-tossed
And lonely wanderer, if God ordain,
One day comes home. Yet, were it doomed to me,
I should make thee my faith, and chant my prayer
With thee my *qibla*; yea, and I would dare
Ev'n death, if I must die, defending thee!²

When Shauqī is remembered as the Poet of Princes it is sometimes forgotten that he was as true and ardent a patriot as Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm. His intense loyalty to Islam is also displayed in many notable poems, among them his famous panegyric in honour of the Prophet's birthday.

¹ See above, p. 41.

² *Shauqīyāt*, i, p. 56.

Apart from the very considerable bulk of poetry of the strictly classical type Shauqī also wrote much in which he is consciously striving after the creation of something new in Arabic verse. Among his most interesting experiments is a not very distinguished epic on the history of the early Caliphs. This long poem is written in rhyming couplets in imitation of the Persian epic, and may fairly be regarded as marking an epoch in Arabic poetry. As an experiment it was not successful, chiefly because the theme was intolerably frigid : but at least Shauqī has demonstrated that epic can be written in the Arabic language, and it is possible that what he began others will yet bring to perfection.

Shauqī indeed was not alone in feeling this need for some new form in poetry : though he did far more to create new forms than was ever done by critics who were more vociferous than he in proclaiming the need of them. Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm also strove to innovate. In an interesting early poem, which he dedicates to poetry, he writes :—

Physician of the soul, by virtue sired,
 Thou art destroyed to mind and fantasy :
 Thy East yet sleeps in leaden lethargy,
 Its peoples indolent, and uninspired.
 They have debased thy art with revelry,
 And drunkenness, with passion for a deer,
 Or soft gazelle, with prelude, elegy,
 Pæan, and satire, valour insincere,
 Humiliation in the robes of pride,
 And manly boast by craven deed denied.

Misprised, contemned, thou draggest on thy days
 Past buried centuries. With dolorous care
 Thou chantest Layla, and her luckless fair,
 Haltest at ruined camps, inditest lays
 For vanished friend, and tracks by night swept bare :
 Or if but once thy art be dignified,
 'Tis on a camel's back ! O Muse, prepare
 To burst thy bonds preposterous ! Fling wide
 These doors that choke thy utterance inane,
 That we may breathe heaven's air, and sing again !¹

¹ *Dīwān*, i, p. 118.

"It is essential," writes Ṭaha Ḥusain, "that all men of letters should be convinced that in Egypt to-day there is no poet worthy of being called by that name."¹ It is typical of much of contemporary literary criticism that the same writer, later in the same book, speaks of Shauqī as having a mind "the like of which Egypt has not seen in all her Islamic history, nor Arabic literature its equal since the days of Abū 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī."²

Before turning to a consideration of Shauqī's more original contributions to Arabic literature, it will be sufficient to quote here a single example of his power in elegy. This example is taken from the concluding lines of his poem on the death of Saad Zaghlul, and may be profitably compared with Ḥafiz Ibrāhīm's verses on the same theme quoted above:—

Where is my pen, that was so swift to write
When I commanded, even to indite
The sun's funereal dirge? Upon Saad's day
It hath betrayed me: knowing to obey
When lesser songs were making, at the end
It stumbled, and could not bewail my friend.
Now is his soul in God's bliss, that had fill
Of earthly blessings, but remembered still
To fear its Maker. Frail intelligence
Deceived it not, nor finite cognizance
Of things unreal bemused it. Having cast
Away doubt's vain bewilderments, it passed,
In perfect faith and penitence, to God.
With weak creation for awhile it trod,
But saw, beyond this world of perishing,
The eternal Spirit. Ever swift of wing
At God's command, alas! upon this day
It heard God's last behest, and did obey.³

The problems which faced Shauqī in his desire to create new forms, were twofold: the problem of form itself and the problem of prosody, with which is bound up the problem of vocabulary. Shauqī's greatest and by far most important contribution to the problem of form was his creation of the

¹ Ḥafiz wa-Shauqī, p. 203.

² Ibid., p. 10.

³ *Dhikrā 'l-shā'irain*, p. 649.

lyrical drama. Of this more hereafter : but while creating this new form he also went far towards producing a solution of the problem of prosody and vocabulary. We may remark similar tendencies in his later informal poetry : the use of commonplace words and expressions, the abandonment of the *qaṣīda*-form, the dropping of certain *hamzas* and end-rhymes, a deliberate attempt to colloquialize, so to speak, the austere language of classical poetry. The following poem, which in its English version follows closely the metre and rhyme-scheme of the original, exemplifies these tendencies :—

Islam, to thee be glory,
 Thou star of fortune bright,
 Renowned in ancient story,
 Man's guidance to the right.

Upon Iran thy sway is
 And India 'neath thy ray is ;
 Thy blaze that shines out stark
 Dispels our shadows dark ;
 By book and pen thy mark
 Claims armies infinite.

O'er Syria thy hand is,
 Egypt thy chosen land is ;
 Thy double radiance
 Destroys all ignorance,
 Thy fetter-shattering glance
 Puts error's hosts to flight.

By thee heart bound to heart is
 Past loyalty of parties :
 Thy guide and mercy true
 Shall spread the whole world through,
 Till men and nations too
 As brothers all unite.¹

In creating the lyrical drama, as in creating the epic, Shauqī achieved the seemingly impossible : but whereas his experiment in epic was a failure, his lyrical drama is a contribution of unique and immortal value. The drama is a literary form which, until living memory, had taken no place whatever in Arabic literature. Religious prejudices, of course,

¹ Ibid., p. 653.

were the prime causes of this : for the Arab is a born actor and enjoys the drama to the full. When theatres opened there was a complete lack of any material for acting : and companies still depend to an inordinate extent on translations from European languages, and more especially from French. Shauqī's plays almost alone rise above the commonplace among purely native productions. They have already created for themselves a "tradition", and since his death retain to the full the popular support which greeted their first production.

Two of the plays deal with Egypt of the pre-Islamic period : *Cambyses* and *The Fall of Cleopatra*. The former play suffered severe criticism at the hands of the well-known poet 'Aqqād, whose *Cambyses in the Balance* is a monument of ruthless and sometimes ill-natured castigation. *The Fall of Cleopatra* is not without originality, but Shakespeare and Shaw were more at home with that theme. *Ali Bey the Great* and *The Princess of Andalusia* have already been mentioned. A fifth play, *Antara*, being based on the well-known Arabic romance, has a more genuine ring. Shauqī's greatest dramatic creation, however, is without doubt his *Majnun Layla*.¹ Here he is treating a theme which strikes at the very heart of Arab civilization. Poets of Persia, India, and Turkey had vied with each other in the telling of the desert-romance of Qais and his unhappy passion. Shauqī approaches the theme as an Arab who was fully familiar with the West. For material he drew on the version of the story as it is recounted in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* : how richly he embroidered this material and what originality he displays in the presentation of it can fairly be adjudged by comparing the story as written there with his play.

As the *Majnun Layla* is now generally available in its English version, it is not necessary to discuss it at great length here. It will be useful, however, to quote a few typical passages from that play, to illustrate the beauty of language, the

¹ English translation published by Luzac, 1933.

naturalness of dialogue, and the fine poetic feeling which Shauqī there displays. If these speeches are compared with the speeches put into the mouths of the heroes of the story by the Persian poets, it will be realized how great an advance Shauqī has made.

In the first scene Qais describes his love for Layla :—

How still the night ! It stirs within me yearning
And poetry. The desert is all night,
And love, and poetry. God, thou hast filled
The heaven and earth with passion in this desert,
And I alone am laden with that passion.
Yearning has seized me for the tents of Layla ;
I have no guide, no convoy but my passion.
At night my tent was pitched but a step from hers,
Yet all that neighbouring wrought no cure in me.
When my heart goes about her, all its passion
Suddenly swells like an upleaping stream.

Another description of his love, in the second act, is noteworthy :—

Layla ! A voice called Layla, and it stirred
A mad intoxication in my breast.
Layla ! Go, see if the sweet sound shakes the desert,
And if a David sings there to his lute.
Layla ! A call for " Layla " fills my ear,
A loud enchantment echoing in the hearing.
Layla ! She echoes in my ear and soul,
Like warblers' song that echoes in a thicket.

Even in translation the eloquence of such passages must be apparent.

A good example of dialogue, highly dramatic in its context, is provided by the scene in the last act, where Qais returns after Layla is dead, not knowing of her death, and asks his friend Bishr what has happened in the tribe during his absence.

QAIS : What haps in Amir, Bishr ? How is my mother ?

BISHR : Wearied with longing for thee.

QAIS : And my people ?

BISHR : They yearn abundantly.

QAIS : The lads and girls

That once were young with me ?

- BISHR : All long to see thee,
And still remember thee.
- QAIS : How is our tent
When the wind rises ? And the starlit parties,
The talker at the campfire ? And the palm-trees,
How were they at thy leaving ?
- BISHR : High and green
As ever.
- QAIS : And my colts I left so small ?
- BISHR : They are grown, Qais ; they are short-haired and lean.
- QAIS : Tis a great land : it makes the peerless champion
To grow, brings forth the horseman and the poet.

Shauqī intersperses the action with songs, in the true Shakespearian manner. Of these the following are examples :—

SONG OF THE CAMEL-DRIVER (*Act II*)

Hela ! Wind up wild dells,
Bringing to home again
The wanderer. Loud bells
Ring sadly through the plain,
Like song of birds, that trill
On dew-bespangled tree :
Who calls in notes so shrill
For home, so yearningly ?
So deep the ringings roll
Echoing in the soul.

Hela ! Drive on apace,
Fly to the watered meads :
Outstrip the night, and race
To where the thicket breeds
Which Layla knew, and love.
Driver, seek Tawbed's green ;
My heart doth lodge above
Its valleys and ravine.
O moon that Nejd saw rise,
Love rules in tyrant wise.

SONG OF THE JINNS (*Act IV, Scene I*)

The firm sun flows like gold,
A wonder to behold,
On hill and valley deep.
The dance with joy begins :
Lead on, ye Arab Jinns,
The dance of flames that leap.

We are the sons of Hell,
 And with hot blood rebel
 On earth, as once our sire
 In heaven, the mighty one,
 Iblis, the first-born son,
 The glory of the Fire.

GHARID'S SONG (*Act V*)

Valley of death, all hail ! Abundant rain
 Waters the plain :
 The sacred earth becomes thy sanctuary
 And holy sky.
 Thou comest clear in stillness, and thy word
 In hush is heard.
 Thy people do not die : the night falls deep,
 And so they sleep
 Unseen ; what they become, no man has guessed,
 Nor where they rest.

III

Shauqī died in the summer of 1933 at the height of his great poetic gifts. The fertility of his genius during the last few years of his life was truly amazing, and it is a melancholy reflection that his best may have remained unwritten. So great a genius, however, is never lost to literature, and the repercussions of his truly original mind and well-nigh inexhaustible energy will continue to be felt for many years to come. Meanwhile the young Arab poet of to-day could have no better model to study than the collected works of these two prophets of the Egyptian Renaissance : Ḥāfiz Ibrāhīm and Shauqī.

March, 1936.

Two South-Arabian Inscriptions : Some Suggestions

By A. F. L. BEESTON

The following article contains some new suggestions for the interpretation of the inscription Glaser 1210 and the Gizeh sarcophagus inscription. I should like to express here my gratitude for the valuable help and suggestions of Professor D. S. Margoliouth, Laudian Professor of Arabic at Oxford.

Christ Church, Oxford.

January-October, 1935.

THE SARCOPHAGUS INSCRIPTION OF GIZEH

THE following is an attempt at a rendering of the Minæan inscription found on the side of a sarcophagus now in the Cairo Museum, which is dealt with in the *Répertoire d'Épigraphie Sémitique*, tome vi, 3427, based on the assumption that K. Conti-Rossini in his *Chrestomathia* is correct in identifying the first word of the inscription with the Ethiopic ስፍረ, ገፍረ, "loculus sepulchralis."

For convenience I subjoin to this note the text of the inscription as given in the *RES.*, where there is also a valuable bibliography.

On the idea of the inscription gained from the opening phrase depends the angle of approach to the other problems that present themselves in its interpretation, and the translations offered differ in consequence very widely. Rhodokanakis starts from the premise that ϠϠϠ means "Schuldschein", identifying it with the word found in the phrase ϠϠϠϠϠϠϠϠϠ of *CIS.*, iv, 601, 4-5, for which he gives the rendering "was bindend und gültig ist" (see *Grundsatz* in *SBWA.*, 177, 2, 16-24); if this be so, he is, of course, right in assuming the rest of the inscription to have a financial import. It seems, however, to me that in view first of the position of the inscription on the side of a

sarcophagus, and secondly of the Ethiopic parallel adduced by Conti-Rossini, the balance of probability inclines towards the rendering "sarcophagus". The rest of the inscription must then be assumed to be of a funerary character.

The remainder of *line 1* offers no special difficulties except the word $\Pi\Pi\Theta$. This has been identified by Rhod. with the Coptic $\sigma\tau\epsilon\epsilon\beta$, a grade of the priesthood. On the other hand, it seems *prima facie* improbable that a foreign merchant should have become one of the very privileged caste of the Egyptian priesthood, and it would be safer to take it as the second element of the clan designation. Clan names that consist of two elements, though rare, are not unknown: e.g. Gl. 1606, 25 $\Pi\omega\zeta$) $\beta\Pi\eta\eta\iota\eta\eta\eta\eta$ and id. 29 $\Pi\omega\eta\iota\chi\omega\eta\iota\omega\eta\iota\omega\eta\iota\omega$ (*RES.* 3566) and Hal. 480, 1 $\Pi\omega\eta\iota\omega\eta\iota\omega\eta\iota\omega\eta\iota\omega\eta\iota\omega$ (*RES.* 2976).

In *line 2* we meet the word $\Pi\omega\eta\iota$. Of this D. H. Müller says (*WZKM.*, viii, 6): "In unserer Inschrift passt aber nur die Bedeutung 'sterben'." With this I fully agree. The fact that the root bears no such meaning in Arabic is hardly an objection when the context calls so clearly for it (cf. the wide variations of meaning to which the root is subject in the other cognate languages, as Syriac and Ethiopic). $\Pi\omega\eta\iota$ is generally agreed to mean something like "sent", although the derivations suggested differ considerably (Conti-Rossini

$\Pi\omega\eta\iota$, Rhod. $\Pi\omega\eta\iota$). $\Pi\eta$ has been assumed to be the subject of the verb and conjecturally rendered "minister templorum in Aegypto (?) " (C.-R.). Crum's Coptic dictionary, however, gives the word $\Pi\eta$ "thread", which gives an attractive rendering when taken with the following $\beta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$ which Rhod. relates to the Aramaic $\Pi\eta$ "weave". In this case the $\Pi\eta$ would be object of the verb, and the rendering of the whole phrase "they sent thread from all the temples, whose woven fabric was the linen garment . . ." One then expects to find in $\Pi\eta\eta\eta$ some

further technicality connected with Egyptian burial, and in Crum's Coptic dictionary stands KAICTI , with the meaning "mummy-wrappings" or "mummy". The next words probably refer to some further funeral ceremony, the nature of which is obscure, but it may be rendered literally "they raised him up". The sentence is translated by C.-R. : "atque (haec munera) ad eum ascendere faciebant ubi erat (cf. أَيْسَ) usque ad templum dei (cf. مِنَا e regione, ex adverso, בְּיָד pars (e.g. בְּיָדִי a parte mea, a me), quae si probaveris, intellegendum erit, usque ad templum dei)." But the word commencing *line* 3 is so mutilated that all attempts at interpretation must be regarded as shots in the dark. Professor Margoliouth has suggested that the word could be read 𐩢𐩣𐩠𐩨 , possibly equivalent to ἈΤΒΩ or Edfu in Upper Egypt. All this, however, is conjectural.

The final word that occasions difficulty is 𐩣𐩠𐩨𐩢 . Associated as it is with the 𐩣𐩠𐩨 , one would naturally expect it to mean something like "corpse or mummy", as, indeed, Derenbourg suggested. In the absence of any satisfactory etymology to support this view, however, one is driven back on the Amharic root quoted by C.-R. ለመነ "precavit, efflagitavit". It would then seem conceivable that we have here a variant expression in place of the word 𐩣𐩠𐩨𐩢 , which is so frequently found as the object of 𐩣𐩠𐩨 (as the 𐩣𐩠𐩨𐩢 are dedicatory inscriptions, they might in a sense perhaps be considered "prayers").¹

The whole inscription then runs :—

"(This is) the sarcophagus of ZID₃L son of ZID of ZIRN DUB, who imported myrrh and calamus perfumes for the temples of the gods of Egypt in the days of Ptolemy son of

¹ I was at first tempted to connect it with Copt. 𐩣𐩠𐩨𐩢 "image", remembering the lids of Egyptian coffins with portraits of the deceased on them; but I feel one must not assume an Egyptian loan-word except for a technicality (like KAICTI); S.A. has a word of its own for "funeral image", 𐩣𐩠𐩨𐩢 .

directed his tribe SMŠI, when he was exalted in the year of ʾUSL son of IHŠHM."

Of 𐩦𐩣𐩨𐩣 Rhod. says, op. cit., p. 179 (dealing with the inscription Gl. 1209): "Die Erhöhung kann nur kultisch geschehn, als Teil eines wiederkehrenden, mit der Verkündung des Statuts 'must' verbundenen Festes, zu dem Altäre errichtet werden, als er erhöht worden ist."

(1b) "That SMŠI shall not neglect in the month 'd-šbhi' to visit the temple of ʾLMQH in Marib."

On 𐩦𐩣1, which introduces a number of the following clauses, subordinating them to the main verb of the inscription 𐩦𐩣𐩣 above, see below, Appendix I. 𐩦𐩣 in a negative sense, as with Heb. לֹא and in Eth. አልፎ. Conti-Rossini (*Chrest. Ar. Merid. Ep.*) gives this sense to 𐩦𐩣 in *CIH.* 318, 6, and 619, 1; but others have advanced different views on both these passages. It is, however, agreed that it has the neg. sense in the phrase 𐩦𐩣𐩦𐩣1𐩣. With

𐩦𐩣𐩣𐩣 compare Ar. عطل, تعطيل, to be idle, and for the

variation between 𐩦 and 𐩣 cf. 𐩣𐩣: رحل; 𐩦𐩣𐩣:

سلسلة. This is constructed with 𐩦𐩣 as containing the sense of "abstain" just as in Ar. امتنع is constructed

with من. 𐩦𐩣𐩣𐩣 I take to be the infinitive of a denominative verb (in the fourth form) from 𐩦𐩣𐩣 "the court of a temple" (cf. the Heb. ִתְּצַר and the frequent use of the word in Minæan, e.g. Hal. 478, 12, and 192-9, 12, etc.); hence, "to do something in a temple."

(2a) "And that TʾLB has prohibited qsdm from taxation in his territory."

𐩦𐩣1 is here followed by the ماضى instead of, as above, the مضارع; it can hardly, therefore, have a final sense, as

would have been possible in the previous case, and must simply follow on the idea of "saying" implicit in the verb "directed" at the beginning of the inscription. 𐩧𐩣𐩪 cf. Ar.

حَظَرَ "forbid" and محظور "forbidden"; this sense is clearly

brought out in Jawzi's تلبس ابليس, p. 256 (Cairo 1340 ed.);

𐩣𐩢𐩨 لا يمكنني أن أفتي في هذه المسئلة بحظرو ولا إباحة cf.

𐩀𐩢𐩀 stipendium, vectigal, φόροι; 𐩀𐩢𐩀 vectigal pen-sitare; 𐩀𐩀𐩢𐩀 vectigal imponere alicui. Which of the two verbal ideas is here intended is doubtful; i.e. whether the qsd were prohibited from levying taxes, or excused from paying them. They were a privileged class, as is shown by their mention *infra*, line 14, along with the 𐩠𐩣𐩢 and the 𐩠𐩣𐩪, and we have here to deal with either a diminution of or an addition to their privileges. The latter is perhaps the more probable. 𐩠𐩢𐩨 appears from the Sirwah inscription Gl. 1000A, 16, 𐩣𐩠𐩢𐩨𐩠𐩣𐩢𐩪𐩠𐩢𐩨, id. 6 𐩣𐩠𐩢𐩪𐩠𐩢𐩨 (see *Sitzungsberichte d. Wien. Ak.*, 206) to mean the countryside and villages surrounding a town, or something similar. The 𐩠𐩣, referring apparently to the god T3LB, indicates that what is here intended is the countryside around the temple.

(2b) "And that T3LB has prohibited RHBTm from beating slaves (or, from the hooves of cattle?) on the days of TR&T and ZBIN, and the valley towards NUŠm right up to RHB and 𐩠TMT on the days of TR&T and ZBIN."

𐩠𐩣𐩢𐩪 is, as Rhod. says, a place-name, but it may be here used meaning the inhabitants of that place (for this

metonymy cf. *Qur.*, xvi, 113 : ضرب الله مثلا قرية كانت
... فكفرت بأمر الله... (آمنة... فكفرت بأمر الله...)). For 𐩠𐩣 cf. Syr. 𐩠𐩣 and

𐩠𐩣, 𐩠𐩣𐩢, a variant form of (or possibly a *scriptio plena*

against a *scriptio defectiva*) 𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩣 infr., l. 3. The meaning "slave" is well attested, both inscriptionally (e.g. Osian.

29, 1) and from the Eth. ቀጉዬ. Alternatively, cf. ظلف "cloven hoof" and מִקְלָה "small cattle", i.e. a tabu against pasturing cattle there on those days. Of 𐩡𐩣 Rhod. says: "Ebenso, ohne Namen, in 2c, 7 am Ende. Es ist durch Richtung und Grenze bestimmt." Rhod. compares with 𐩡𐩣𐩨, Ar. عمداً الى.

(2c) "And TṣLB commanded, on the day when he set apart the valley as sacred, that they should (hold feast?) with the serfs, and SMṢI did so (hold feast?) in the valley according to the bidding of TṣLB, seven hundred slaves in one day."

𐩡𐩣: see below, line 13, and cf. Lisān-ul-'Arab:

الحِجْر والحِجْر والحِجْر كل ذلك الحرام ويقال تحجر
على ما وسّعه الله أي حرّمه وضيقه... (ابوزيد في قوله)

وحرث حِجْر حرام. The reference is then to the tabu placed on the valley as defined in the previous clause. The 𐩡𐩣 is not found introducing this sentence, as it has been co-ordinated with that immediately preceding, instead of being subordinated afresh to the main sentence. The interpretation of 𐩡𐩣 offers special difficulty. The cognate languages have no meaning of the root that strikes one

immediately as applicable (except perhaps غرض = تفكّه), and one is forced to draw such help as is available from the context. If slaves were exempt from beatings on these festival days it suggests that something in the nature of the Roman Saturnalia took place; thus one might tentatively look for an etymology

connecting it with the Jewish Aramaic עָרַע "celebrate a feast". On the word 𐩮𐩣 see the note of Rhod. on Gl. 1000B, 4, in *SBWA.*, 206, p. 99; from the passages there cited (and specially Gl. 1083 = Hal. 188, 4, 𐩧𐩣𐩮𐩣𐩮𐩣𐩮𐩣) it appears to have the meaning "vassal, slave" which Hommel gives it. In this case 𐩧𐩣𐩮𐩣𐩮𐩣𐩮𐩣 𐩮𐩣 a few words later will probably be a badal of this word. The sense in which the 𐩮 is rendered will, of course, depend on how the verb is translated; hence Rhod. "*mittels der Stammes-hörigen*". But if the 𐩮𐩣𐩮 has the meaning suggested above, the 𐩮 will probably be "with".

(3a) "And that T3LB lord of TR&T shall receive the tithes of BLZ and NDHT and BRRN and MNHDm 𐩠-MNID& and the tithes of DR&m and the tithes of the irrigated field which runs beside a high road until it is opposite the dam HGR and its overflow (or pool)."

The construction here returns to the pattern of the first subordinate clause. 𐩮𐩣𐩮𐩣𐩮𐩣, of which Rhod. remarks that its meaning is "ein durch Dammleitung bewässertes Feld", he takes to be a proper name here. It is, however, known as a common noun, e.g. *CIH.*, 37, 1. Just as the valley above was defined by its position and boundaries, so this field is defined. With 𐩮𐩣𐩮 and 𐩮𐩣𐩮𐩣 cf. Eth. 𐌌𐌎𐌐 "rectum, directum esse (sensu physico)" and the adverb 𐌌𐌎𐌐 "e regione, exadversum". 𐩧𐩣𐩮𐩣𐩮𐩣 cf. Eth. 𐌌𐌎𐌎𐌎 "via trita, strata, publica". 𐩮𐩣𐩮: In *CIH.*, 407, 22, 𐩮𐩣𐩮𐩮𐩮𐩮𐩮𐩮 𐩮𐩣𐩮 we appear to have a conjunctive use of 𐩮𐩣𐩮 governing a verb directly; although it is possible that 𐩮𐩣𐩮 there may be really a verbal noun. Here the 1 introducing the verb would perhaps help to make such a government possible. 𐩮𐩣𐩮𐩣: Rhod. quotes from

the Qamus: ...مدى حوض وماسال من ماء الحوض

وجداول صغير.

(3b) "And the two princes, of IHIBB and of MDNHN,

and the ministers, let them be in charge of the property of T₃LB."

𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩣 cf. Syr. ܡܕܢܒܐ "East".

(3c) "And whosoever steals from the property of T₃LB, let T₃LB take cognizance of it in RTTU."

𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩣X: This strictly middle sense of the V form seems a more probable source for the well-known "sign" as in *CIH.*, 609, 3, 𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩣𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩣X𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩣X than Rhod.'s "be denounced".

(4a) "And that T₃LB has prohibited the rest (or, all) the mountain goats from being prevented from feeding, that they may grow fat with offspring."

The construction here returns to that of clause 2a. 𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩣

Ar. سائر which has the meanings both of "remainder"

and "all". 𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩣: Ar. أَرْوَى plur. أَرْوَى

"a mountain goat"; these were the sacred animals of T₃LB, and the decoration of inscriptions dedicated to him often consists of the heads and horns of these animals—e.g. Gl. 302. 𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩣: Eth. ኃግ "obice obstruere, repagulo occludere" and 𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩣: Eth. መጸረ "manducare, masticare, mandere". The simple 𐩧 is here apparently used in a final sense, in which it is more frequently found joined to 1, as *CIH.*, 435, 4, 𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩣𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩣. For the next two words cf.

Ar. نَسْل and نَحِص, the latter of which has the sense "to be fat (said of a she-camel)".

(4b) "And T₃LB has prohibited the doorkeepers of MHRMm and RIMN and MNTTm from driving out the herds that betake themselves thither, for they are sacred."

This clause refers again to the treatment of the sacred goats in the three places mentioned, where they are to have freedom to wander at will. 𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩣 in the sense of a "gate" is known e.g. from Gl. 418-19, 4, 𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩣𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩣𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩣𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩣 and Hisn al-Ğurab, 1, 7: 𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩣𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩣𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩣, and I

think that we have here the plur. of a nom. ag. from it (cf. (فرسان فارس فرس). 𐩧𐩢𐩣 is a well-known word for "come out", so that 𐩧𐩢𐩣𐩠 can hardly mean anything but "drive out". 𐩧𐩢𐩣𐩠 : cf. Ar. أُسْرَاب plur. سِرَاب "a herd of gazelles", and for the variation between م and ب, Eth. 𐩔𐩠𐩢 to Ar. عتب.

𐩧𐩢𐩣𐩠𐩧𐩢𐩣𐩠 : The usual sense of this form is "punish" (Ar. عذاب), as in *CIH.*, 563, 5, and 326, 1; the root also has the sense "repair" in forms i and iv, like Heb. 𐤒𐤒. Neither seems appropriate here; however, 𐤒𐤒 also means "to commit oneself" as in Ps. x, 14, and this would give an intelligible meaning to the clause.

(4c) "And it is decreed for SM𐩧𐩢 to preserve the game of T𐩢LB; and he prohibited 𐩧LB from women's chattering on the seventh day of 𐩧-𐩧rr, because of the qsd of T𐩢LB journeying thither and to 𐩧TMN, and remaining in the sanctuary of 𐩧TMN, and the governor of MDNHN taking away the qsd."

Of the well-known and extremely difficult words 𐩧𐩢𐩣𐩠 one can hardly say more with certainty than that they convey the general sense of "decide". In certain inscriptions they seem to form a quadrilateral verb, e.g. *CIH.*, 99, 9 𐩧𐩢𐩣𐩠.

𐩧𐩢𐩣𐩠 cf. Ar. خَبِنَ "to preserve food for a time of scarcity". The next sentence deals with another tabu operative on a certain day of the year, when three ritual actions take place, described by the words 𐩧𐩢𐩣, 𐩧𐩢𐩣, 𐩧𐩢𐩣. What these were is difficult to determine. 𐩧𐩢𐩣 (in view of the following prep. 𐩧𐩢𐩣) is probably to be connected with the Eth. 𐩧𐩢𐩣 "in agros exire, rus ire", so that some sort of pilgrimage is apparently indicated. 𐩧𐩢𐩣

𐩦𐩣𐩪 in the previous sentence. This tabu is made particularly strict by the invocation of the other gods, so that a violation of it would incur the wrath of all of them and not of 𐩦𐩣𐩪 alone.

(6a) "And that 𐩦𐩣𐩪 has appointed for 𐩨𐩨𐩢𐩢 one person as instructor, and for 𐩢𐩢𐩨𐩢 and 𐩨𐩢𐩢𐩢 one, to proclaim the decree of 𐩦𐩢𐩢𐩢 and 𐩦𐩣𐩪."

𐩦𐩦 see Conti-Rossini's *Chr.* 𐩡𐩢𐩦𐩦 : cf. Syr. ܦܕܘܬܐ "counsel" and "instruction" (see Land's *Anecd.*, iv, 15, 13). 𐩢𐩢𐩢 see Rhod., who compares Eth. *ጠበ* "erfahren sein". It is likely that we have here a causative form.

(6b) "And that 𐩦𐩣𐩪 has prohibited 𐩢𐩨𐩢𐩢𐩢 from all disputation on the day of 𐩢𐩢𐩢𐩢, and their consecrating any gravestone (?)."

𐩢𐩢 see above, line 2. 𐩢𐩢𐩢𐩢𐩢 cf. Eth. *ተከባ* "to contend with one another"; probably litigation is meant. 𐩡𐩢𐩢𐩢𐩢: the word cannot have here quite the same sense as it has at the beginning of the clause, but since it governs 𐩢𐩦𐩢, a common meaning of which is "gravestone" (*OIH.* 421, 1, etc.), it is perhaps almost = 𐩢𐩢𐩢. The 𐩢 refers to 𐩢𐩨𐩢𐩢𐩢, which stands by metonymy for the inhabitants of the place, v. *supr.* clause 2b, and is the subject of the infinitive 𐩢𐩢𐩢𐩢.

(7) "And that there shall come in the tithes of 𐩦𐩢𐩢𐩢 and the crops of 𐩨𐩢𐩢𐩢 and 𐩦𐩢𐩢 and 𐩦𐩢𐩢 and 𐩢𐩢𐩢𐩢 and 𐩢𐩢𐩢𐩢 and 𐩢𐩢𐩢𐩢 and 𐩢𐩢𐩢𐩢 and 𐩢𐩢𐩢𐩢, (these) shall come in to 𐩢𐩢𐩢𐩢 and 𐩢𐩢𐩢, and the tithes of 𐩢𐩢 and the watered field and the valley and 𐩢𐩢𐩢 and the crops of 𐩢𐩢𐩢 shall come in to 𐩦𐩢𐩢."

𐩢𐩢𐩢 at the beginning of line 11 is a badal of the same word in line 10, picking it up after the long string of names that form the subject.

(8) "And in respect of the slave whom the two men killed and fled, let masters protect the slaves of 𐩢𐩢𐩢; now two hundred was the deposit price, while the decree of the priests of 𐩢𐩢𐩢 and 𐩦𐩢𐩢 is ten harvests."

𐩦𐩣𐩣 : cf. 𐩦𐩣𐩣𐩣 *CIH.*, 95, 1, and 334, 19; for the omission of the 2. radical, cf. Rh. remarks on the form 𐩦𐩣𐩣 (op. cit., p. 185). Der. translates the word "impetum fecit", Conti-Rossini (*Chr.*, p. 101) "rediit"—in either case it is clear that it is a verb of motion. As it is by no means necessary that the two murderers should have been of the tribe SMʿI, and not rather raiders of another tribe, the sense "return" is not inappropriate. 𐩦𐩣𐩣𐩣𐩣 cf. Eth. ረድኡ and አርድኡ both with the sense "opem ferre, auxiliare". 𐩦𐩣𐩣𐩣 : a plural of the form أَصْدِقَاءَ (cf. 𐩦𐩣𐩣𐩣𐩣 Gl. 1571, 5,

from 𐩦𐩣𐩣 to 𐩦𐩣𐩣 (Ar. رَيْب), which is found in combination in proper names, e.g. 𐩦𐩣𐩣𐩣𐩣 "servant of SMʿ", *CIH.*, 660, 1. It would seem that the 𐩦𐩣𐩣 had temporary use of slaves who were public property, on payment of a deposit on the value; if any of them came to any harm while with him, he was responsible, and liable to forfeit the deposit, or else pay such compensation as should be judged fair by the priests of TRʿT and ZBʿIN. 𐩦𐩣𐩣 : cf. Ar. وَدِيعة "deposit".

𐩦𐩣𐩣𐩣𐩣𐩣𐩣 : by ten harvests I take to be meant the produce of them. That the meaning is "harvests" rather than "years" is, I think, supported by the mention of "spring and autumn" in the next sentence, for the South Arabian incense crop was gathered twice a year at these two seasons.

(9a) "And as for any consequences and disputes, let them be set right by the (governor) of 𐩦𐩣𐩣𐩣𐩣 on behalf of RHBʿT, and he is to take care that payment is made, in accordance with this decree, on the day of TRʿT in autumn and spring."

cannot agree "dass nur 'betreff, hinsichtlich', eine glatte Konstruktion und einen guten Sinn geben" (*Altsab. Texte*, ii, 208). The passages there cited I should render as follows:—

CIH. 562 = Gl. 529 : "1 Thus decrees and ordained I.B. . . . and his subjects Saba and Faiṣān 2 corporately, in the rescripts and ordinance wherewith they decree . . . 3 for their kabīr and citizens and metics : that Saba and Faiṣān shall not have called in question 4 (their title) to take water from every watering-place with the sacrifice of a young lamb ; and that . . . 5 . . . and in the temples of the gods ; and the patrons of all tribes shall not have called in question, 6 in the matter of meal-cakes and grape-cakes, (their right) to that which is left over (?) ; but as for dried figs, let there be, etc."

Gl. 1571 : "1 Thus decreed and ordained K.Ḳ. son, etc. . . . for I. kabīr of Ṣirwāḥ, 2 son of D., and the mśūd of Ṣirwāḥ and the tribe Ṣirwāḥ and their children and slaves : that the royal soldiers among those whom, etc. . . . shall not have called in question (their right) 3 to assess and partition and commandeer from them (i.e. Ṣirwāḥ) greenstuff¹ and (cattle-fodder ?) and meal ; but all agreements (or, demands ?) and assessments and commandeering, etc. . . . 4 are to be agreed on by tribe and person, etc. . . . and that there shall be binding and obligatory upon the mśūd of Ṣirwāḥ and the tribe Ṣirwāḥ and their children and slaves every assessment and partition and 5 agreement (or, demand ?) and command, and (all) commandeering and ǧazāf-purchases with them (the tribe Ṣirwāḥ) which they put upon the mśūd of Ṣirwāḥ, etc. . . . ; and as the kings of Saba and Saba 6 commanded for the tribe Ṣirwāḥ, (so also) they have commanded for them (selves ?)."

¹ That $\text{𐩧𐩣𐩪} = \text{𐩧𐩣𐩪}$ and not 𐩧𐩣𐩪 : seems to have been proved by Mordtmann and Mittwoch, *Himjarische Inschr.*, note to No. 13, l. 1. They also rightly remark that this demands a new tr. of 𐩧𐩣𐩪 . I venture to draw attention to what is said in the *Lisān*, s.v. وقال أبو حنيفة الدعاء : دفع بقلة الخ.

CIH. 601 = Gl. 904 : “ 1 Thus decreed, etc. . . . the king of Saba, etc. . . . 4 that there should be 5 binding and obligatory upon his clients, etc. . . . 7 every demand, etc. . . . 9 which Saba and their tribes make upon them. Against all controversy let it 10 be published in the month *ḡṣḡḡ*, etc.”

In the first two passages I take the construction to correspond to Ar. *أَنْ لَا يَسَاءَ لَوْ*; in the third and fourth to

... *أَنَّهُ وَاجِبٌ عَلَى فَلَانٍ كُلِّ* (the *ضمير الشأن* not being expressed in the South Arabian idiom).

Although he has confined himself to the above-mentioned inscriptions in arguing for his rendering “betreff”, Rhod. might well have added *CIH. 570, 5*, where I agree that it cannot introduce an *Inhaltssatz*—as I believe it does usually—for no verb of saying or commanding is found. In that passage the *Corpus tr.* “*ita ut*” seems to me to fit the context pretty well (cf. *h*^{oo} Dillmann, s.v. *C.*, i, 2, “conj. consecutiva, *ὡστε, ut, ita ut*”), but I do not, as the *CIH. edd.* do, suppose that it subordinates its clause to what precedes. The *ⲙ* in front of the *𐩦𐩣𐩪* I take to mark the beginning of a fresh sentence, the main verb on which the clause depends being *𐩥𐩣𐩪* in the next line; the *𐩪* then before the *𐩥𐩣𐩪* stands there to mark the start of the main clause, serving, in fact, almost as a correlative to *𐩦𐩣𐩪*. My translation of that passage is :—

“ And so that along the length (also, i.e. besides the breadth-wise delimitation which has already been mentioned) of the palmgrove *NQBN* there may be established the delimitation between the two palmgroves *NQBN* and *NṣUN*, towards *NṣUN* the boundaries shall be, etc. . . .”

APPENDIX II

On the Etymological Relationship of 𐩦

Rhod. says (*Altsab. T.*, ii, 224) : “übrigens sind es nur verhältnismässig wenige Wurzeln die ihren ursprünglichen

□ Laut nach 𐩦 verschoben und in der Schrift mit 𐩨 widergegeben haben." He has at the top of the page quoted four

examples of this alleged correspondence of 𐩨 to 𐩦 and 𐩨.

To me three of these seem dubious, and I feel that we must be very wary of admitting this equation at all in dealing with new words.

The following are his examples : $\overline{\text{I}(\text{X})\text{H}}$ CIH. 308, 6. The comparison of this with عرش "ein Holzgerüst oder Gestält für einen Brunnen errichten" is, in the light of present knowledge, out of the question. It was suggested by the idea that $\overline{\text{I}(\text{X})\text{H}}$ before meant "Brunnenstangen". This word is now, however, given quite a different meaning, either "berieselte Plätze" (Rh. himself in *Studien*, iii, 8, and also *RES.* 3556, 5) or "'md-Bäume" (Mordt. *Mittw.*, *Sab. Inschr.*, 2, 2). With the disappearance of the wellpoles from the scene the well-house must go too. I suggest instead the equation

غرس الشجر اثبتة في الارض... والغرس : (Tāj. غرس

بافتح الشجر... والغريسة النخلة اول ما تنبت...

(والغريسة شجر العنب اول ما يغرس).

$\overline{\text{I}(\text{X})\text{H}}$ Gl. 418-19, 3, and 1000A, 14. In comparison with this he notes both 𐩨 Job, iii, 23, and xxxviii, 8, and 𐩨 Job, i, 10; 𐩨 Hos. ii, 8. In such a case it seems to me safest to assume that we have here parallel but distinct original Semitic roots, one represented by 𐩨 and $\overline{\text{I}(\text{X})\text{H}}$,

the other by 𐩨 and 𐩨.

$\overline{\text{I}(\text{X})\text{H}}$ CIH. 320, 2, and 544, 10; SE. 92, 4. The first of these passages is so fragmentary that it would by itself have been very little use, but its content is plainly very

similar to that of the second. Putting the last two together, M. Höfner (*WZKM.* xl, 21-2) arrives at the translation

"Futterwiese", comparing עֵשֶׁב and عֵשֶׁב. But if this is correct, we read in *CIH.* 544 that the authors pray for "fine crops and fruits in . . . their camel-pastures", and in *SE.* 92 that the authors "furnished their well with water from their pastures". Neither of these seems to me to read entirely naturally. Since 𐩨𐩣𐩪𐩬𐩨 *CIH.* 603, 5, *Ryck.*, 3, 5,

is admitted to be equivalent to عَسَب in the sense of "hire", I prefer to relate the other examples also to the same root. In *CIH.* 544 I propose to give it the sense mentioned in the

العَسَب ماء الفحل فرسا كان اوبعيرا اونسله يقال قطع. *Tāj.*

الله عسبه اى ماءه ونسله ويقال العسب الولد and co-ordinate it not with 𐩨𐩣𐩪𐩬𐩨 but with 𐩨𐩣𐩪𐩬𐩨 𐩨𐩣𐩪𐩬𐩨 𐩨𐩣𐩪𐩬𐩨, so that it is governed with them by 𐩨𐩣𐩪𐩬𐩨. As for *SE.* 92, I do not see why 𐩨𐩣𐩪𐩬𐩨 there should not mean "res conducta", so that the import of the sentence would be that the authors arranged for a supply of water to the cistern from a spring which they hired instead of buying.

There remains 𐩨𐩣𐩪𐩬𐩨 *Gl.* 1571, 1; *CIH.* 733; here the translation "Steuereinnehmer" (*Altsab. T.*, i, 104) seems convincing, and a comparison with حُشَار inevitable.

The Chola Invasion of Bengal

By S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR

UNDER this heading Mr. A. C. Banerji discusses in pages 655-666 of the *JRAS.* for 1935 the northern invasion of Rājendra, the Gangaikonda-Chola, on which subject I made a contribution long ago to the late Sir Asutosh Mukerjee Commemoration Volumes, which article appeared in a slightly revised form in the *Journal of Indian History*, volume ii, pp. 317-369, more than a decade since. There are some points in the discussion which seem to admit of a few remarks in criticism—perhaps even correction—pending publication of a typical historical document of the great Chola, and attaining to a correct version of the details of the invasion.

THE TIRUVĀLANGĀDU PLATES

The first point calling for attention is that Mr. Banerji condemns the Tiruvālangādu record as unworthy of credence as an historical document. The Tiruvālangādu plates, so-called, are a curiosity of Indian epigraphy in various particulars, but not in the matter that they are written partly in Sanskrit and partly in Tamil, nor in the character of being an historical document. Almost every copper plate charter, and many grants even of stone—grants inscribed upon stone—are bilingual in the sense that the *praśasti* part is in Sanskrit and the grant part is generally in the vernacular according to the locality. The Tiruvālangādu plates are no exception. The Tamil part of this document is complete in itself, as it was intended to be a complete inscription conveying the grant, and is datable in the sixth year of the reign of Rājendra. The Sanskrit *praśasti* seems to have been added later, later than the twentieth year of his reign, sometime about the 24th or 25th year of Rājendra-Chola. What precisely led to this addition we do not know. Probably it was nothing more than the vanity

of the *Pandita Chola* to preface an important document like that with a detailed and well-composed *praśasti* in Sanskrit. Being a *praśasti* in verse, its narration may, to some slight extent, differ from an acknowledgedly historical narration of the various incidents constituting the invasion. The writer of a *praśasti* need not conform strictly to an historical recital so long as he mentions the main incidents redounding to the glory of the person chosen for his praise. Taking the writer therefore as a mere *praśastikāra*, we need not expect more from the document than what a *praśasti* could contain. The variations could be accounted for satisfactorily on this basis, and the document need not be condemned for not having done satisfactorily what it was not its purpose to do.

IDENTIFICATION OF PLACES MENTIONED

Coming to the next point, the place-names mentioned, they are admittedly the same in all the documents, at least in the Tamil inscriptions. There is a certain amount of uniformity in the recital of these names. In regard to their identification, we have not yet arrived at a satisfactory location of all the places concerned ; but a certain number have been identified sufficiently to give us the direction of march and indicate the probable course of the route taken by the army of invasion. The actual course is governed by the fact that the army entered Kosala from Orissa proper, and set forward on the further march. There has so far been no disagreement that the invasion was led by a general of Rājendra-Chola, and Rājendra met the general in Rajahmundri, and then marched up, with reinforcements, against the ruler of Orissa. We shall return to this point later. It is rather difficult to understand what exactly Mr. Banerji's objection to our position is in regard to Daṇḍabhukti. His discussion of the topic on pages 658-661 seems to result in the identification of Daṇḍabhukti with Bihar, as MM. Haraprasad Sastri identified it long ago, and the facts that he adduces in the discussion seem only to confirm the identification. The discussion as to why the place had been

called Daṇḍabhukti is something very different. Speaking of Daṇḍabhukti, it could not be the Bihar town, but it must be something of a geographical district or division, and that is all the point of the discussion as to what particular portion of the country it stood for. The suggestion offered has reference to that, and Mr. Banerji has so far said nothing to invalidate the possibility. The point we wished to make out was that it was not the coast.

THE LOCATION OF THE TWO RĀDHAS

The next point of objection is as to the part of Bengal which went by the name Rāḍha referred to in Tamil documents as *Lauḍam*. Undoubtedly there was a *Uttaralaūḍa* and a *Dakshinālaūḍa*, the latter of which was somewhere about the region of Midnapur-Burdwan. Mr. Banerji claims that Uttaralaūḍa lay on both sides of the Ganges, extending northwards to include Murshidabad and the districts round about. It may be so. We stated nothing about it, except to suggest that that region must be adjacent to Dakshinālaūḍa. That stands. Mr. Banerji's objection to our allotting the credit of this discovery to Mr. Banerji is because the late Mr. R. D. Banerji took a position and accepted the identification as being correct. In regard to the credit being actually due to other gentlemen, we have had no wish to make any unfair allotment of credit, which was really Mr. R. D. Banerji's business. No reference was made at all to the Bengali authorities for the simple reason that we had no information concerning them at the time. The importance of this, however, is only in reference to whether Rājendra's invasion crossed the Ganges, or no. We took it that the army did not cross the Ganges anywhere, on the ground that the Tiruvālangāḍu plates do mention the crossing of the rivers, apparently the Krishnā and the Godāvārī, by making use of the elephants as a bridge, while they do not make any mention of the crossing of perhaps an equally big, if not a bigger, river, the Ganges, at any place in its lower course. Mr. Banerji

so far offers nothing by way of evidence that the Chola army did cross the Ganges, unless we take it that *Vangāla-dēśa* of the Chola records refers to the Vanga division of Bengal, East Bengal, and not to the whole of the country of Bengal. We fear there is not much support for this in the Tamil documents, which mention this particular part as *Vangāla-dēśa*, the country of *Vangāla* (Tamil), or Bengal, and the geographical feature is that it was liable to the unceasing drizzle of the monsoons. The expression as it occurs in the Tamil records seems merely to refer to the conquest of Bengal as a whole, which need not necessarily mean every corner of it.

THE REFERENCE TO MAHĪPĀLA

The really most important point is the question of *Mahīpāla*, the *Mahīpāla* that was overthrown by Rājendra-Chola's army, and the place where it actually defeated the army of *Oṭṭa-Mahīpāla*. The first point calling for attention in regard to this matter is that Mr. Banerji seems to have missed altogether what we have been at considerable pains to make out, namely, that the term *Mahīpāla* under reference stands merely as a synonym for King, and not for a person by name *Mahīpāla*. Unfortunately for us, about that period there was in Bengal a ruler who went by the name *Mahīpāla*. But, luckily for us, the Tamil expression, as it occurs, is "*Oṭṭa-Mayīpālanai*". This would ordinarily mean the *Oḍḍa* King and nothing more. If anyone wishes to make more out of the term *Mahīpāla*, as a proper name, the burden is on him to prove that *Mahīpāla* in that context is a proper name. To the reader of Tamil there is no suggestion of a proper name at all, unless it is proved satisfactorily that it is a proper name. Granting that it is so proved, which, on the face of it, seems impossible, it would still be necessary that *Mahīpāla* should be an *Oḍḍa*, that is, belonging to the Orissa country, *Oḍḍa*, or *Oḍṛavishaya*. At the worst it can only mean an *Oḍṛa* king, or viceroy, or governor, or something analogous, and could not be brought, by any feat of jugglery, to mean the *Pāla*

king of the name Mahīpāla I, king of Puṇḍra, North Bengal. To put this beyond dispute, what is required is the recovery of the correct reading of the document. The Tirumalai inscription published by the late Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya in the *South Indian Inscriptions* is unfortunately corrupt in the part under reference, and the Tamil is quite unintelligible in the reading presented. It is this corrupt reading that led to the Rai Bahadur's and the late Dr. Hultzsch's attempting to make something out of it, and to the various suggestions and guesses—nothing more—as to what it was. The first point to make sure, in a matter like this, is the text. It is a Tamil document, and what is written must be Tamil; and if there are errors in the writing or even in the composing, we may go the length of suggesting corrections to make the Tamil really intelligible. To do anything more would be supererogation. We have now, what the late Mr. Venkayya and others had not, a number of complete documents of Rājendra-Chola in Tamil, by a comparison of which we can come to an understanding of the real text of the inscriptions in regard to this particular point. The Tamil records state categorically “on emerging from Kosala, the general defeated Dharmapāla and captured Daṇḍabhukti; attacked Raṇasūra and took Dakkaṇa-Lauḍam; forced Govinda Chandra to get down from his elephant and flee, and took the country of Vangāla of unceasing monsoon drizzle. Then he reached the *Sangamam* and there frightened out of the field Oṭṭa-Mahīpāla”. The Tiruvālangādu plates state (in *śloka* 114) that the Oḍra King Indra-ratha was defeated. In the course of the battle the handle of the state umbrella and the pearl in the head of the elephant carrying it were cut off (apparently at one stroke), bringing eternal disgrace on the dynasty of the moon (115). The next *śloka* has it that, after capturing all the wealth of Raṇasūra, the Chola general entered Dharmapāla's territory; and having conquered that he came to the holy River Ganges (*sura-sravamīmāgamat* (116)). Then he made the rulers of the Ganges-bank (*tadīya-taṭabhūmināyakaiḥ*) carry the holy water

of the Ganges for the benefit of his master Madhurāntaka (117). It will be seen from this that the Tiruvālangāḍu plates refer first to the attack on Raṇaśūra of Dakṣiṇa Rāḍha, and then to that on Dharmapāla. The Tamil records, on the contrary, make Dharmapāla come first. This seems, on the face of it, irreconcilable ; but it need not be so regarded, as it is not at all likely that each one of these kings or their armies and generals sat quiet till the other was attacked and disposed of until the turn of each came. If they were neighbouring potentates they would have made a joint effort, and the attack by the invading forces might have been against the one or the other, or more likely both, and who was really defeated first is perhaps what is stated in the one case, while the attack is perhaps what is referred to in the other. Such a discrepancy is possible where the Sanskrit document lays itself out to describe these invasions in the style of a *digvijaya* (śl. 89), where such minute details are not of particular importance.

Coming to the most important point in the inscription for this particular discussion, we have to consider who *the* Mahīpāla under reference was. Unfortunately for us this word, in Sanskrit as well as in the vernacular languages borrowing the word, has two well-recognized meanings, (1) the general sense of the protector of the earth (Mahī), that is king, in a general sense. (2) It is also a proper name, Mahīpāla, though with the same meaning, and we know of at least two famous kings of this name : Mahīpāla of the Gurjara dynasty, and Mahīpāla of the Pāla dynasty. The discussion in respect of Rājendra's campaigns is whether Rājendra fought against Mahīpāla, the ruler of Puṇḍra or North Bengal, or, as Mr. A. C. Banerji would have us believe, Mahīpāla of, it may be, a restricted Vaṅga, that is East Bengal. In regard to this point it is open to doubt whether Rājendra's general ever went so far as East Bengal, and it is in that connection that the question arises whether he crossed the Ganges. The expression in reference to Bengal relates not to a Vaṅga in the Tamil inscriptions,

but to what the inscriptions called Vangāla-dēśa, with the general climatic feature noted of being exposed to unceasing monsoon drizzle, a feature which cannot be considered to be exclusively characteristic of Eastern Bengal, although Eastern Bengal does certainly share this feature prominently. In the whole of this document Rājendra's object does not appear to be the permanent conquest of any of these places or of an annexation, so that the mention of various divisions of territory, kingdoms, and the kings who are defeated, need not be interpreted as meaning, or even as involving as a remote consequence, the thorough subjugation of any one of these countries. The records are intended to convey no more than that Rājendra's invasion had to meet these enemies in some part of their territory and defeat them. Anything further than that can hardly be regarded as intended by the inscriptions. *Śloka* 116 of the Tiruvālangāḍu plates referred to above puts this beyond question.

We have next to consider the question of the Mahipāla. If the Mahipāla were referred to as such without a further tell-tale attribute, we should naturally be inclined to interpret it as meaning the ruler of the locality, that is, Mahipāla, the Pāla king of Bengal. Then we shall have to consider what exactly his territory was, whether it meant the whole of Bengal or whether it had any reference to East Bengal. We are spared all the trouble and doubt that that would have involved by the use of the attribute, Tamil Oṭṭa (Sanskrit, Oḍra or Oḍḍa), and what precedes these two terms is just the locality where this Mahipāla was actually defeated. It is there that the expression has become corrupt owing to the clerical staff misunderstanding the tenor of the expression, or because of the peculiar manner of the handwriting which may have admitted of a variety of readings, or even through simple ignorance on the part of the coppersmith who cut the inscription on the plates. The whole expression written in corrupt and unintelligible Tamil consists of three Tamil words, *Toḍu-kaḍal-sangama* or *sanga* (the word might still stand in

both forms). The total expression therefore would be *Toḍu-Kaḍal-sangama-Oṭṭa Mahīpālanai*, the Mahīpāla of the Oḍras at the junction where the (Ganges) touches the sea. The first three words therefore merely marked the location where the Chola army inflicted a defeat upon this Oṭṭa Mahīpāla. With the word Oṭṭa defining it, the question arises whether we should interpret the word Mahīpāla as merely a king or as the proper name of the individual Mahīpāla. Surely he is not the Mahīpāla of Northern Bengal (Pundra). Mahīpāla of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal is not likely to be described as Oḍḍa Mahīpāla. There is, besides, the fact that that Mahīpāla of the Pāla dynasty did not hold any territory on this side of the Ganges at the time when this invasion took place, before the thirteenth year of Rājendra-Chola, which would be equal to A.D. 1024. We do not so far know from other sources the name Mahīpāla as a ruler of any of the Kalinga dynasties known to history. The Gurjara Mahīpāla is far too early in point of date (commencement of the tenth century) to figure here. Hence we are driven to the alternative, the only alternative available, of interpreting the Mahīpāla here as merely king, and Oḍḍa Mahīpāla as being the Oḍra king against whom, and against whom alone, Rājendra's invasion was directed. He had to be defeated in several places and several times before he could be got to acknowledge allegiance to the Chola ruler. The invasion of Kalinga began perhaps as the result of the alliance that Rājarāja, the father of Rājendra, brought about between the Chola dynasty of the south and the eastern Chāḷukyas of Rajahmundry. More than one Kalinga invasion is mentioned in the reign of Rājarāja himself, and Rājendra's invasion therefore is nothing more than a continuation of these Kalinga invasions, or, at any rate, an invasion undertaken in pursuance of the Kalinga policy of his father. Nothing short of a complete defeat of the Kalingas would have satisfied the requirements of Chola foreign policy for the security of the northern frontier of the Chāḷukyas, their subordinate allies, and near relatives by family alliances. Hence the whole purpose of this northern

invasion by Rājendra the Gangaikonda-Chola had no further object than that of the subjugation of the entire territory of the Kalingas, which, at the time, probably extended rather far into the province of Bengal and right down to the very mouths of the Ganges in the delta part of Bengal. In the description of these campaigns we have really to bear in mind that the Chola records present an official *praśasti* called in Tamil *Meykkīrti*, literally a true laud, as a prefatory part of the various grants that are made. During the period immediately following composition, and before people can be expected to be rather familiar with it, the whole *praśasti* is set down *in extenso*. When sufficient familiarity with this document can be presumed it is merely alluded to by the recital of a few lines here and there of the *praśasti* which people concerned, and even posterity to some extent, could understand, since this particular part of the document is of no legal importance to the document itself. Hence, among the Tamil documents—we have about two dozen of them—a number recite portions only indicating the main incidents. Few recite the document as a whole. For a correct and complete reproduction of this *praśasti* we have to come to a date, the nearest in point of time to the date of the campaign. The Tirumalai inscription which the late Mr. Venkayya edited as a document of the twelfth year of Rājendra, goes only to the end of the Bengal campaign and omits any reference to the overseas campaign; whereas documents of his thirteenth year mention the Bengal campaign and carry forward the narration so as to detail all the overseas campaigns of Rājendra. The document of the thirteenth year of Rājendra (*Epi. Karnātaka*, vol. ix, Channapaṭṇa 24, which is a record in the Kailāsēśvara temple at Maḷūr in the Channapaṭṇa Taluk) carries the recital to the end. That seems to be the earliest reproduction we have of this record. The two preceding records in the same locality are of the twenty-third year and naturally give the whole of this introduction. But this document of the thirteenth year has the expression correctly set down: *Toḍu-kadal-sanga-motta-mahīpālanai*. Broken up

into separate words, this would be Toḍu, Kaḍal, Sangam, Oṭṭa, etc. Each one of these words appears in various corrupt forms in several records which purport to be copies of the same official document. To a reader familiar with Tamil, these would be merely corruptions due to clerical error either in misreading the original, which must have been in handwriting, or miswriting, so that the posterity that reads only misreads it. In any case a comparison of about fifteen to twenty of these readings leaves no doubt that the correct statement is in the document of the thirteenth year under reference. It becomes clear therefore from this discussion that the Mahīpāla under reference in these documents is not the Pāla king. The word Oṭṭa before the word defines the person as the king of Orissa and nobody else, Mahīpāla being a common noun, meaning a king or ruler, not a proper name; and the troops after defeating various rulers of that portion of Bengal came down to the junction of the Ganges with the sea, and returned from there, not to the Chola capital, but to Rajahmundri, where Rājendra himself waited with reinforcements. The final objective of the campaign was the crushing defeat of the king of Kaliṅga by Rājendra himself, marching at the head of his army. This would unmistakably indicate that the objective of the campaign did not extend beyond the sphere of political influence of the Kaliṅga king. As against this has to be noted what the Tiruvālangāḍu plates state about Mahīpāla. In recounting the incidents of this invasion the poet cannot resist interpolating a *śloka* (No. 118) in imitation of Kālidāsa's Raghuvamśa and the famous Nayakirti inscription of Pulikēśan (the Aihole Inscription) in regard to Rājendra's bath in the Godāvārī. *Śloka* 119 mentions the victory over Mahīpāla, the name being mentioned without any attribute, and the capture of all his wealth and his fame, and the general's return carrying the waters of the Ganges to his master. This *śloka* as it stands may well be interpreted as referring to king Mahīpāla, not merely to a king. In the light of the other historical documents of the reign, ranging over a period of

almost twenty years, it would be disregarding the ordinary canons of criticism to interpret the *śloka* text independently and equate Mahīpāla with the Mahīpāla of the Pāla dynasty. This would be the more absurd, as this very Sanskrit document says in the previous *ślokas* that the attack was against the rulers of the *territory on the bank of the Ganges*, which could only mean the hither bank, and the fact that the next *śloka* states that he arrived at the Ganges, without stating that he made an effort to cross it, makes it almost certain that the attack was on a Mahīpāla on this side of the river. Taken along with the precise statement of the Tamil records that it was Oṭṭa Mahīpāla, there is no doubt left that, even if it should be the proper name Mahīpāla, it has reference to an Oḍra or Orissan ruler Mahīpāla, and not to the Mahīpāla of Bengal. It is just possible, as the *śloka* 120 states, that Rājendra in the final attack on the Orissa king had with him a younger brother fighting with their joint resources, and that this younger brother had the name Mahīpāla, and was the governor under his brother of the frontier regions of Orissa up to the mouths of the Ganges. In any case, we have no warrant for suspecting the Pāla Mahīpāla in the context.

UTTARA LĀḌA

Coming next to the reference to *Uttara Lāḍa*, *Uttara Lāḍa* comes to be mentioned after the defeat inflicted upon the *Oṭṭa Mahīpāla*, where the Ganges reaches the sea. Nalaman-gala 7 (A), another Tamil document of the twenty-seventh year of Rājendra-Chola, states clearly that after this battle, in which Mahīpāla was defeated completely, and his elephants and the ladies that accompanied him were taken possession of as spoils of war, he is said to have attacked and taken *Uttara Lāḍa* "close to the sea yielding pearls"; and the general is said even to have taken possession of *Gangā* herself. Then begins the statement that the fleet was sent across the sea to the conquest of the overseas possessions. There is again nothing here to indicate that *Uttara Lāḍa* was on the other side of the Ganges and that the Chola army crossed

the Ganges to attack *Uttara Lāḍa*, nor does Mr. Banerji's statement call for it. *Uttara Lāḍa* may have included parts on the other side of the Ganges ; but this invasion need not have gone across the river for the purpose that it had set before itself as the objective of the invasion. As the statement appears in these records, the implication is nothing more than that the governor or ruler of *Uttara Lāḍa* came to the assistance of the *Oṭṭa Mahīpāla* and was defeated and turned back. What is said about the Gangā is perhaps no more than that he was able to take the water of the Ganges from the particularly holy place where it reaches the sea, unobstructed, and carried it, as his own tribute, to his master.

CONCLUSION


Mr. Banerji has thoroughly misunderstood our position in respect of Mahīpāla. The latter never can be equated for a moment with the Pāla king of Bengal. The Tiruvālangāḍu plates need not be rejected as historically a worthless document. Coming late as a *praśasti* the text merely indicates the main incidents of the campaign, like some of the Tamil documents themselves, while it may omit details and may not pretend to be either geographically or chronologically a correct narration, still it may be a correct document in regard to the recital of the main achievements of the king. It is in that sense that we quoted it as authority for the fact that probably Rājendra's army never crossed the Ganges anywhere, as such a feat as the crossing of the mighty river by the southern army would have been mentioned in the Tiruvālangāḍu plates as a striking achievement, as they actually do mention the crossing of the other Southern Indian coast rivers, as a feat worth mentioning. There seems to be really no contradiction between the Tamil documents and the Tiruvālangāḍu plates, so far as the main incidents mentioned are concerned. Hence the Sanskrit *praśasti* in the Tiruvālangāḍu plates has its value when it is properly interpreted and used to the extent to which it can legitimately be used.

Sumerian Philological Notes

By S. LANGDON

I

ZAGSAL, ZAGMIN = ZAMEN

LANDSBERGER, *ZA.*, 42, 147 and 155, deduced the reading *zamin* for , i.e. *zag-mim* > *zamin*, loan-word *sammû*, from the gloss [za]-me-in on *g^{is}ar-ri* "instrument of praise" = *sammû*. But the reading *zagsal* > *zašal* is proved by the dialectic *ša-za-al* in Genouillac, *Textes Cuneiformes*, xvi, pl. 144, *AO.*, 7687, 28; *a ùr-a al-a ša-za-al ga-na-ab-du* "How long, O city, to the tambourine and lyre? I will say".¹ Cf. *á-lá zag-sal-zu* = *ina alê ta[nitta-ka]*, K. 3228, Rev. 8, *OECT.*, vi, pl. 16. *zag-sal ba-an-du*, Zimmern, *Kultlieder*, 207, i, 9. For *a ùr-a*, dialectic for *a uru*, see my *Babylonian Liturgies*, 189, 12, *a urû-mu im-me* "How long, O my city, she cries". *a urû*, *PBS.*, x, 4, pl. 94, 52. *a é-mu im-me* = *ahulap bîti-mi igabbi*, *SBH.*, 93, 1. For *du* = *ḫabû*, cf. *be-dûg* (= *ikbi*) with var. *be-du*, *RA.*, 9, 115, 31 = 10, 100, 10; *ga-an-na-ab-du*, *JRAS.*, 1932, 929, iii, 1 = *ga-na-ab-dûg*, 946, 28.

Line 29 of *AO.*, 7687 reads: *a e-ni² a urû-za ga-na-ab-du* "Alas his temple, alas thy city, will I say".³ Cf. *a é* = *'u bîti*, *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms*, 52, 1; *a é a é*, Scheil, *RA.*, 17, 50, 14.

Line 31, *na-mu-šu-ub-e i-ni-ra ga-na-ab-du* (= *la tanamda-anni ina tâniḫi agabbi*). See *Babylonian Liturgies*, 120, vi, 1.

¹ Witzel, *Analecta Orientalia*, 12, 347, transcribed *a ùr-a al-a ša za-al ga-na-tab-tab gîr* and rendered "Mit einer Flut, des im gelasse Bewahrten Ort anfüllend, will ich ihm versehen das Versteck".

² Or *e-zà* "thy temple".

³ Witzel, *ibid.* "Mit einer Flut, einer vollen, will ich deine Stätte versehen."

The usual suffix for 1st sing. subject and object is *en*, in *nam-mu-un-šub-bi-en*; *na-an-šub-bi-en*, *SBP.*, 210, 12-14; *SBH.*, 79, Rev. 16 *et passim*.

II

THE VELAR NASAL *ng* (*ñ*), PALATAL *ń* (*ñ̃*)

In my *Sumerian Grammar*, § 38, 7, I designated the velar nasal, as in English *sing*, *hang*, *wing*, German *lange*, by *ng*, and the palatal nasal by *ñ*, as in French *montagne*, *ignorer*, English *linger*. There are many systems of representing these sounds, the most simple being that of Endemann and Meinhof: *ñ* = velar nasal, *ń* = palatal nasal. The international system of phonetics uses the letter *n* with long left shaft for palatal nasal, and with long right shaft for velar nasal. I find that few printers possess these signs, and consequently the signs *ñ*, *ń* will be employed here. Sumerian, like most languages, represents both sounds by *anga*, *unga*, *inga*, *enga*, *ungi*, *ingi*, *angu*. The problem is to assign these sounds to their proper organic positions. Which are palatal nasals *ń* and which velar nasals *ñ*? Are they fundamental and original consonants of the language or have they been evolved from simple sonant consonants *g* and *n*? In other words, are they the results of the nasalization of *g* and palatalization of *n*? It is certain that velar nasal *ñ* is an organic original sound in Sumerian, corresponding to the dental nasal *n*, and labial nasal *m*.

(A) *n* > *ń*. In Semitic languages before *i*, *î*, *e*, Brockelmann, *Vergleichende Grammatik*, i, 207.

n > *ń* (Palatal nasal) Palatalization of *n* after *u*

(a) *en-nu-un-gà-ni* = *mašarta-šu*, ii *Raw.*, 9, B 2-4; *en-nu-un-gà mu-un-da-ab-dū*, *CT.*, 15, 27, 22. That the change *ennuna* > *ennuńa* is not caused by a following nasal *n*, *m*, is proved by *en-nun-gà-bi*, *SBH.*, 27, 26; *en-nu-un-gà-ta*, ii *Raw.*, 9, 19; *en-nu-un-gà be-in-tuš*, *SBH.*, 130, 14. The nasal here is invariably written *un* + *gà*, not *un-ga*, and is clearly the palatal nasal *ń*, not *ñ*, as Delitzsch, *Sum. Gramm.* 19, stated.

$n > \acute{n}$ after *a*

(b) *gi-na-an* = *la'u*, *RA.*, 10, 82, iv, 6; *gi-en-na* = *šerru*, *CT.*, 11, 18, A 38 > *gi-na*, Weissbach, *Misch.*, Taf. 11, v, 12. Loan-word *ginû*, *CT.*, 12, 20, 38276, Obv. 13. But *ginanga* (*ginan-ga*) = *šerru*, *CT.*, 19, 13, B 11. Here *anga* is clearly palatal not velar nasal, and consequently *ng* may represent \acute{n} after any vowel.

After *i*

(c) *kinkinga* (*kin-kin-gà*) = *še'u*, pronounce *kikiña*, *CT.*, 16, 12, 44. $n > \acute{n}$.

After *u* (= § *a*)

(d) *riġamunga* = *ašamšutum*, *Bab.*, vii, pl. vii, col. ii, 5. But *ri-ġa-mun* = *ašamšutu*, *CT.*, 24, 44, 147; 32, 121; 25, 20 B 10. *ġa-mun*, Gudea, Cyl. A, 27, 12; 27, 20. *n* is here obviously the original sound and \acute{n} a palatalized and later form.

After *u* (= § *a*)

(e) *ġunga* = *nāhu*. *ġun-gà ġu-mu-ra-ab-bi* = *nūh likbi-ki*, Meek, *BA.*, vi, No. 21, Rev. 3; *OECT.*, vi, 10, 25; 16, 5. But *ġu-un* = *nāhu*, *YOS.*, i, 53, 148; *CT.*, 35, 4, 51. Pronounced *guña*.

The problem is whether $n > ng$ has here the sound \acute{n} or \acute{n} . *n* is obviously original and a process dental nasal $n >$ velar nasal *ng* (\acute{n}) is unlikely. The process seems to follow the analogy of *com* + *panis* (Latin) > *compañon* (French), *compañon* (English), after *i* and *a*. After *u* the sound $n > ng$ may be palatalized *ng*, the \acute{n}^2 of Sievers, *Phonetik*, § 322.

After *i* (= § *c*)

(f) *gušinga* < *guškin*, gold. *guškin-ga-ge*, *guškin-ga*, var. *guškin*, Poebel, *BE.*, vi, p. 81, year-date c + 1 of Abi-ešû. *guškin-ga*, *AJSL.*, 39, 180, 12. *guškin-ga-a*, Ammizaduga, year-date 8. Note that nasalized *g* is here written with *ga*, not *gā*, against Landsberger's theory.

(B) $g > \acute{n}$ or \acute{n} , or nasal *g* for velar *g*, or nasal spirant (palatalized *n*) for velar *g*.

$g > \dot{n}$ after i

(a) kingusila = *parab*, five-sixths. But *gi-gu-sil-la*, VAT., 10712, vi, 36. This example may not be correct, if *kingusila* is for *gin* = $\frac{1}{60}$ + *gu(la)* + *sila* "great sixtieth of a *sila*", i.e. fifty-sixtieths. In that case the process is $\dot{n} > g$. See *kingusila* = *paras rab*.

$g > \dot{n}$

(b) *dingir* god, from *digir*. Already in *Sum. Gr.*, p. 39, n. 6, I stated that *digir* > *dingir* > *dimmer* is surely the original process, since the Accadian loan-word¹ *di-gi-ru-u* = *ilu*, CT., 25, 18, 10. Here *dingir* > *dimmer* proves that the sound is \dot{n} not \ddot{n} ; for the process $\dot{n} > m$ is well known, Sievers, *Phonetik*, § 800.

(c) *ingar* = *igaru*, wall, from *é-gār*.

(d) *nanga*, sign name of *ELTEG*, S. A. Smith, *Miscel.*, 25, 3 + CT., 11, 46, A 39; but *na-ga*, CT., 12, 28, Obv. 32; *na-ag-ga*, JRAS., 1905, 830, 7. *na-an-ga*, CT., 12, 30, 93065, 13.

(e) *en ga-mu-un-ga*, Zimmern, *Kultlieder*, 196, ii, 15; but *en-ga-mu-ug-ga*, l. 16. JRAS., 1932, 917. Verbal form from *ug* = *mātu*, to die.

(f) *na-an-ga-tum-da*, verbal form, OECT., i, 41, 11, where emphatic prefix *naga* < *gana* becomes *naña* or *naña*. See *na-ga-an-tum-da*, l. 3.

(g) *nangari*, sign-name of *NAGAR* (na-ga-ar), CT., 11, 3, 23. By dissimilation the Accadian loan-word is *naggaru* > *namgaru*. *Sum. nangar* > *lamga(r)*, ii Raw., 47, 66, is a case of nasal *l* for *n* and dissimilation of $n > m$ in the process *nagar* > *nangar* > *namgar* > *lamgar* > *lamga*.

(h) *nimgir* = *nagiru*, lord master, *Syl.*, B i, 8. *ni-mi-ir*, PBS., x, 174, 4; *li-bi-ir*, CT., 19, 44, K. 4226, ii, 13 = 19, 34, Sm. 293, 4; *mi-gi-ir* = *nagiru*, RA., 21, 178, iii, 10. Since loan-words indicate the original forms, the original Sumerian is *nagir* > *nigir*.

¹ Loan-words are usually taken from the original classical Sumerian, not from the dialectic forms. See *igaru* "wall", from *é-gār*, dialectic *ingar*.

(1) *nigir* > *ningir** > *nimgir*.

(2) *nigir* > *ningir* > *nimir*. Here *ng* > *m* proves that the sound of *ng* is *ñ* not *n*, as in *digir* > *dingir* (*dñhir*) > *dimmir*.

(3) *nigir* > *libir*, § 41d.

(i) *sangu*, sign-name of *SAG* (sa-ag) head, *CT.*, 11, 2, 41, but sign-name *sag-ga*, l. 42. *sa-an-ga*, S. A. Smith, *Miscel.*, 25, 8. *Ē-sag-ila*, in Aramaic *ēsangil*, *CT.*, 4, 39, 6; *ZA.*, 41, 295, note 6. Wherever *sag-gà* (not *sag-ga*) occurs, Landsberger, *ZA.*, 41, 295, defends the pronunciation *n*, i.e. nasal *g*, not *ñ*. *sang*, *šang* "head" is then reduced to *šan*. The Aramaic proves that the sound is *n* or nasal *g*, not palatalized *n* or *ñ*; cf. *gur-sag* = loan-word *hursanu*, mountain. *guš-sag* (*gu-ša-a-an*) = *hušanum*, *RA.*, 22, 49. *ur-sag* = *ur-ša-nu*, *CT.*, 18, 29 B 31. *irsag* = *uršanu*, *CT.*, 35, 6, 67 = *YOS.*, i, 53, 235. An interesting example of *ñ* > *n* is Genouillac, *TC.*, 16, 144, *AO.*, 7687, 32; *za-na-mu tu-gi i-si-ši te-mu-ta* "Uphold thou my head, receive from me (my) lament".¹

For *sag-tuk* = *kullu ša rêši*, cf. *dudu* = *kullu ša rêši*, *CT.*, 19, 49 A 3; *sag nig-šig-ga-a-ni ġe-en-dū(g)-dū(g)-e-ne* = *rissu ana damekti likillu*, *CT.*, 16, 48, 258; *sag-tu-uk-zu ġe-a* (= *lū mukil rêši-ka*), *PBS.*, i, 2, 127, ii, 26; *sag-gà-na tuk-be-ib*, *PSBA.*, 1918, 56, 36.

(C) Insertion of nasal *n*, *m* before sonants. This is not nasalization in a strictly phonetic sense, but parallel to the Greek *m*, *n* inserted into roots ending in linguals, labials, and palatal mutes, *μᾰνθᾰνω*, *λαμβᾰνω*, *λανχᾰνω*. This epenthetic nasal occurs in *umbara* < *ubar*, protégé (*kidinu*), *CT.*, 18, 30 B 18. *ba-an-da-ab-ga* = *tušmūt*, thou hast crushed, for *ba-da-ab-gam* on all vars., Zimmern, *KL*. 64 II 7-8 = *PSBA.* 1915, 67, 10-11; *SBH.* 131 Rev. 3-5.

(D) *ñ* (*ng*), velar nasal is *fundamental* in some words, where no basic *n* or *g* can be assumed. *inga*, *enga*, *unga*, *anga*, assertive particle before and after the verbal root. *in-ga* = *ù*

¹ Witzel, *An. Or.*, 12, 347-8, rendered "Mit dem, was meine 'Würmchen' (Schützlinge) gewährten, (mit) dem, was mein Klagegeschrei erreicht hat".

šu-u "and this", "and so it is," *RA.*, 13, 94, 41-2. *en-ga* = *ma-a*, l. 43, *in-ga me-en-dé-en* = *nīnu-ma* "verily we"; *in-ga me-en-zí-en* = *attunu-ma*, *PBS.*, v, 152, vi, 37; *in-ga-e-zu*, verily thou knowest, *PBS.*, i, 2, 127, ii, 7. *un-ga* = *appuna*, verily now, *RA.*, 13, 94, 39. *un-gà* (var. *un-gu*) *ù-be-tab* = *biššip appuna*, may he add thereto straightway, *RA.*, 11, 144, 11.

an-ga, *RA.*, 13, 94, i, 40; 42-3; *an-ga-ám*, *PBS.*, v, 152, vi, 41; *AJSL.*, 28, 227, 21.

305.

Some Notes on the Feudal System of the Mamlūks

By A. N. POLIAK

THE feudal system of the Mamlūks is of great interest not only because it existed for 267 years in the leading state of the Arab world and left some permanent marks on the subsequent social and economical development of Egypt, Syria and Palestine, but also from the sociological point of view, being the result of an intermixture of three various feudal systems which corresponded to peculiar cultural worlds : the Mongol, the Islamic, and the West European. The fundamental principles were borrowed from the Mongol Empire and consequently all the lawsuits relating to the fiefs were settled not by the *qāḍīs* and according to the Islamic Law, but by the military judges (*ḥujjāb*) and according to the laws based upon the rules of *Chingiz Khān*.¹ The technical terms used in the official Arabic-written documents and in the Arabic literary sources were partly borrowed from the terminology of the Islamic Law, but their sense was considerably removed from their ancient meanings—which may signify that they were now used only as more or less faithful translations of the terms employed in the Turkish dialect of the Mamlūks. The Western feudalism, brought to Syria by the Crusaders, influenced the Mamlūk system chiefly through the medium of the native tribal chieftains, who after having been vassals of the kingdom of Jerusalem were gradually becoming feudatories of the Sultan of Cairo, and sometimes received the feudal charters from both powers at the same time.² In the charters granted by the Latin

¹ *Khiṭat*, ii, p. 219, l. 28 to p. 222, l. 10 ; especially p. 219, l. 33. The Mongol influence is treated by me in *Revue des Études Islamiques*, 1935, pp. 231–248.

² *Ṣāliḥ Ibn Yahyā*, 2nd ed., p. 55, l. 15 to p. 56, l. 2 ; p. 56, ll. 3–6, 8–12 ; p. 57, l. 13 to p. 58, l. 1 ; p. 79, l. 6 to p. 80, l. 16.

rulers of Sidon (in 1256) and Beirut (in 1280) to two chieftains of the Buhturide family¹ the term "fief" is translated by the word *shakāra*, which means "a land given in reward for a service",² but the word *mulk* is also used, as well as the verbs *a'īā* and *wahaba* which usually refer to the *unconditional* transfers of the right of possession.³ The reason for it seems to lie in the fact that the Arabic-writing clerks of the Crusaders were native Christians, who under the Moslem government were accustomed in their internal relations only to the transferences of allodial lands (*mulk*), and now introduced into the feudal charters the expressions familiar to them. After the Mamlūk conquest the native chieftains tried to claim the lands granted to them by the Crusaders as *mulk* in the Islamic sense of the word, but the government (though tolerating the use of this term in regard to them) regarded them as ordinary feudal lands.⁴ The Mamlūks did not use the Arabic feudal terminology of the Crusaders in relation to their own fiefs,⁵ but nevertheless were considerably influenced by the Latin feudal practices as long as the Latin rulers remained their neighbours. We find in this period the view that the fiefs must be hereditary, on the condition of loyal behaviour of their holders⁶; that in the case of the Sultan acting

¹ Ibn Yahyā, p. 57, l. 13 to p. 58, l. 1; p. 80, ll. 5-6. For our subject it is indifferent whether these documents are authentic or not: their terms are so different from those used in the Moslem documents that they must be similar to the real charters granted by the Latin rulers to the native chieftains. After the downfall of the Latin states there was no reason to falsify such documents.

² To-day it signifies "a piece of land given by the villagers to the religious teacher, the guardian or the artisan, or by the garden-owner to the gardener" (see the *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statements*, 1891, p. 106; 1894, p. 196).

³ Ibn Yahyā, p. 57, l. 14 (*a'īā*), 15 (*mulk*); p. 80, l. 5 (*wahaba*).

⁴ Ibn Yahyā, p. 60, ll. 13-14; p. 79, l. 9; p. 80, l. 1; p. 81, l. 9; p. 90, l. 23; p. 93, ll. 3, 16-17; p. 134, l. 9; p. 155, ll. 5-6; p. 156, l. 22. The term *shakāra* also continued to be used in relation to these lands: p. 81, l. 9.

⁵ See, however, the use of *a'īā* by Abū l-Fidā', *Ta'riḫh* (ed. 1286 A.H.), iv, p. 35, l. 23 (in other places is used only with the complement *iqfā'an*).

⁶ This view was especially encouraged by Baybars I: *Sulūk* of al-Maqrizī-Quatremère, i, i, pp. 233-4, 237; i, ii, pp. 17, 18.

treacherously towards the feudatories he loses the right to their fiefs as well as to their service¹; that if he deprives a fief-holder of his fief this knight is free to enter the service of another prince.² We find then also a case of homage rendered by the feudatories to the Sultan when they were receiving their fiefs,³ while the Islamic feudal system knew only the investiture. After the downfall of the Latin states of Syria all these phenomena vanish, and the case of the Sultan Jaqmaq, who tried to make the fiefs once more hereditary, is only an exception.⁴

The Mamlūk fief is designated in the Arabic sources as (a) *iqṭāʿ*, in the plural *iqṭāʿāt* or *aqāṭīʿ*,⁵ (b) *khubz*, in the plural *akhbāz*,⁶ or (c) *mithāl*, in the plural *mithālāt*.⁷ The measure of the fiefs was the *ʿibra*, i.e. the average yearly revenue derived from a fief by the lord, when expressed in a fictitious monetary unit called *dīnār jāyshī*.⁸ At the time of *al-rawk al-nāṣirī*

¹ *Sulūk*, i, i, p. 53.

² Abū l-Fidāʿ, iii, p. 195, ll. 16–18.

³ *Sulūk*, i, i, p. 206 (the knights and tribal chieftains of al-Karak in 1263).

⁴ Ibn Iyās, ii, p. 34, l. 25.

⁵ The old Islamic term *qaṭʿa* is quoted for philological and historical reasons only: *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*, xiii, p. 104, l. 10; *Khīṭat*, i, p. 95, ll. 38–9. The verb *aqṭaʿa* is not often used, being mostly replaced by the expressions “*al-khrajā lahu iqtāʿān*” or (especially by Ibn Taghrī Birdī) “*anʿama ʿalayhi bi-iqtāʿin*”. The fief-holders—*al-muqṭaʿān*, *arbāb al-iqtāʿāt*, *ulū al-iqtāʿāt*. *Al-bilād al-muqṭaʿaʿa* (Ibn al-Jīʿān, p. 4, l. 18; p. 86, l. 23; Zetterstéen, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamlükensultane*, p. 81, l. 2) = lands divided into fiefs. *Ramā bi-l-iqtāʿi* (Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-Sāfi*, ii, MS. Paris, Arabic 2069, fo. 51, p. 2, l. 8) = gave up the fief.

⁶ *Al-mukhbaza (al-Taʿrīf)*, p. 112, l. 9; p. 113, l. 7) = *al-muqṭaʿān*. *Qaṭaʿa al-Khubzahu* (*Khīṭat*, i, p. 88, l. 18; p. 90, ll. 33, 37; Abū l-Fidāʿ, iii, p. 195, ll. 16–17; iv, p. 54, l. 5; p. 55, l. 15; p. 60, l. 11; p. 91, ll. 17–19; p. 145, l. 30) = deprived the feudatory of his fief. The word *khubz* was particularly used to denote the fiefs of *al-ḥalqa* granted to the descendants of emirs (*awlad al-nās*), mostly exempt from active military service (so the examples cited in *Sulūk*, i, ii, pp. 159–161; *Nujūm*, vi, p. 386, ll. 11–15). In this case it is an equivalent of *rizq* (Ibn Iyās, iv, p. 15, ll. 11, 18; p. 136, ll. 4–19; p. 150, ll. 13–18).

⁷ *Nujūm*, vii, p. 853, l. 15; *Ḥawādith*, p. 620, ll. 18–19. This name was derived from the document by which the fief was granted.

⁸ Ibn al-Jīʿān, p. 3, l. 8–9. The revenue expressed in a real currency (dirhems) was called *mutaḥaṣṣil*; so in the example cited by Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, ii, p. 91.

(1315) the value of *d.j.* was fixed as 10 dirhems in the case of the fiefs of "emirs of hundred", superior "emirs *al-tablakhāna*", Sultanian Mamlūks, and knights of *al-halqa*; as 9 dirhems in the case of the fiefs of officers of *al-halqa*; as 8 dirhems in the case of the fiefs of inferior "emirs *al-tablakhāna*" and provincial governors of this grade; as 7 dirhems in the case of the fiefs of provincial governors of the grade of "emirs of ten".¹ This difference of value is not explained; it seems, however, that the low value of *d.j.* (and consequently the small measure of the fiefs) in the case of the provincial governors (8-7 dirhems) was fixed with regard to benefits derived by them from their administrative position. In 1375 *d.j.* had a uniform value of 13½ dirhems.² Since the great devaluation of the dirhem at the commencement of the fifteenth century³ *d.j.* lost all connection with the real monetary units, but was still used for comparing the revenues of various villages in order to put them (or their portions) together into fiefs.⁴ Generally we may say that *d.j.* was a means to measure and compare the real revenues of the fiefs throughout the constant alterations of the Mamlūk monetary system.

We possess two lists of the *'ibra* fixed for every description of Egyptian fiefs. One of them⁵ is from the time of *al-rawk al-nāṣirī*. The figures of the second, compiled by several authors,⁶ do not differ considerably from those of the first, but are of more vague and elastic nature. Since we know that

¹ *Khiṭat*, ii, p. 318, l. 11 to p. 319, l. 6.

² Ibn al-Jī'ān, p. 3, l. 8. The same figure is mentioned in *Ṣubḥ*, iii, p. 443, ll. 12-20, being probably copied from earlier sources.

³ *Ṣubḥ*, iii, p. 448. Afterwards it was a copper coin.

⁴ Ibn al-Jī'ān, p. 3, ll. 12-15. The old figures, fixed when *d.j.* still had some real value, were roughly corrected according to the general information upon the state of the villages and mostly diminished (p. 7, l. 4; p. 14, ll. 8, 14, 21; p. 15, l. 7; p. 17, l. 6; p. 18, l. 2, 8; p. 19, l. 22; p. 20, ll. 4, 17; p. 22, l. 27; p. 24, ll. 10, 15, etc.).

⁵ *Khiṭat*, ii, p. 218, l. 11 to p. 219, l. 6.

⁶ *Khiṭat*, ii, p. 216, ll. 5-10. *Ṣubḥ*, iv, p. 50, ll. 10-13. *Masālik al-abṣār*, cited by Quatremère in *Sulūk*, i, i, p. 174, n. 54. *Muqṣid*, cited by Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris, 1923, p. xlii.

al-rawk al-nāṣirī brought no substantial changes in the graduation of fiefs which was formerly used¹ and that after *al-rawk al-nāṣirī* this graduation was no more revised,² we may consider the second list as its general form, used throughout all the Mamlūk epoch, and the first as a particular case of its application (in 1315). A doubt has been expressed by Gaudefroy-Demombynes as regards the possibility of such great revenues as those mentioned in the second list; but we know that in 1375, after the great blow given to Egyptian agriculture by the Black Death in 1348,³ the whole agrarian 'ibra of Egypt still amounted to 9,584,264 *d.j.*⁴ Formerly it was undoubtedly much greater, and by the side of the territorial fiefs there were generally also pecuniary fiefs, which consisted of other state revenues.⁵ These fiefs could be either annual allowances from the income of a tax levied by the government or taxes (or other revenues) levied by the fief-holders on their own account. As examples of the first kind we may mention the tax on the crops brought by ships to Cairo⁶ and the weekly and monthly taxes (*al-mujāma'a wa-l-mushāhara*) on the mills and merchants in Cairo⁷; as examples of the second—the taxes on the flocks of those Lybian nomads who were periodically entering Egypt for pasturage⁸ and on the food consumed during the fast of

¹ The Sultan succeeded in diminishing the fiefs' extent by an equivocal means: to the amount of the 'ibra he added two taxes, one of which (*hadiyya, diyāfa*) already had been levied by the fief-holders without being counted in this amount, and the other (*jawālī*) was now conceded to the fief-holders by the central government (*Khīṭāt*, i, p. 88, ll. 17-19, 34-35).

² *Al-Manḥal al-Sāfi*, v (MS. Paris, Arabic 2072), fo. 204, p. 1, ll. 3-4.

³ Ibn Iyās, i, pp. 191-2.

⁴ Ibn al-Jīn, p. 3, l. 4.

⁵ *Ṣubḥ*, xiii, p. 117, ll. 15-16. Cf. the pecuniary fiefs in the Latin states of Syria: J. L. La Monte, *Feudal monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1932, pp. 144-7. The abolishment of the pecuniary fiefs on the occasion of *al-rawk al-nāṣirī* (*Khīṭāt*, ii, p. 217, ll. 33-4) was only temporary.

⁶ *Khīṭāt*, i, p. 88, l. 37 to p. 89, l. 5.

⁷ Ibn Iyās, iv, p. 25, ll. 1-5; p. 304, l. 6-21; p. 328, l. 21 to p. 329, l. 3; v, p. 17, ll. 18-19.

⁸ *Ṣubḥ*, iii, p. 462, ll. 1-2.

Ramaḍān by the Lebanese peasantry.¹ The charters (*manāshir*) relating to the pecuniary fiefs were absolutely similar to those relating to the territorial, except that instead of the villages' names there was mentioned the allowance or revenue concerned.²

The following table shows the relation between both the aforementioned lists. It must be remembered that the Mamlūk army consisted of three principal corps³: (a) *ajnad al-ḥalqa*, i.e. the knights who were in the sultan's service without being his affranchized slaves. In the case of war every forty of them were commanded by a *muqaddam al-ḥalqa*, every 1,000 (usually supervised by a *naqīb alf*) by an "emir of hundred" (consequently designated also as "emir of 100 and commander of 1,000"). (b) The Sultanian Mamlūks, who were affranchized slaves of the reigning sultan, of the former sultans, and of dead emirs. The eunuchs, who were military instructors of the young Mamlūks, were called *muqaddamū l-mamālīk*. (c) The emirs and their Mamlūks. An "emir of 100" had in his service 100 (and sometimes up to 120) Mamlūks; an "emir *al-ṭablaḥḥāna*"—40 (and sometimes up to 80); an "emir of 10"—10 (and sometimes 20); an "emir of 5"—5. Two-thirds of the revenue of each emir's fief should be divided by the emir among his Mamlūks, by granting them either portions of his fief⁴ or pecuniary allowances from its revenue.⁵ It should be mentioned that the annual allowance of an emir to each Mamlūk was, as we may deduce from this table, between 183–605 *d.j.* (the first list) or 200–1,333 *d.j.* (the second list)—which is approximately the same amount that a knight in the Latin states of Syria annually received from his lord, 400–600 (and sometimes 1,000) besants (= *dīnārs*).⁶

¹ *Ibn Yahyā*, p. 167, l. 19 to p. 168, l. 1; p. 192, ll. 10–13.

² *Subh*, xiii, p. 156, l. 9.

³ *Subh*, iv, p. 14, l. 8 to p. 16, l. 11. *Nujūm*, vi, p. 386, l. 17 to p. 387, l. 9. *Zāhiri*, p. 113, ll. 4–18; p. 116, ll. 7–19.

⁴ *Khīṭat*, ii, p. 216, l. 2.

⁵ *Ibn Iyās*, ii, p. 337, ll. 21–6.

⁶ *La Monte*, p. 150.

THE GRADE	In 1315			Usually
	THE FIEF'S REVENUE	THE EXPENSES ¹	THE NET FIEF'S REVENUE	THE FIEF'S REVENUE
<i>Emir of hundred.</i>				
Group A . . .	100,000 d.j. = 1,000,000 dir.	100,000 dirhems	900,000 dir. = 90,000 d.j.	} Ca. 80-200,000 d.j.
Group B . . .	85,000 d.j. = 850,000 dir.	70,000 "	780,000 dir. = 78,000 d.j.	
<i>Emir al-ṭablakhāna.</i>				
Group A . . .	40,000 d.j. = 400,000 dir.	35,000 "	365,000 dir. = 36,500 d.j.	} Ca. 23-30,000 d.j.
Group B . . .	30,000 d.j. = 240,000 dir.	24,000 "	216,000 dir. = 27,000 d.j.	
General-Governor	20,000 d.j. = 160,000 dir.	15,000 "	145,000 dir. = 18,125 d.j.	
Governor . . .	15,000 d.j. = 120,000 dir.	10,000 "	110,000 dir. = 13,750 d.j.	
<i>Emir of ten.</i>				
Group A . . .	10,000 d.j. = 100,000 dir.	7,000 "	93,000 dir. = 9,300 d.j.	} From 9,000 d.j. ² and less. 3,000 d.j.
Group B . . .	7,000 d.j. = 70,000 dir.	5,000 "	65,000 dir. = 6,500 d.j.	
Governor . . .	5,000 d.j. = 35,000 dir.	3,000 "	32,000 dir. = 4,571 $\frac{1}{3}$ d.j.	
<i>Emir of five.</i>				
<i>Sultaniyān Mamlūk.</i>				
muqaddam . . .	1,200 d.j. = 12,000 dir.	1,000 "	11,000 dir. = 1,100 d.j.	—
Group A . . .	1,500 d.j. = 15,000 dir.	—	—	—
Group B . . .	1,300 d.j. = 13,000 dir.	—	—	—
Group C . . .	1,200 d.j. = 12,000 dir.	—	—	—
Group D . . .	1,000 d.j. = 10,000 dir.	—	—	—
<i>Knight of al-balqa.</i>				
muqaddam . . .	1,000 d.j. = 9,000 dir.	900 "	8,100 dir. = 900 d.j.	From 1,500 d.j. and less.
Naqīb alif . . .	400 d.j. = 3,600 dir.	400 "	3,200 dir. = 355 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.j.	—
Group A . . .	900 d.j. = 9,000 dir.	—	—	} From 250 d.j. and more.
Group B . . .	800 d.j. = 8,000 dir.	—	—	
Group C . . .	700 d.j. = 7,000 dir.	—	—	
Group D . . .	600 d.j. = 6,000 dir.	—	—	
Group E . . .	500 d.j. = 5,000 dir.	—	—	
Group F . . .	400 d.j. = 4,000 dir.	—	—	
Group G . . .	300 d.j. = 3,000 dir.	—	—	

¹ The expenses necessary in order to transport to Cairo the grain levied from the peasants on account of the taxes and to pay the government dues on it (*Khiṭāt*, i, p. 88, l. 36). Cf. what I wrote on the grain trade of the feudals in *Revue des Études Islamiques*, 1934, pp. 260-1.

² In *Khiṭāt* 7,000, probably a mistake.

A Syrian fief was equal to two-thirds of a fief of the same grade in Egypt. The only exceptions were the fief of the governor-general of Damascus, which approached those of "emirs of 100" in Egypt, and the fiefs of *ajnad al-halqa* in the province of Aleppo, which were sometimes greater than the corresponding fiefs in Egypt.¹ In Syria there were no Sultanian Mamluks.² The connection between the measure of a fief and the military grade of its holder was so strong that we often find in the sources phrases like "his fief was an emirate of 10", "he received the fief of x, which was an emirate of 50 horsemen," etc.,³ "2½ lances" (*rimḥān wa-nisf*) = a fief sufficient to maintain 2½ Mamluks, i.e. half a fief of "emir of 5".⁴ The number of fiefs of each grade was often and considerably changed.⁵

In Egypt a territorial fief of an emir usually contained 1-10 villages; of a Sultanian Mamluk—sometimes a village, more often only half a village or less; of a knight of *al-halqa*—only a portion of a village.⁶ Since *al-rawk al-nāṣirī* (1313 in Syria and Palestine, 1315 in Egypt) each fief was, as a rule, scattered in various parts of Egypt (in the case of an Egyptian knight) or of that Syrian province in which the knight served.⁷ In a village which had several lords each lord had serfs of his own, who paid the taxes directly to him or to his envoy (*qāṣid*); the collective responsibility of the village existed only in relation to the extraordinary tax levies of the central

¹ *Ṣubḥ*, iv, p. 50, ll. 14-17; p. 216, ll. 16-18.

² *Zāhiri*, p. 104, l. 15.

³ *Sulūk*, ii, i, p. 45. *Sakhāwī*, p. 218, l. 14; p. 426, l. 10. *Nujūm*, vi, p. 9, ll. 6-7, 13; p. 68, l. 17. *Ḥawādith*, p. 183, l. 7; p. 186, l. 12; p. 190, l. 12; p. 302, ll. 13-14; p. 322, l. 10; p. 352, l. 10; p. 511, ll. 11-12; p. 512, l. 7; p. 596, l. 14.

⁴ *Ibn Yahyā*, p. 184, l. 4; p. 187, l. 21; p. 188, l. 7; p. 194, l. 7; p. 200, ll. 14, 22.

⁵ Cf. the figures of the Mamluk army in 1315 (*Khiṭāt*, ii, p. 217, l. 35 to p. 218, l. 11) with those of the time of al-Maqrizī (i, p. 95, ll. 12-14).

⁶ *Ṣubḥ*, iii, p. 457, l. 15 to p. 458, l. 2.

⁷ *Khiṭāt*, i, p. 90, ll. 7-8. *Al-Manḥal al-Sāfi*, v (MS. Paris 2072), fo. 96, p. 1, ll. 19-20. *Ibn Yahyā*, p. 91, l. 7, and all the charters posterior to *al-rawk* (e.g. p. 164, ll. 4-5).

government, but not to the lords' taxes, even if the whole village was possessed by a single lord.¹ In a village possessed by several lords the portion of each lord was described in his charter either as $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, or $\frac{1}{6}$, or some number of *qīrāts*,² *faddāns*, or shares (*ashum*).³ In the modern Syro-Palestinian village community (*mushā'*) the portion of each clan (*ḥamūla*) in the common land is also some constant number of *qīrāts*, *faddāns*, or shares,⁴ and therefore it seems that the lord's possession of a portion of a village depended on his being the lord of the *ḥamūla* entitled by custom to the corresponding portion of the common land. This is further proved by the notice that the attempt of one lord of the Egyptian village, al-Nahrīriya, to build his stable on a cultivated field was opposed by other lords of the same village,⁵ which may only signify that each field was possessed in turn by everyone of the lords through the medium of his serfs, and consequently the lords opposed the conversion of a portion of their common possession into the private holding of one of them. The word *ḥamūla*, lit. "a loaded beast", possibly dates from this period, when each clan carried on its back a separate lord. We see in the examples cited by Ibn Yaḥyā how one village was always possessed by a single lord (just as to-day there are villages which contain only one clan) and another was constantly divided among the lords in the same manner (by *qīrāts*, *faddāns*, etc., according to the local custom). I do not want to go so far as to admit that the modern organization was created by the Mamlūk feudal system, but it was probably consolidated by it.

¹ *Hawādith*, p. 654, ll. 4-22. *Nujūm*, vi, p. 399, ll. 14-20.

² *Qīrāt* = $\frac{1}{24}$. Practically there is no difference between this case and the previous one, because 24 may be divided by 2, 3, 4, and 6.

³ So in the charters cited by Ibn Yaḥyā and in those cases of villages divided among several lords which are mentioned by Ibn al-Jī'ān. "Shares" are mentioned in *Sulūk*, ii, i, p. 89, and M. van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, i, p. 354, l. 19.

⁴ Sir John Hope Simpson, *Palestine, Report on Immigration, Land Settlement and Development*, 1930, p. 31.

⁵ *Khīṭat*, i, p. 250, l. 6.

Every lord was, in relation to other lords of the village of which he possessed a portion, a "co-partner", *sharik*,¹ and his portion was called *hiṣṣa*² or *naṣīb*.³ In relation to his serfs he was "the lord", *ustādh*.⁴ He could legally exploit his fief as he liked.⁵ However, most of the lords contented themselves with collecting the taxes fixed by custom, which in Egypt were: (a) the rents of the cultivated lands, *kharāj*.⁶ (b) The gifts at specified times of the year (*hadiyya*), some of which originated from the duty to receive hospitably the lord on his visits to the fief (*diyāfa*).⁷ The sheep included in this tax were (partly or wholly) sent to the lord before the feast of 'Īd an-Nahr.⁸ (c) The tax on the population other than Moslem (*jawālī*). Prior to *al-rawk al-nāṣirī*, it was only occasionally conceded by the central government to the fief-holders,⁹ afterwards always.¹⁰ (d) The tax levied from the peasants (in addition to the mobilization of their manual labour, beasts, and implements) for the annual reparation of the local irrigating dams (*al-jusūr al-baladīyya*) and canals.¹¹ (e) The taxes on commerce and industry, *mukūs* or *al-māl al-hilālī*.¹² These taxes were most profitable when the

¹ *Hawādith*, p. 133, l. 4; p. 379, l. 7. Ibn al-Jī'ān, p. 80, l. 18; p. 84, l. 13. *Ṣubḥ*, iii, p. 457, l. 17. *Khiṭāt*, i, p. 250, l. 6.

² *Nujūm*, vi, p. 432, l. 11. *Hawādith*, p. 117, l. 16; p. 128, l. 12; p. 133, l. 4; p. 658, ll. 6, 7.

³ *Hawādith*, p. 379, l. 7; p. 577, l. 16.

⁴ *Nujūm*, vii, p. 93, l. 18. *Hawādith*, p. 654, l. 9. Ibn Iyās, v, p. 130, l. 20. The same word denoted in this period his position in relation to his slaves and to the Mamlūks bought by him. On the legal status of the serfs see *Khiṭāt*, i, p. 85, ll. 37-9 (*falāḥa* = serfdom!).

⁵ *Khiṭāt*, ii, p. 217, l. 31. *Ṣubḥ*, iv, p. 50, l. 8. Cf. *Hawādith*, p. 631, l. 23.

⁶ *Ṣubḥ*, iii, p. 452, l. 14 to p. 454, l. 13. Denoted also as *ray'* (*Hawādith*, p. 458, l. 19) and *mughall* (*Nujūm*, vi, p. 71, l. 1; cf. Ibn Iyās, i, p. 331, ll. 4-5).

⁷ *Khiṭāt*, i, p. 88, ll. 28, 34; p. 90, l. 16; p. 103, ll. 23-4. *Nujūm*, vi, p. 430, ll. 11-12.

⁸ Ibn Iyās, iv, p. 207, ll. 3-5.

⁹ *Sulūk*, ii, i, p. 132.

¹⁰ *Khiṭāt*, i, p. 88, l. 35; p. 90, ll. 8-11. *Ṣubḥ*, iii, p. 463, ll. 1-4.

¹¹ *Ṣubḥ*, iii, p. 449, ll. 4-19.

¹² *Ṣubḥ*, iii, p. 471, ll. 4-9.

inhabited place conceded as a fief (or divided into fiefs) was a small town. (f) In Southern Egypt the lords used to levy a tax (*'idād*) on the flocks pastured on the uncultivated fields.¹ In other localities such pastures were simply leased. (g) Occasionally the central government conceded to the fief-holders its right to the heritages upon which there were no private legal claims.² In the Syro-Palestinian regions conquered from the Crusaders, the Mamlūks at first accepted without changes the taxation usual under the former régime³ and afterwards gradually brought it into a system more unified and similar to the Egyptian customs. Contrary to the opinion expressed by C. H. Becker,⁴ we find in Egypt in this period cases of colonizing activities of emirs in their fiefs,⁵ though these were rather exceptions. The residing of a fief holder in his fief was for the most part a kind of banishment,⁶ except when he was a native tribal chieftain.

¹ *Ṣubḥ*, iii, pp. 453-4. *Khiṭat*, i, p. 107, ll. 30-4.

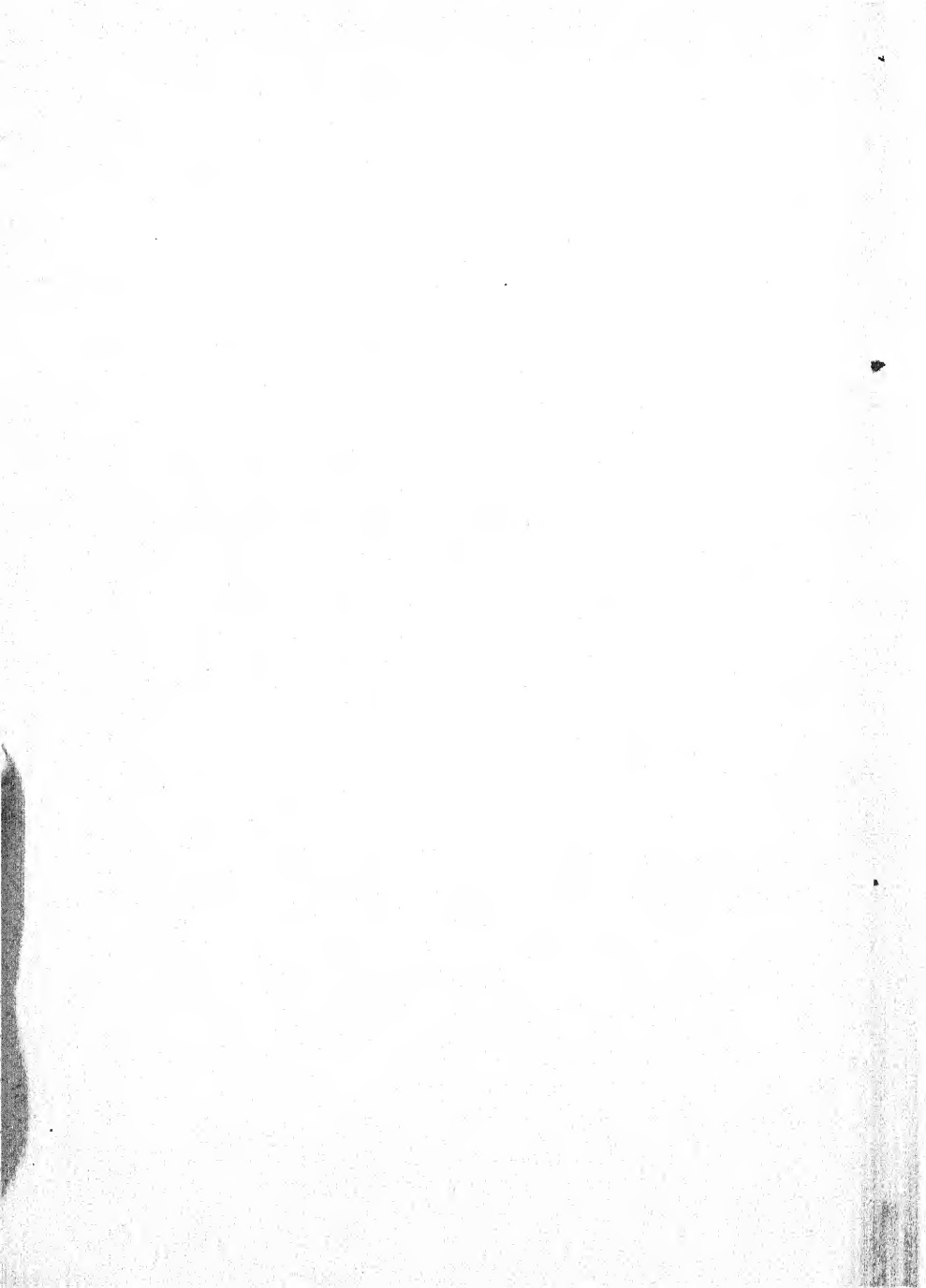
² *Sulūk*, ii, i, p. 132.

³ *Ṣubḥ*, xiv, p. 45, ll. 2-6; p. 50, ll. 13-16.

⁴ *Grundlinien der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung Aegyptens in den ersten Jahrhunderten des Islam*, Klio, 1908.

⁵ Ibn Iyās, i, p. 164, ll. 22-7 (cf. *Khiṭat*, i, p. 250, ll. 4-12); ii, p. 163, ll. 17-18. Ibn Duqmāq, v, p. 24, l. 24. Ibn al-Jī'ān, p. 185, l. 19.

⁶ Abū l-Fidā', iv, p. 35, l. 23; p. 48, l. 2; p. 60, l. 11. *Ḥawādith*, p. 603, l. 2. Ibn Iyās, i, p. 154, l. 6; ii, p. 305, l. 6; p. 306, l. 5; iv, p. 19, ll. 3-7 (cf. p. 245, l. 6).



MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

THE BUILDERS OF THE FĀTĪH MOSQUE : CHRISTODULOS OR SINĀN ?

In a recent article Mr. Nicholas N. Martinovitch,¹ attempts to prove that the old Fātih mosque at Constantinople was built by a Greek architect, Christodulos by name.

The Fātih mosque was built for the first time in A.H. 867-875 (A.D. 1462-3-1470-1). Mr. Martinovitch states that "According to a tradition it was believed that a Greek, Christodulos by name, was the builder of the old Fātih mosque at Constantinople".² However, no contemporary Turkish or foreign historians mention this tradition. In fact, the legend of Christodulos exists only in the testimony of Demetrius Cantemir, Prince of Moldavia, who says, speaking of "a jami built by Mahomet Fatih" (the Fātih mosque): "The architect was, they say, a Greek Christian named Christodulus."³ To satisfy any doubt that might arise from this "THEY SAY" Demetrius Cantemir adds below: "However, that the Muhamediè is the work of Christodulus, and that he receiv'd in recompence the street before mentioned, I am induc'd to believe from the writing given by Mahomet to Christodulus on this occasion, which I my self read, and afterwards lodged in the Treasury of the Church of the blessed Virgin Mary at Muglotissa." I have no reason to refuse to accept the story of Christodulus, so far, other than the doubt which already exists, that Cantemir could not read Old Arabic, and my own suspicion that such a document never existed.

Demetrius Cantemir, speaking of Selim's temple in Constantinople says: "The architect was a Greek of Constantinople, who besides this built another and more

¹ "Two Questions in Moslem Art," *JRAS.*, April, 1935, p. 285.

² *Ibid.*, p. 285.

³ *The History of the Growth and Decay of the Ottoman Empire*, London, 1734, p. 109, Annotation No. 31.

stately temple at Adrianople.”¹ Cantemir does not mention the name of this architect but in another place in the same book gives this additional information: “A certain Greek architect, who had built for Selim at Adrianople, a large and elegant temple. He was NEPHEW of another architect, whom Sultan Mahomet II intrusted with the care of a jami which he built at Constantinople.”² After condensing these three statements of Cantemir we seem to reach the following conclusions:—

(1) The Fâtih mosque was built by a Greek architect named Christodulus.

(2) A NEPHEW of Christodulus, unnamed, was the architect of Selim’s temple in Constantinople.

(3) The same NEPHEW of Christodulus, the architect of Selim’s temple in Constantinople, was also the builder of Selim’s mosque in Adrianople.

But this is where Cantemir becomes wholly disqualified as a trustworthy source of information as to the architect builders of the above-mentioned mosques. For it is known beyond any doubt that the builder of Selim’s temple in Constantinople and Selim’s mosque in Adrianople was one, the chief court architect, known as MÎMÂR BÂSHI KODJA SİNÂN, to whom Evliya Chelebi refers as “Abdal Sînân”.

Mîmâr Sînân’s nationality has remained another dark puzzle in the history of Ottoman architecture. Edwin A. Grosvenor wants to believe that “Sinan, in his ancestry was an Ottoman of the Ottomans”.³ Others have indicated that he was an Albanian,⁴ some that he was a Turk, Greek, or Austrian, and even that he was a Magyar. Dr. Tadaüs Mankowski believed that he was an Armenian. But now there is no more need to speculate because a newly found Turkish document definitely establishes Mîmâr Sînân’s nationality.

¹ Ibid., p. 182, Annotation No. 21.

² Ibid., p. 105, Annotation No. 17.

³ *Constantinople*, Boston, 1895, vol. ii, p. 654.

⁴ Gaston Migeon, *Les Arts Musulmans*, 1926, p. 20.

A Turk author, Ahmed Refik, published the papers of the Imperial archives of Constantinople in the *Türk Tarikhü Engiumeni Megemuassi*, a periodical, in the issues June, 1930, to May, 1931. And in No. 5, page 10, he published a document dated A.H. 981 (A.D. 1573), Ramazan 7, which read as follows :—

“To the justice, Hiussein tchawush, of Ak-Dagh. High Command.

“The present head of the Imperial architects, hearing that by Imperial decree we have ordered the deportation of our subjects of Kayseri, has petitioned us by letter that the population living in the village of Aghernass (Agroenoss), his birthplace, and his relatives, Sari Oghlou, living at the village of Kutchi Beoriunggez, and his relatives Uliisa and Kod Nishan, from the village of Urgub, who are our subjects, should be exempt from deportation to Cyprus. And accordingly I grant exemption to the population of the above-named village, the birthplace of the above-named petitioner, and also grant exemption from deportation to the above-mentioned of his relatives, and I accordingly command that upon receiving my order even if the records in the books already call for the deportation of the old inhabitants of the above-mentioned village, and his other relatives, that the names be erased and they should not be molested, under the pretence that they are of those who were to be deported ; and it is willed that this high command should be registered in the record book, and the original turned over to them.

“Given to master Mehmed. 7 Ramazan A.H. 981 (A.D. 1573).”

The above-mentioned head of the Imperial architects, in the year 1573, and so during the reign of Sultan Selim II, was no one but Mîmâr Sinân. The document states that he was a native of Aghernass, a village about Kayseri, in Asia Minor. That he also had relatives in the villages of Kutchi Beoriunggez and Urgub, near Kayseri. The document gives

the names of some of his (Sinān's) relatives, one Sari Oghlu, one Kod Nishan, and a woman named Uliissa. NISHAN and ULISSA are purely ARMENIAN NAMES, used ONLY by Armenians, and they are quite popular even in our times. So naturally, Mīmār Sinān, having Armenian relatives in the villages of Kayseri (Cæsarea Cappadocia or Mazaca), could not be of any other nationality but Armenian.

Thus, Mīmār Sinān being an Armenian, it follows that the architect of the temple of Selim in Constantinople and Selim's mosque in Adrianople was an Armenian. Accordingly, when Cantemir informs us that the architect, ". . . . who had built for Selim at Adrianople, a large and elegant temple. He was NEPHEW of another architect, whom Sultan Mahomet II intrusted with the care of a jami which he built at Constantinople," it is clear that the jami mentioned here is none other than the Fātih mosque. And therefore the uncle of the Armenian architect, Mīmār Sinān, was another Armenian, and not a Greek with the name Christodulos.

And what was the name of this *uncle*? The answer is given to us by Dr. Aga-Oglu, "who happened to find in a Turkish chronicle a passage in which the architect of our mosque (the Fātih mosque) is named Sinān. Moreover, he discovered that Sinān's full name was Sinān ad-Dīn Yusuff ban(son) 'Abdallah and that his nickname was *al-'atiq*".¹

We agree that *al-'atiq* means "a freed, emancipated slave", which also "gives us the idea of Sinān's Christian origin".² But I do not agree that "ban (son) of Abdallah" is purely decorative, for "son of Abdallah" is a signature used by Armenian architects and tile decorators of Seljuq mosques and medresses of Asia Minor. We also agree that "Sinān ad-Dīn Yusuff" cannot be abbreviated to Sinān, but I cannot see how Sinān ad-Dīn Yusuff mentioned in the chronicle quoted by Dr. Aga-Oglu could be confused with some other

¹ "Two Questions in Moslem Art," by Nicholas N. Martinovitch, *JRAS.*, April, 1935, p. 285.

² *Ibid.* p. 287.

Sinān, or especially with *Mī'mār bāshi Kodja Sinān*, who was born 9 Redjeb A.H. 895 (A.D. 1490, May) and died 12 Djemal-ul-evel A.H. 996 (A.D. 1588, June 3), thus living 98 years. The Fātih mosque built, A.D. 1462–1471, must have been built by another Sinān (Sinān ad-Din Yusuff), and so the confusion is now resolved.

Thus in conclusion we may say that the legend of Christodulos is a mere legend. That there were two Sināns, one in the fifteenth and the other in the sixteenth century. That they were NEPHEW and UNCLE, and in their respective times they served various Sultans, building for them among other edifices the Fātih mosque, the temple of Selim in Constantinople, and the Selim's mosque in Adrianople. That their nationality as Armenians, from the district around Kayseri, is established beyond doubt by the Ottoman Imperial document here quoted.

H. KURDIAN.

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NOTE ON HITTITE PHILOLOGY

wappu

In the unpublished text Bo. 2535, which Professor Ehelolf has kindly allowed me to copy, occur the following words:—

Obv. 6. *nu ku-wa-pi wa-ap-pu-w[a-az LÚ].MEŠDUG.QA.*
*BUR IM ma da-aš-kán-zi*¹

¹ The correct reading and interpretation of this line is due to Professor Ehelolf, to whom I am also indebted for most of the references here used. The frequency of the phrase *wappuwaš IM* (see below) suggests that we have here not the Hittite word *imma*, which yields no satisfactory sense, nor yet IM with adversative *-ma*, which is not only meaningless but also an impossible position for the particle, but the nom.-acc. of an r/n stem from which the final *-r* has been dropped; cf. Götze-Pedersen, *Muršilis Sprachlähmung*, pp. 30–1. To this stem belongs very probably the instr. IM-ni-*it*, Bo. 2357 i 7 ff.: *na-at IM-ni-*it* iš-ta-ap-aš-*hi** (verb restored from a similar passage in Bo. 5810 iii 11 ff.); and the dat./loc. IM-ni (Bo. 2357 i 5, Bo. 5810 iv 11). However, an *a-* stem nom. IM-*aš* is also attested, e.g. xv 39 ii 15, and acc. IM-*an* vii 55 ii 3, xii 58 i 9, 19. Cf. *hunḫueššar* and *hunḫuesna-*, Ehelolf, KLF., i, 395 ff.

7. *nu a-píd-da pa-i-ši nu wa-a[p-pu-u-]i kiš-an me-ma-at-ti.*

8. *wa-ap-pu-mi-it* (Remainder badly broken).

"And where the potters get clay from the *wappu*, to that place you go and to the *wappu* you say 'my *wappu*'."

Not only does l. 8 of this passage prove that *wappu* is a neuter in -u of the type *genu*,¹ but a further investigation of the material, in conjunction with l. 6, has shown that the true meaning of the word has not yet been recognized.

The majority of passages in which the word is found fall together into one large group with a more or less similar context: the priest or priestess goes to the *wappu* and there performs a ritual which is connected with the deities GUL-šeš and MAḪ. A number of instances may be found in Forrer's article on these deities in *Revue Hittite et Asiatique*, i, 144 ff. The best example of the ritual is (KUB.) vii 53 + xii 58, but ix 21, xvii 27 ii 16 ff. and xxiv 9 iv 6 ff., and xxiv 12 iii 22 ff., all belong to the same type. Now in the last example the phrase *ÍD-aš wappui* (l. 24) occurs, and it is clear that this is here a mere variant for the single word *wappu*, which appears in a similar context elsewhere. Hence *wappu* is a part of a river.

This conclusion is strongly supported by the fact that in all the above texts there are connexions with a river. Thus in vii 53 iv 6 ff., this text is entitled "Incantation of the river"; in xvii 27 ii 22, the word is parallel to the phrase *ÍD-aš a-ar-šar-šu-ri*,² and in xxiv 9 iv 9, *wa-ap-pu-u-*

¹ Cf. Götze, *Mu. Ann.*, 215. *wappu* also as masc., Bo. 635 obv. 10, *nu-za-kán ÍD-aš wa-ap-pu-un*.

² Misread by Forrer (loc. cit., p. 149) as *a-ar-še-e-šu-ri*. "The word appears written *ar-šar-šu-u-ra*, Bo. 5063 obv. 15. This perhaps suggests a derivation from the root *arš-* 'flow'; cf. formations like (*ÍD-aš*) *ú-e-el-ú-i-la-aš*, xxiv 9 iv 10, and probably also *hu(wa)nḫueššar* 'wave'; for *arš-*, see Friedrich, *ZA.*, N.F., v, 45⁴; said of a river ix 3 i 10, and further Bo. 4990 obv. 13 (ap. Ehelolf, *ZA.*, N.F., ix, p. 177). Bo. 4990 obv. 19, twice as a word for 'current' the interesting neuter *aršanu*, written *a-ar-ša-nu*, also in the closely related text Bo. 706 rev. 9, *ar-ša-nu*." [Ehelolf.]

wa < *aš* > ^DMAḪ stands between *ÍD-aš kur-ki-iš-ni* and *ÍD-i*. The text of which ix 21 is a fragment probably also contained similar references, though if so they are now lost.

Now we have seen from Bo. 2535 obv. 6 that a *wappu* is the place where potters regularly obtain their clay, and, in fact, the phrase *wappuwaš* IM "clay of the *wappu*" occurs very frequently not only in the ritual of the gods GUL-šeš and MAḪ, but also in other contexts, e.g. KBo. iv 2 i 47 ff.; KBo. ii 3 ii 11, with its duplicate xii 34 + xii 59 + xv 39, col. ii, 15; ix 39 i 3, and x 72 ii 9. A *wappu* is thus clearly a place where the earth is exposed, and since it is part of a river it can only be the river-bed itself.

We can even go further. In viii 75 i 64 the word occurs as a topographical designation for a certain field in the middle of a list of similar descriptions, from which the following sequence results:—

(59) ŠA ÍD (61) ŠA PA₅ (64) *wa-ap-pu-ú-wa-aš* (66) ^h*u-u-i-el-la-ri-iš* (68) ŠA ÍD ^{URU}*Ta-ak-ka₄-pa-šu-wa-az*.

wappu is thus not merely a river-bed but a river-bed as distinct from a river or a canal. It is, in fact, the Hittite word for a dry river-bed or "Wady".

The meaning "grave" which Friedrich suggested for *wappu* in ZA., N.F., 3, 192, was deduced primarily from KBo. iv 2 i 47 ff., on the ground that if the clay "brings back" the demon to the *wappu* the demon must previously have been living there. This does not follow, since the word "back" here refers not to the demon but only to the clay which came from the *wappu*. The meaning is proved impossible by *ÍD-aš wa-ap-pu-u-i*, xxiv 12 iii 24. Forrer's translation "cave" does not allow for the *wappu* being the place for obtaining clay.

O. R. GURNEY.

INTERESTING GENITIVE PREPOSITIONS IN
RĀJASTHĀNĪ.

In the fine ballad *Ḍholā Mārū rā Dūhā*, recently published (see review on another page in this number of the *Journal*) occur eight instances of *sandāũ*, *handāũ*, and *hundāũ*, which we may translate "of". Following R. L. Turner we may derive the first and second from *sant*, and the third from *bhavant*, not forgetting, however, his remark that "-nt > -nd" is a development unusual in Rājasthānī.

They are to be connected with Kashmiri *sandũ* and *handũ*, which are pronounced *sund* and *hund*, for in Kashmiri an unstressed *a* followed by u-mātra is pronounced *u*.

The following are the lines in which the words occur. The numbers indicate the dohas:—

61 *sajjan sandāĩ kārāñāĩ hiyaũ hīlūsāĩ nitt*.

because of the loved one, the heart is always eager.

556 *lahrī sāyar sandiyā vūthāũ sandāũ vāo*.

the waves of the sea, the wind after rain (lit. the wind of rain).

Here one would expect *vūthāĩ*, but the ballad is not over anxious about grammar.

656 *bāļāũ bābā desṛāũ pāñī sandī tāti*

I would burn up, father, a land (which has) difficulty about water.

630 *pūhar sandī ḍūmnī Ūmar handāĩ sahih*

a gipsy woman of her father's house (who was) with Ūmar.

509 *huntā sajjan hīyare sayāñā handā hatt*

there were on the loved one's heart the lover's hands.

307 *āpañ jāe joiyāũ karhā hundāũ vagg*

he himself went and searched the camel's stable.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

AN OLD MOORISH LUTE TUTOR

In 1931-2 I published four short Arabic texts on music from "unique manuscripts", with translations, under the title of *An Old Moorish Lute Tutor*.¹ Since then certain information has become available which deserves consideration. Of these four texts the first, the most important, was entitled by me the *Risāla fī ma'rifat al-naḡhamāt al-ṭhamān*, although actually the treatise has no title. The original is in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid (No. 334/2) and for many years it has excited the curiosity of both Arabists and musicographers.² The Egyptian National Library considered the treatise of sufficient importance to obtain a photostat of it. As I pointed out, it was mainly on account of this curiosity and interest that I issued the text together with a translation and commentary.

In March, 1935, my good friend Dr. F. Krenkow informed me that he had a book in Maghribī Arabic which contained a section on music and offered to lend it to me. On its arrival I found that it was entitled *Al-anīs al-muṭrib fī man laḡiyahu mu'allifuhu min udabā' al-maḡhrib* by Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn Al-Ṭaiyib al-Sharīf al-'Alamī, which was lithographed at Fez in the year 1315 A.H. (= A.D. 1897-8).³ On perusing the section on music I was surprised to find that it contained the whole of the text of the *Risāla fī ma'rifat al-naḡhamāt al-ṭhamān* which I had edited from the Madrid manuscript.

¹ See *JRAS.*, 1931, pp. 349-366; 1932, pp. 99-109, 379-389, 897-904. With slight alterations the articles were republished as *An Old Moorish Lute Tutor* (Glasgow, 1933).

² See Mitjana, "L'Orientalisme musical et la Musique arabe" in *Le Monde Oriental* (1906), pp. 212-13, and Lavignac's *Encyclopédie de la Musique*, iv, p. 1922. Since my text was published further interest has been displayed. See *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Musikwissenschaft*, 1933, pp. 62-3; *Music and Letters*, 1933; *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1936, Nr. 3; *Revue de Musicologie*, Fev., 1936.

³ This is the title of the Fez lithograph and it agrees with that mentioned by Brockelmann, *Gesch. Arab. Litt.*, ii, 458; but cf. the title given in the *Nashr al-maḥānī* and Lévi-Provençal's *Les historiens des Chorfa*. See below.

It is remarkable that not a solitary Arabist has called attention to this fact. Stranger still is the silence of the specialists, yet during the Congress of Arabian Music at Cairo in 1932 I distributed copies of my text among the European, Egyptian, Tunisian, Algerian, Moroccan, Syrian, and 'Iraqian musicians and musicographers present on that occasion. Yet not even Baron Carra de Vaux the *doyen* of specialists in Arabic musicography, nor Père Collangettes, nor Baron Rodolphe D'Erlanger, nor his assessor Sidi Muḥammad al-Manūbī al-Sanūsī, nor the savant Sidi Ḥasan 'Abd al-Waḥḥāb of Mahdia appear to have known that the text had already been published. Even M. Alexis Chottin, the best known authority on Moroccan music and the Director of the Conservatoire of Music at Rabat, was not aware of it in 1934.¹ Finally, the officials of the Egyptian National Library must also have been ignorant of it, otherwise they would not have troubled to secure a photostat of the Madrid manuscript.

However, I find that the Fez lithograph is quite a scarce book in its way and is not well known outside of Morocco. This may account for the silence of Arabists and musicographers to which I have alluded. At any rate, we are glad to have the Fez text because it enables us to compare the two versions and to call attention to a few salient points.

The question of the date of the treatise is of paramount importance. Al-'Alamī, the author of *Al-anīs al-muṭrib*, was one of the famous literati of the time of Maulāy Ismā'il (1672-1729). He was born at Fez and had several eminent teachers including 'Abd al-Salām al-Qādirī (1648-1698),² Maḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Qādir al-Fāsī (d. 1704-5),³ and Muḥammad al-Bū 'Iṣāmī,⁴ who taught him music.

¹ See *Nord-Sud; La Revue Illustrée du Maroc* (1934), pp. 69-70.

² His grandson, Muḥammad b. al-Ṭaiyib b. 'Abd al-Salām al-Qādirī (d. 1773) gives a biography of Al-'Alamī in his *Nashr al-maṭhānī*, Fez, lith., A.H. 1310, ii, 124.

³ I gave a portion of a treatise on music by his brother 'Abd al-Raḥmān (d. 1685) in the *JRAS.*, 1931, pp. 362-6.

⁴ Lévi-Provençal and Alexis Chottin write 'Aṣāmī.

Al-'Alamī went to the court at Mequinez and in 1721-2 undertook the pilgrimage but died on the way at Cairo.¹

Al-'Alamī claims to have taken the section on music in his book from a discourse by his teacher Muḥammad al-Bū 'Iṣāmī. The latter, who came from the Tāfilālt district in South-East Morocco, must be placed in the mid-seventeenth century. Yet since the Madrid manuscript is considered to date from the second half of the sixteenth century we must conclude that Muḥammad al-Bū 'Iṣāmī also derived his discourse from an earlier source. As I have already pointed out, the absence of the names of the Perso-Turkish modes seems to point to a date prior to 1504.

The section on music in the Fez lithograph is rather longer than in the Madrid manuscript and it is fuller in places. The textual variations are too numerous to register here, but a few of the more important points which emerge, especially those which confirm my own emendation of the text, may be worthy of notice.

p. 101, line 6. The order of the strings, from left to right on an upright lute, is ا ب و , i.e. the notes are *C.a.D.G.*, as I had already surmised (p. 385), and not ا و ب , i.e. *C.D.a.G.*

p. 102, lines 14-15. The notation in the Fez lithograph runs, from left to right, as follows:—

ا ب ج د ج ب ا ج د ج ب ا ب ا ج د ج ب ا

p. 103, lines 1-2. The notation runs:

ب ب ا ج د ج ب ا ج د ج ب ا ب ا ج د ج ب ا و ه

Dr. Robert Lachmann, Director of Extra European Music at the University of Jerusalem, has transcribed

¹ Other biographies of Al-'Alamī may be found in René Basset, "Recherches bibliographiques sur les sources de la Salouat el-anfas," in *Recueil de Mémoires et de textes publié en l'honneur du XIV^e Congrès des Orientalistes*, Alger, 1905, p. 39; and Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens des Chorfa*, Paris, 1922, p. 296. For this and other information I have to thank Dr. F. Krenkow.

the Arabic notation given in my text into the European notation. See *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Musikwissenschaft*, 1933, pp. 62-3, and pl. 30*. These are evidently the *naghāmāt al-buḥūr* or metric melodies to which I have referred in my article "Ghinā'" in the *Encyclopædia of Islām*, v, 83.

- p. 105, line 1. The missing branch mode, as I had surmised (p. 356), is '*irāq al-ʿajam*.'
- p. 106, line 3. The picture of a tree showing the various modes, which is missing from the Madrid manuscript, is included in the Fez text.

M. Alexis Chottin, of Rabat, informs me that he also possesses a manuscript of the *Risāla fī maʿrifat al-naghāmāt al-thamān* and that he hopes to issue a French translation.

H. G. FARMER.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Near East

WOMEN IN THE AIYAM AL-'ARAB. By ILSE LICHTENSTADTER.

A study of female life during warfare in pre-Islamic Arabia. pp. 90. London : Royal Asiatic Society, 1935.

The author is Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Frankfurt am Main, and the present dissertation continues an earlier investigation published in *Islamica*, vol. v, p. 17 ff. In that dissertation we read the author drew "a picture of the every-day life of early Arabic women by abstracting it from its poetical glorification by the *Nasib*. In the *aiyam al-'Arab* we see quite a different phase of their life; the battle accounts do not show us women as lovers as was represented to us in the love-poems (*nasib*). Here women are depicted in the crude reality of Arab every-day life, in the struggle of all against all which took place in the Arab Peninsula before the rise of Islam".

The present essay consists of two parts : first, a translation of the passages in the *Aiyam al-'Arab* concerning women ; and second, a summary regarding woman's position in the social life of the tribe and her rank and authority. In dealing with the treatment of women in warfare, the capture and treatment of captives, the author might have found germane references in the Koran, but none are cited ; for example, the following statement might have been based upon the practice in early Islam :

"Captive women, just as all other booty, were distributed among the men who took part in the *Ghazw* or in the battle. In the narrative of the Yaum an-Nisar we find a distribution list, with the names of the women and the men to whom they were given as their share in the spoil."

This admirable study corroborates the judgment of earlier writers, such as Robertson-Smith, Perron, and Wellhausen,

regarding the position of woman in pre-Islamic Arabia. In spite of Mohammed's humane ordinances, the place of woman in the family and in society has steadily declined under his law. In ancient Arabia women moved about more freely and asserted themselves more strongly than in the modern East.

N.R. 40.

S. M. ZWEMER.

THE ORIENTAL ORIGIN OF HELLENISTIC KINGSHIP. By CALVIN W. McEWAN. Or. Inst. Univ. Chicago, Studies in Anc. Or. Civilization, No. 13. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 7, pp. xii + 33. Chicago, 1934.

This is a careful and documented survey of the prehistoric evolution of kingship as an institution, the forms which it assumes in the ancient world, and eventually in Hellenistic culture. The author claims to demonstrate that "the recurrence of this institution in the sophisticated culture of the Hellenistic world was a conscious adoption from the East of a convenient political form". No one doubts the widespread observance of "divine kingships" in Egypt, Mesopotamia, and other regions of the Nearer East. The question, however, has been long debated, whether the honours paid to, and the status claimed by, Alexander and his successors, was of precisely, or even generically, of the same kind. The crucial instances would seem to be Egypt, where Alexander first exhibited inclination towards this view of his own monarchy, and Persia, where McEwan produces some little-known evidence, and rightly emphasizes Gow's point that "Æschylus and his audience knew, at least by hearsay, a great deal more about Persia and the Persians than we are ever likely to know" (p. 19), and the negative instance of the later kings of Macedon, who "deemed it impious" even to call Alexander a god.

A. 460

J. L. MYRES.

TRAITÉS RELIGIEUX, PHILOSOPHIQUES ET MORAUX, extraits
 des œuvres *d'Isaac de Ninive* (VII^e siècle) par Ibn
 as-Salt (IX^e siècle). Arabic text edited and supplied
 with a translation in French by Le R. P. PAUL SBATH.
 10 × 7, pp. 128 + x. Cairo : The Delta Trading Co.,
 1934.

This is a book made up by Ibn as-Ṣalt from the Syriac
 works of the original author, and consists of passages con-
 cerning asceticism and monasticism collected and translated
 into Arabic by the compiler. It contains maxims and other
 rather simple edifying matter. M. Sbath produces an excellent
 edition from a manuscript in his possession which appears to
 be unique, and his translation will be found to be most useful.

A. 550.

R. GUEST.

THE PRIMORDIAL OCEAN. An introductory contribution to
 Social Psychology. By W. J. PERRY. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 6, pp. x
 + 380, map 1. London : Methuen, 1935. 15s. net.

Readers of Mr. Perry's *Children of the Sun* and other works
 will know what to expect here. The thesis is stated briefly
 on p. 248 : " The probability is that the original creation of
 land out of the Primordial Ocean " as many people's folk-lore
 narrates it, " happened at one place only. It is well known
 that the title ' Son of the Sun ' was assumed by the kings of
 Egypt during the Fifth Dynasty. There is no reason to believe
 that any other people was responsible for a like innovation.
 In the present state of our knowledge Egypt has the sole
 claim to be the home of the ' Children of the Sun '. There-
 fore it is in Egypt that we should first seek the Primordial
 Ocean." Mr. Perry also states (p. 341) that " the well-known
 Greek ' key ' pattern was likewise borrowed from Egypt.
 It was a development of the Egyptian sign for a house." As
 he goes on to observe, " the history of human behaviour
 . . . provides many surprises."

A. 534.

J. L. MYRES.

KITĀB AL-AWRĀK. History of al-Rāḍi and al-Muttaki. By al-Ṣūli. Ed. by HEYWORTH DUNNE. 10 × 6 $\frac{3}{4}$, pp. 308, 1 plate. London: Luzac and Co., 1935. 10s. 6d.

Only one manuscript is known to exist of this part of al-Ṣūli's work and that is in disorder and is probably incomplete (e.g. p. 197). The editor has been successful in reading the crabbed writing though some improvements can be made in the text. The book is a collection of notes and is often unintelligible, because the reader does not know to whom the pronouns refer. There is much lively detail; including a curious picture of the caliph's "associates". Al-Rāḍi sorted out his books and gave to his friends those which he did not want, the sort which are sold by weight. He emptied into the Tigris several hundred jars of old wine; afterwards he was sorry. There are modern touches. A man planted a counterfeit coiner's outfit in a house belonging to one against whom he had a grudge. One of the Baridī brothers sent a gold cradle set with jewels to the chief of the Ḳarmatians. The publication of this book will hardly add to al-Ṣūli's reputation either as a writer or as a man.

A. 512.

A. S. TRITTON.

THE DEAD PAST IN TURKEY: OTTOMAN STATECRAFT. The Book of Counsel for Vezirs and Governors, of Sari Mehmed Pasha. Turkish text, with introduction, translation, and notes. By WALTER LIVINGSTON WRIGHT, jun. Princeton Oriental Texts, vol. ii. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 6 $\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 135 + 172 + xv. Princeton: University Press. London: Humphrey Milford, 1935.

This, the second volume of the Princeton Oriental texts, is of considerable interest. Professor Wright claims that he has been fortunate in his "find", since most of the materials illustrating the decline of the Ottoman Empire "are written in Turkish, unpublished, and buried in uncatalogued or inaccessible archives and collections". The claim may be

admitted. The book does throw light on the working of the great machine of government in the flourishing days of the Turkish Empire, and in its decline, though it has no bearing on the situation to-day. But it should not be difficult for students to discover in the archives other works even more significant. The libraries in Constantinople are full of this sort of thing.

Of the five manuscript copies known to exist of Sari Muhammad's book, photographic reproductions of four have been collated in preparing the text. The Istanbul manuscript, the earliest dated copy, is used as the basis of the translation, and variant readings are given. Professor Wright has been scholarly in presentation; though he has made no effort to trace the quotations in the text, nor, in his introduction, to unravel historical obscurities.

Mehmed Pasha wrote down his counsels at the beginning of the eighteenth century. He essayed to look objectively at the vast machine of the Ottoman State, of which he was himself a part, and to measure its defects and plan to remedy them. He founded himself in some degree on earlier writers, among them, of course, Ibn Khaldun, the Arab historian. The prose style of the book is ornate, replete with alliteration and sonorous phrases which are difficult to reproduce. Sari Muhammad's aim was renovation, not evolution. His eyes were fixed on the glorious reign of Sultan Süleymân in the sixteenth century. That being his ideal, he failed to realize that decay was inherent in a theocratic government which attached to absolute religious dogma the civil laws which need to be moulded with the times. Nor could he—though his moral precepts were sometimes excellent—perceive that in a government whose central pivot was the Sultan, degeneracy in the rulers must in the end prove fatal.

His counsels were all for the Vezirs and Governors who were slaves to the Sultan. He exhorts them to abstain from bribery and oppression, from avarice, pride, and calumny. But when, in timid moments, he dares to approach the theme

of the Padishah, he is unconsciously amusing,—one absolves him from cynicism. Thus the Grand Vezir, he urges, should not try at once to dispute a mistaken opinion of the Sultan's. "Let him first accept this opinion, however little he may approve it." Then by degrees he may tactfully suggest its inadvisability. Vezirs, too, should acquaint themselves with all the methods used by women and favourites of the seraglio, so as if need be to circumvent them.

In the main the counsels are good, and this is the more praiseworthy since they were committed to paper at a time of rapid decline in the fortunes of the State. Sultan after Sultan had grown tired of the herculean task of governing the great Empire, which reached from Hungary and Russia in the north to the Sudan and Yemen in the south, from Algiers in the west to the borders of Persia in the east. Authority was increasingly delegated to deputies who rose by favouritism rather than service. The practice of bribery was gaining official recognition. Princes of the Imperial line were given no fit training; such were the latent rivalries, they were brought up in virtual imprisonment in the palace. Their companions in seclusion were eunuchs and Circassian women, who initiated them in debauchery. The ruling House became degenerate.

Mehmed Pasha had occasion to learn the defects of the machine as it was running down. Of proved ability and power, occupying several times the high post of Treasurer and at one time handling the reins of highest office, he was called in when times were difficult, only to be cast aside when he had served his turn. In the end he was charged with oppression, negligence, contempt for both religion and government, and with speaking ill of the Padishah. He was executed by order of the Government which he had served for nearly fifty years. If he was guilty of the charges—the proofs are not forthcoming—he was a paradox, for his *Book of Counsel* is an elaborate treatise on the way in which such offences should be avoided.

It is more likely that his book, written shortly before his death, was the despairing effort of a Statesman to stay the disintegration of the Empire which was in progress. That he, and such as he, from time to time were utilized as the State was crumbling is doubtless one reason for the persistence so long of a system which, its zenith once reached, was doomed to decay. The courtiers who exploited and ruined the Empire had no wish to see it disappear, and so in times of greatest danger called in the Mehmed Pashas of their day, only to dismiss them, or precipitate their death, if they proved too sturdy. Sari Muhammad's treatise shows him a man honest according to his lights. That he was ambitious, and that the system of government inevitably made him rich, were weapons which jealous rivals doubtless used against him. But unless the sins of which he was accused can be substantiated, his Book of Counsel may be regarded as the swan-song of an honest Governor of the *ancien régime*.

A. 446.

I. A. HAMIT.

Far East

DICTIONNAIRE HISTORIQUE ET GÉOGRAPHIQUE DE LA MANDCHOURIE. Par LUCIEN GIBERT. 9 × 6½, pp. xx + 1040, pls., ills. 116, maps. 7. Hongkong: Société des Missions-Étrangères, 1934. \$10.0.

This imposing volume has been compiled somewhat on the lines of Papinot's excellent *Historical and Geographical Dictionary of Japan*. It contains, in alphabetical order, all the more important place-names in what is now known as Manchukuo, that is, the three old provinces of Manchuria, together with the newly formed provinces of Jehol and Hsing-an; accounts of several tribes and countries; and biographies of the chief persons connected with the history of this region from the earliest times.

In his preface, Père Gibert exposes the mistaken idea that Manchuria is in any sense a virgin country, hitherto

undeveloped and lacking a history. It is true that the Mongol invasion swept it more or less bare ; but prior to that date it had been inhabited by numerous peoples, some reaching no mean degree of culture, and had seen the rise and fall of dynasties and empires such as the Liao and the Chin, which proved formidable neighbours for the Chinese. All these things are set forth in a useful introduction in ten chapters, of which the first deals perhaps in too credulous a spirit with the purely legendary period preceding the Chou dynasty.

Immense labour has evidently been put into this work, and it is not surprising to learn that the author has been twenty years collecting his material. The dictionary seems to have been actually in the press when the recent revolution took place, ending in the proclamation of the first emperor of Manchukuo in March, 1934. Towards the end of the same year a new division of the country into eleven provinces was announced. Fortunately it was found possible to supply the details of these territorial changes in an appendix, and also to mark the boundaries of the new provinces on the map at the end of the volume.

A. 504.

LIONEL GILES.

THE TWIN PAGODAS OF ZAYTON. A study of later Buddhist sculpture in China. Photographs and introduction by G. ECKE ; iconography and history by P. DEMIÉVILLE. Harvard-Yenching Institute : Monograph Series, Vol. II. $10\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. viii + 95, pls. 72, plans 5. Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard University Press. London : Oxford University Press, 1935. £1 1s.

Though the mystery of Zayton is now solved, so far as its identity with Ch'üan-chou is concerned, a cloud of romance still hangs over the port described in such glowing terms by medieval travellers ; and it is thrilling to think that the pagodas shown in the frontispiece to this book must have

been seen by Marco Polo himself, although he does not mention them. The western tower was built in the years 1228-1237, and the eastern tower was completed in 1250, since when neither has needed more than superficial repairs. It is hard to understand why these remarkable structures should have been entirely overlooked by foreign writers until the year 1907, when they were depicted for the first time by the Rev. C. C. Brown, in a collection of short stories.

Built of stone, but in a special wooden style current in the Sung period, they stand in the precincts of the Buddhist temple which in 738 received the name of K'ai-yüan by order of the famous emperor Ming-huang. In the five storeys of each pagoda, eighty panels with life-size figures carved in middle relief are inserted into the ashlar framework ; originally there were also eighty niche-figures (sculptures in the round), but only two of these are left. The task of describing these sculptures in detail, identifying the figures, discussing the legends and tradition connected with them, and translating the Chinese inscriptions, has been carried out with scholarly thoroughness, and all the figures are shown in a series of excellent photographs. It is a pity that these are not arranged in the same order as the descriptions of M. Demiéville ; for, although one can refer from the text to the corresponding plate without much difficulty, it is not easy to reverse the process, and find the description of any particular photograph.

A. 625.

LIONEL GILES.

WANG AN SHIH : A Chinese statesman and educationalist of the Sung Dynasty. Vol. I. By H. R. WILLIAMSON. Probsthain's Oriental Series, vol. xxi. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. x + 388. London : Arthur Probsthain, 1935. £1 4s.

The author tells us in his preface that "The present work is based almost entirely on Chinese sources. It has been found necessary to publish the work in three volumes. The

first gives a detailed account of the life and political career of the reformer, indicates the nature and scope of his reform measures, and contains translations of his chief government memorials, and letters bearing on his character and public life. The second outlines the history of the reform policy after his death for a subsequent period of forty years up to the downfall of the Northern Sung Dynasty. It comprises studies of Wang An Shih's character and of the New Laws, with critical material on his times, the Sung Histories, etc. In this volume the traditional accounts of his life and work are fully translated, and maps, chronological tables, and indexes are included. The third volume is more particularly concerned with his literary work, and contains translations of all his important essays".

This method of publication has its drawbacks, for very few Englishmen know anything about Chinese history in the eleventh century, and without some account of the state of China in Wang's time it is hard to say whether his reforms were justified or not.

Wang An Shih was born in 1021. After filling a number of minor posts he was made Vice-Grand Councillor by the Emperor Shen Tsung in 1069, and very soon became all-powerful with his master.

The Sung dynasty had then been on the throne for a hundred years. The Empire did not include Yünnan or any territory beyond the Great Wall; but with these exceptions it was not much smaller than the eighteen provinces of the Manchu dynasty. Many of the aboriginal races of the south-west were, however, still unconquered. The country was at peace and prosperous. The only serious danger that threatened it was from the Tartars in the north.

Although the standing army was nominally over a million strong, Wang believed that it was too rotten to withstand the Tartars. It also ate up most of the revenue. He therefore proposed to reduce the army gradually by ceasing to recruit soldiers, and to entrust the defence of the country

chiefly to militia forces raised from the stalwart peasantry. By 1076 over seven million men had been enrolled as militia and the standing army had been reduced by one half. He was further convinced that the examination system bred pedants instead of statesmen, that the tribute rice system was utterly uneconomic, that taxes should be substituted for forced labour, and that, to prevent the rich fleecing the poor, the government should lend money to husbandmen at a low rate of interest. He also proposed to buy all kinds of goods from producers when they were plentiful and cheap, and to sell them again at a small profit when they grew scarce.

Measures putting these ideas into practice were approved by the Emperor and became law.

Such sweeping changes naturally aroused the opposition of vested interests and conservative statesmen. Moreover, there were not enough honest and competent officials to administer the new laws properly, and corruption and abuses no doubt abounded. The arguments for and against the new measures advanced by the various statesmen are full of interest.

The Emperor stood loyally by Wang, and one after another his opponents were transferred to provincial posts. But by 1074 Wang's health had been broken by the long struggle against heavy odds, and he left the capital to become governor of Nanking. A year later he returned to K'ai-feng; but towards the end of 1076 his failing health compelled him to go back once more to Nanking, and a little later he retired into private life.

The Emperor never lost touch with his devoted servant and friend, and did his best to uphold his policy after he had retired. But no sooner was Shen Tsung dead (1085) than every vestige of Wang's reforms was ruthlessly stamped out.

The above is a short and incomplete outline of the story told in this volume. The Chinese documents on which it is

based are done into good, clear English. The Chinese characters are given for nearly all the names of men, places, and institutions. The book is an honest piece of work, which can safely be recommended to all who are interested in Chinese medieval history.

A. 585.

L. A. LYALL.

HISTORICAL AND COMMERCIAL ATLAS OF CHINA. By ALBERT HERRMANN. Harvard-Yenching Institute: Monograph Series, Vol. I. $13\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$, pp. 112, maps 84. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1935.

This atlas constitutes the first volume of the Monograph Series of the Harvard-Yenching Institute. If succeeding volumes are up to the standard of the first, they will deserve and doubtless receive a hearty welcome. No better or more comprehensive Atlas of China has ever been produced, and the Institute is to be congratulated on a noteworthy achievement which will be of the utmost value to scholars and students.

The Atlas has been drawn and printed in Germany, under the direction of a highly competent scholar, Dr. Albert Herrmann, professor of Historical Geography in the University of Berlin; but it is primarily intended for the use of American and English students, and the transliteration of Chinese names therefore follows the Wade-Giles system with which they are familiar. Chinese characters do not appear in the maps, but at the end of the volume there is an ingenious and admirably arranged Chinese index which will enable the student, with a minimum of trouble, to ascertain the Chinese characters for any place-name. There is also a "Selected Bibliography" which has been most carefully compiled, and an interesting map which shows the distribution of Chinese resident in non-Chinese countries. It appears that there

are about 12,000,000 Chinese outside China, of whom 300,000 are within the territories of the Soviet Union.

Students of history will value the maps which illustrate the beginnings of ancient China (1900 B.C. onwards), the sites of ancient capitals and other famous places mentioned in the histories and topographies, the boundaries of the Empire at different epochs, the areas inhabited by the tribes and races of the west and north, the extent of the conquests of the Liao and Chin Tatars and the Mongols and Manchus. There are also maps giving ancient and modern trade-routes, and the routes followed by the Buddhist pilgrims and by Marco Polo. One map contains a bird's-eye view of the foreign religions known in Central Asia and China up to the fourteenth century; others give us the distribution of crops and livestock, minerals and mining, and the industries and communications of modern China.

There are several maps of Manchuria and Mongolia, ancient and modern, and it is not surprising that in so scholarly a production as this Atlas, the word "Manchoukuo" or "Manchukuo" does not appear in any of them. Unlike our Western journalists, Dr. Herrmann is well aware that there has been no change in the Chinese name of Manchuria since its recent separation from China. It was "Manchou" before the separation and it remains "Manchou" to this day. "Manchuria" has long been our accepted anglicization of "Manchou", and the recent change in the political status of the country does not make it any less suitable and satisfactory to-day than it was ten years ago. The termination *kuo* is, of course, no integral part of the name, but is merely the ordinary Chinese word for an independent state. Dr. Herrmann is therefore quite right in retaining "Manchuria", and it is to be hoped that future map-makers will follow his example.

A DICTIONARY OF THE ECONOMIC PRODUCTS OF THE MALAY PENINSULA. By J. H. BURKILL, with contributions by WILLIAM BIRTWISTLE, FREDERICK W. FOXWORTHY, J. B. SCRIVENOR, and J. G. WATSON. 2 vols. 9 x 6. pp. xi + 2402. London: Published on behalf of the Governments of the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States by the Crown Agents for the Colonies, 1935. 30s.

To review this very large and most valuable work adequately would require the collaboration of at least as many experts as have contributed to its production and would demand far more space than is here available. Botany, zoology, geology, the history of trade, and much else are involved, though the first named bulks most largely. In spite of its title, the book does not confine itself strictly to the Malay Peninsula, but gives useful information about neighbouring and other countries. It is, for example, rather surprising to find how many plants now existing in Malaya have been derived from such distant regions as Africa and America.

The work is arranged, for the most part, in the alphabetical order of the scientific names of the plants, etc., concerned, and though this was no doubt inevitable it adds to the difficulties of the layman. To some extent, however, the very full index, containing a vast number of native names, mostly Malayan, of the species dealt with, will assist a reader with local knowledge to find his way through the text. In the latter their origin, distribution, properties, and uses are very fully set out and in many cases supplemented by historical and other information collected from a very large number of sources to which references are given. A bibliography of these would have been useful, but would have increased very considerably the size of this sufficiently bulky work.

A few minor slips have been noticed. The word "betel" is derived from Malayalam, not from any "Malayan" language; for *putra* (p. 556), read *patra*; the usual Malay name for tobacco is *těmbaku*, not *tembaku* (p. 1553); for

"Menengkabau" (p. 1593), read "Ménangkabau"; the Javanese name *rosan* for the sugar-cane (p. 1925) means "jointed", not "pointed" and the Sanskrit word from which our word "sugar" is ultimately derived is not *sarkasa* (p. 1923): the second *s* is a misprint for *r*.

A. 527.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

LES CHANTS ALTERNÉS DES GARÇONS ET DES FILLES EN ANNAM. By NGUYEN VAN HUYEN. *Austro-Asiatica*, Documents et Travaux. Tome III. 9½ × 7, pp. 224. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1935. Frs. 75.

Il existe en Annam des fêtes populaires qui commencent par des joutes littéraires entre filles et garçons et finissent par des accordailles. Chaque couple s'affronte à son tour en chantant des poésies improvisées. C'est une ancienne coutume très répandue dans le delta tonkinois, connue en Annam, rare en Cochinchine. Le village de Lim, dans la province de Bac Ninh, est célèbre entre tous. Cela se passe au printemps et en automne, la nuit, au clair de lune, sur la place publique ou devant la pagode. Des mandarins et des notables tiennent chez eux des cérémonies privées de ce genre.

En Annam nous avons déjà les concours publics de chant, les jeux d'échecs avec personnages vivants des deux sexes, les jeux des caractères dits "Đo-chù". De plus, il ne faut pas oublier que, dans ce pays, les concours et examens publics sont en honneur puisque c'est ainsi que s'acquièrent les postes officiels.

Les chants alternés sont accompagnés par des orchestres qui peuvent comprendre cinq instruments à cordes, une flûte, et deux instruments à percussion. Le plus souvent on se contente de deux instruments ou même d'un dispositif de fortune: une corde vibrante sur une caisse de résonance quelconque.

L'auteur analyse, avec beaucoup de soin et une grande maîtrise, le mécanisme complexe du chant versifié et le vers lui-même. L'improvisation poétique originale, qui

suppose une gymnastique intellectuelle jointe à des dispositions naturelles, n'est le fait que d'une élite. Les autres concurrents se fient à leur mémoire pour citer les auteurs et les pasticher. Les thèmes des chants présentent un fond homogène sous des formes variées. Il s'agit toujours d'amour et d'accordailles.

A titre de comparaison, l'auteur étudie brièvement des compétitions mixtes des pays voisins de l'Annam, où l'élément sexuel est plus ou moins apparent. Les unes rentrent dans une première catégorie, comparable aux Chants Alternés d'Annam. Ce sont les jeux du volant chez les Thaï Blancs de Phong Hô, les jeux du dos à dos et de la balle chez les Thaï de Cao Bang, les jeux de l'écharpe roulée au Cambodge, les rondeaux d'amour au Laos, enfin les chants et danses du Thibet et des Lai de la Chine du Sud.

La deuxième catégorie, nettement différenciée, accuse des survivances de rites d'initiation sexuelle. Au Tonkin, les jeux de l'escarpolette, de la jarre et des anguilles, du bouc. Au Cambodge, les appariages par le va-et-vient de la balle. En Chine, la cueillette des fleurs du printemps, etc.

Exceptionnellement, il subsisterait des pratiques orgiaques, comme au village de Là, au Tonkin.

En somme, les Chants Alternés d'Annam peuvent être considérés comme des compétitions sexuelles dégagées d'intention érotique qu'un peuple affiné et de haute culture sociale a transformées en manifestation esthétique où la poésie et la musique sont associées.

A. 292.

GABRIELLE and JOSEPH VASSAL.

LE KOKINSHŪ. Collection Japonaise pour la présentation de textes poétiques. By GEORGES BONNEAU. Vol. I: pp. 93, Vol. II: pp. 91, Vol. III: pp. 483. Suppléments, Tome 9, LE HAIKU, pp. 59, pls. 9. Paris, Paul Geuthner, 1935.

The translator of this important work is to be warmly congratulated; for in a rendering as elegant as it is lucid, he

has shown forth the beauty, as well as the power, of Eastern poets in the tenth century. The first complete translation, by Wakameda, was not easily understood, chiefly owing to its frequent departure from the original text. Professor Bonneau's version is free from any such defect. Indeed, as we should expect from one who, in addition to being a celebrated Orientalist, is also a romanticist and a poet, he has succeeded in rendering Ki No Tsurayuki's anthology into French, in a talented and admirable fashion. The ancient poet tells of the Japanese attitude to life in all its phases: our gifted Professor assists every European of to-day to study that culture and to appreciate its natural beauty.

The *Kokinshū* is derived almost entirely from native sources, its occasional "Chinese" terms having filtered, it would seem, through the spoken language—not lifted, bodily, from some written work. As poetry it is far superior to the famous *Manyōshū* (*Collection of a Myriad Leaves*), of the Mara epoch. It recalls feudal Japan, that old Japan of flowers and dances, of high culture and Nature-love, influenced by Shintoistic worship, with its incitement to philosophic inquiry, to a bold intellectual renaissance.

If in some respects Professor Bonneau may be compared to Lafcadio Hearn, we shall not be surprised at his power of penetration, into the very soul of the Japanese people. For by the life of the Spirit they set great store, and in the sights and sounds of Nature they find both their strength and their joy.

There is but little to comment upon the interpretation of occasional phrases or ideographs; if only because the literal translation of allusive and metaphorical expressions, which form the fabric of the original, often presents difficulties to the profoundly learned, as Aston, Chamberlain, Wakameda, and others, seem to have been aware.

But to the high standard of Professor Bonneau's work, as to his unquestioned talent, we gladly testify. A study of his *Kokinshū* goes far to prove the wide prevalence of poetic

inspiration. In the literature of a people is its true character reflected.

The *Haiku*, popularized by Bashō, is the shortest form of Japanese poetry, and was composed during the Empire by people in every station. Regarded by some critics as epigrammatic literature, it nevertheless bears no resemblance to classical or modern epigram, the versicle being shorter and treating of purely natural phenomena ; and no trace of humour has yet been recognized. The lack of homogeneity in style renders translation difficult, the more, since constant ellipse both demands expansion in translation, and forbids it at the cost of turgidity.

Professor Bonneau's rendering is not a paraphrase ; in fact it is substantially faithful to the original. In a work where even *Japanese* readers require literary assistance, his method both in design and execution, must be held to be eminently successful.

A. 166, A. 356.

RENATO SALERNO.
(G. A. Y.)

Middle East

DIE ALTEN ARIER : von Art und Adel ihrer Götter. Von
HERMANN LOMMEL. Religion und Kultur der alten
Arier. Band I. 1935.

The series of which the present book forms the first volume is intended to make the results of earlier research and new views in the field of Indo-Iranian studies easily accessible to a wider circle of readers. To achieve these aims discussion and criticism of earlier views have been freely admitted. The present volume aims at a synthesis of the results so far achieved. After the introductory chapters the author has expressed in reasonable and non-dogmatic form his personal views on the difficult problems of Varuṇa, Ahura and Asura, Indra, Maruts, Rudra, and connected matters. In these

views there is much of interest even when in some details it is not possible to be of the same opinion as the author. They are, however, to be carefully considered.

A. 579.

H. W. BAILEY.

HISTOIRE DES CROISADES ET DU ROYAUME FRANC DE JÉRUSALEM. By RENÉ GROUSSET. Vol. I: L'Anarchie Musulmane et la Monarchie Franque, pp. lxii + 698, maps 2. Vol. II: L'Equilibre. Monarchie Musulmane et Monarchie Franque, pp. 920, maps 9. 9 × 5 $\frac{3}{4}$. Paris: Librairie Plon, 1934-35.

This is a well arranged and illuminating treatment of the subject. The first volume gives us the first thirty years of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and is preceded by an introduction which reviews the history of Syria and Palestine from the time of Heraclius. Special stress is laid on the Byzantine reconquest of the north of Syria in the tenth century, and the brevity of the Seljuq occupation (in the case of Antioch only fourteen years). The importance of this fact is emphasized in the later relations between the Franks and Constantinople and the legal aspect of the claims of the emperors upon Antioch, which are fully treated.

The second volume deals with the state of "equilibrium" between the Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Zanjid Kingdom of Mosil and Aleppo, and takes us as far as the fall of Jerusalem. The third volume, which has not yet appeared, is to cover the last century of the history of the Franks in Palestine, *La Monarchie Musulmane et l'Anarchie Franque*.

The background of Eastern history receives careful treatment throughout the book, and the relations of the Franks both with their Moslem neighbours and the native Christians are fully examined. In addition to the Eastern sources previously available, Monsieur Grousset has made use of Professor Gibb's translation of Ibn Qalanisi, and has proposed numerous identifications between events recorded in the *Damascus Chronicle* and in the Latin chronicles. We may note one

error (vol. ii, préface, p. i, footnote 2). Ibn al Athir, protégé of the Atabeks of Mosil, can scarcely be said to "judge the events of the epoch of the Atabegs with the eyes of an admirer of Saladin", the supplanter of his patrons' family in Syria.

It is primarily as "la Nouvelle France d'outre-mer—nôtre première France coloniale" (vol. ii, p. 313), that Monsieur Grousset would have us see the Kingdom of Jerusalem. After the "episode" of the First Crusade, and the "période de tâtonnements et de fautes" (vol. i, p. 164), of Godfrey de Bouillon, ever the Crusader, comes Baldwin I, "le premier en date des hardis pionniers dont le génie colonisateur sema au dix-septième siècle tant de Nouvelles Frances par le vaste monde" (vol. i, p. 316). Baldwin II receives a similar tribute. Raymond de St. Gilles founds "La Provence au Liban". On the very eve of the disruption of the Kingdom, we are given the evidence of Ibn Jubair (1184) to the success of the colonial régime, and the economic co-operation, unbroken even in war time, between Moslem and Christian, Damascus and Acre. "Le fait de croisade cache sans cesse à nos yeux le fait coloniale" (vol. ii, p. 755).

There are numerous maps and genealogical tables. We may note one misprint (vol. ii, p. 89, date of the capture of Antioch by the Seljuqs, 1185, and of Edessa, 1187, for 1085 and 1087 respectively).

We shall look forward to reading the final volume of this work, for it combines scholarship with a vivacity and power of characterization that makes both period and people live for the reader.

A. 437.

CHARIS WADDY.

India

THE MYSORE TRIBES AND CASTES, Vol. I. By DIWAN BAHADUR L. K. ANANTHA KRISHNA IYER. 8½ × 6, pp. lxxii + 502. Mysore, 1935. Rs. 15.

Three volumes have already appeared dealing with the population of Mysore on the lines laid down over thirty

years ago by the late Sir Herbert Risley for the ethnographic survey of certain Provinces and States in India.

The present volume deals with the results as a whole, and practically completes Mr. Anantha Krishna Iyer's task, though it is understood that some supplementary material is to be issued at an early date. There are several well-known scholars represented by contributions to this work, which commences with an introduction by Dr. Marrett, followed by another by the late M. Sylvain Lévi, given in both French and English, after which we find essays by Baron von Eickstedt, of Breslau, and a retired member of the Indian Civil Service, Mr. F. J. Richards. The two latter write with personal knowledge of Mysore and its population. Dr. Marrett and M. Lévi survey the subject from a more remote standpoint, the former supplying a short appreciation of the book coupled with some interesting reflections on the parts which East and West may profitably play in such inquiries, while the latter offers some general reflections on the nature and origin of caste in India. Baron von Eickstedt's contribution is of a novel and specially interesting description. The professor, after dealing in some detail with the racial invasions of India in the past, and allotting due influence to occupation and environment, presents the reader with an original classification of the population, for which he supplies some anthropometrical data. It will be remembered that it has been usual to assume an original Kolarian population of a very early type, displaced later largely in the south by a so-called Dravidian element, upon which followed the arrival of the Aryan speaking immigration through the passes of the north-west. Later still, Northern India was penetrated by bands of Scythians, Yuechi, and Huns, between 100 B.C. and A.D. 600. The Musalmans followed. Von Eickstedt, rejecting the existing nomenclature as suggestive of linguistic rather than racial characteristics, evolves a threefold base for the Mysore population, to which he attaches the terms

Veddid, Melanid, and Indid. The Veddids have a Gondid and Malid division. Melanids may be South Melanid or else Kolid, while the Indids are both Gracil and North Indid. A table giving anthropometric data for these will be found on p. 76. It is noteworthy that the Veddid type is traced to the Ceylon Veddass and thence to the Veddans and Bedars ; and so, proceeding northwards, a connection appears to be established with the Ramoshis of the Deccan. It is impossible to deal at length with Dr. Eickstedt's theories in this short notice. They will certainly repay careful examination. In the special ethnographic appendix (vol. i, part iii) of the last Census of India Report some objection is taken to this new classification on the ground of the inadequacy of the anthropometric data on which it rests. Clearly, however, it possesses the merit of simplicity compared with the almost incomprehensible formulæ styled "coefficients of relative likeness" on which Dr. Guha proceeds in his treatise.

Mr. Anantha Krishna Iyer is generous enough to supplement these three essays with a chapter on the cultural geography of Mysore by Mr. F. J. Richards. Writing with personal knowledge of the country, the latter gives us a thoughtful study of the history and cultural features of the population of Mysore, which, by itself, would make this work a valuable possession. Interesting charts are supplied, showing the extent and distribution of various elements in the population, such as Marāthās, Lingāyats, and Jains. From these the student may gather at a glance how the main castes and tribes are distributed throughout the state territories.

Having digested these more or less introductory essays, the reader will find chapters on caste, religion, taste in dress and ornaments, totemism, magic, animism, etc. ; and here we meet for the first time with a summary, by the compiler, of the contents of the articles in the three preceding volumes. The writer's survey takes him far afield ; and we are even supplied with illustrations of the particular tattoo marks

favoured by Hindu ladies, such as a picture of the temple of the god Shiva, who is accompanied by his attendant *Nandibail* (p. 438).

A few words are called for on the important contents of chapter vii, which deals with the practice of totemism. Some recent investigations in the Western Presidency have tended to show that more prospect exists of arriving at a satisfactory theory of the origin of the population through a careful examination of the practices of the people in this connection rather than by measuring heads and noses. In the pages of the *Indian Antiquary* (vol. 61, pp. 106-111, 1932) will be found some two hundred and twenty totem divisions identified in the south and centre of the Bombay Presidency. On p. 255 Mr. Anantha Krishna Iyer furnishes a similar list with one hundred and twenty-five such totems, which are classified as animals, trees, and plants, and inanimate objects. As might be expected, the resemblance between these two lists is striking, and the entries are in many instances identical. In Mysore, the system is in numerous cases obsolescent; but it is certainly widespread among tribes and castes of non-Aryan origin. The close connection between matriarchy, adult marriage, burial, and totemism is well brought out in these pages.

We may only note further that the chapters on animism and magic contain little that has not already been recorded. Perhaps some fresh material on the rare practice of the *couvade* (p. 237) among the Kuravas might be forthcoming for later publication, when, as is indicated, a separate and final volume containing a bibliography and index is issued. It is to be hoped that this may also contain the much needed list of synonyms of tribal and caste names, the omission of which detracts from the value of the three previous volumes.

The present work is singularly free from misprints though an *ironette* (p. 473) would seem to be a disguise for "pirouette". The illustrations are numerous and excellent.

We may whole-heartedly congratulate Diwan Bahadur

Anantha Krishna Iyer on the completion of a most valuable contribution to the Indian ethnographical survey.

A. 650.

R. E. ENTHOVEN.

PAMIR-DIALEKTE. I. Materialien zur Kenntniss der Schugni-Gruppe. Von WOLFGANG LENTZ. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xi + 228. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1933. RM. 15.

The interesting group of a dozen or so minor Iranian languages spoken by various small communities inhabiting the mountainous country stretching from the Pamirs to Eastern Badakhshan, has until recent years received little detailed examination.

The present work, dealing with the language spoken in various dialect forms in Shughnan and the adjacent valleys, is therefore both welcome and important. The author was a member of the Russo-German Alai-Pamir Expedition of 1928. The material here presented was obtained during an independent tour when he halted for three weeks in Oroshor in the Bartang valley and spent another three weeks in moving about in the neighbourhood.

The first third of the book is occupied by an introduction, in which Dr. Lentz discusses a number of general questions relating to the Pamir languages and the people who speak them. It contains much interesting information, largely from Russian sources, regarding the Iranian population of Turkestan. One point which he seeks to establish is that the use of the term Tajik to describe only the Persian-speaking population of the plains, and of the term Galchas to denote the inhabitants of the mountains who speak the "Pamir Dialects" is quite incorrect. The latter people habitually call themselves "Tajiks" and "Pamiris"; the author never heard the word "Galcha" used, and believes that it is probably a derogatory nickname which no people apply to themselves. With the Galcha people he dismisses the "Galcha Languages" and in their place he puts the "Pamiris"

and the "Pamiri Dialects". "Ghalcha Languages" is the appellation generally used in this country and adopted in the *Linguistic Survey of India*. It has at any rate the merit of distinctiveness. Apart from this, as the author admits, the description "languages" is more correct than "dialects".

In succeeding sections of the introduction the author gives a brief account of the various Pamir languages and of the work done on them and describes the constitution of his Shughni-group. Along with remarks on the origin and preparation of his material, he provides a comparative statement of the different symbols employed by various European writers to represent the sounds, and discusses the difficulties presented by the various *k*h and *s*h sounds. Finally, he deals at some length with the subject matter of his prose texts and the form of his specimens of verse. The introduction is furnished with five illuminating, if rather minute, sketch-maps.

The principal contents of the remainder of the volume are: the texts (from three different localities) and translations (35 pp.), tables of pronominal forms and numerals (20 pp.), a list of all verbal forms recorded (22 pp.), and a vocabulary of other words (57 pp.). Forms are quoted of about 177 verbs, and there are about 616 Oroshori words in the vocabulary. Of other dialects there are much fewer words, but they sometimes supplement the Oroshori list.

The whole work shows every sign of careful and ungrudging work in the field and assiduous labour in the study. The author has set himself to improve on the methods of all previous workers. In particular he notes the topographical home of each form, records all variant pronunciations (even up to thirteen variants of the loan-word for "orphan"!), and includes all loan-words. The principles involved are entirely sound; it is only a question of the limits to which they are to be pursued.

Among the useful features of the work are the bibliographies, and the miscellaneous references in the footnotes, especially

to Russian authors and publications. For various reasons the book is not altogether an easy one to find one's way about in, or to consult quickly. An essential preliminary is to master the initial list of abbreviations on pp. ix-xi, and the various indications given on pp. 47, 49, 50-1, 57, 73, and 108.

In any work of this nature it would be easy to discover points for criticism. In the present case one might, for instance, ask for a systematic summary of the morphology. But the present volume is only a first instalment—we are promised further texts as publication of the collected material proceeds—and any lacunæ will doubtless later be filled in. In any case it seems juster to stress the positive and valuable features of Dr. Lentz's contribution to the study of the Pamir languages.

A. 68.

D. L. R. LORIMER.

DHARMA AND SOCIETY. By GUALTHERUS H. MEES.

In this comprehensive treatise the author deals with "Dharma" both in theory and in practice by considering its evolution in India, then relating it to similar normative conceptions in other civilizations. He sees its most marked practical correlation in *Varna* (natural class), its degeneration in *Jāti* (artificial caste). His discussions on *Varna* are based on a disquisition into the character and working of hierarchy as a natural phenomenon.

We must compliment the author on the manner in which he has dealt with all the difficult problems in the scope of his subject. What makes his study especially valuable is that he remains practical all the time and never loses sight of the ever-tightening bonds between East and West.

The Orientalist in particular can learn a great deal from this book which in matters of India is based on a knowledge of the original texts. Dr. Mees writes with a clear head and a warm heart, and it is refreshing to find an enthusiastic

scholar bringing the concept of Dharma, so often treated by philologists as palæontologists treat fossils, down to its divine source ("the fundamental nature of Dh. is a mystic one") and leading the problem home to our own conscience ("sociality") and collaboration ("duty"). The book is full of true wisdom.

A. 478.

W. STEDE.

PRAKATĀRTHAVIVARANA. Vol. I. Edited by T. R. CHINTAMANI, M.A., Ph.D. University of Madras, 1935. Six rupees.

Well-known in ancient times but only recently rediscovered, the *Prakatārthavivarana* seems to be, except for the *Bhāmatī*, the oldest surviving complete commentary on Śaṅkara's great *Brahma-sūtra-bhāṣya*, and is important as a representative of the Prakāśātman rather than the Maṇḍana school. The present volume is a careful and well-produced edition, based on five MSS., of the first Adhyāya and the first two Pādas of the second. We await with interest the second volume, containing the rest of the text, critical material, and historical introduction.

A. 559.

C. A. RYLANDS.

THE KANNADA INSCRIPTIONS OF KOPBĀḢ. By C. R. KRISHNAMA CHARLU. Hyderabad Archæological Series, No. 12. 12½ × 10, pp. vi + 20, pls. 8. Calcutta (printed): Published by His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government, 1935. Rs. 3.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT OF HIS EXALTED HIGHNESS THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS, 1931-3. 13 × 10, pp. x + 110, pls. 7. Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1935.

There has been some dispute about the locality of the place known in the literature and inscriptions as Koppam, but Mr. Krishnama Charlu proves that it is Kopbāl (Koppal)

in the extreme south of the Nizam's dominions. He edits ten Kannaḍa inscriptions found there, which are chiefly Jaina dedications.

The Report of the Archæological Department reviews the routine work for two years. Among the surveys of monuments the most important item is the discovery of a group of temples (twenty-two with the main temple and shrines) at Ghanapūr, fifty miles from Warangal. So far there are no inscriptions to determine the date.

A. 590, 591.

E. J. THOMAS.

ÉTUDES DE GRAMMAIRE SANSKRITE, première série. Par LOUIS RENOU. 11 × 9, pp. 146. Paris : Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1936.

M. Renou provides in this volume three grammatical studies, admirably worked out with a full apparatus of references, on the use of the participles, on the position of accessory words in the Rīgveda, and on the "innovations" of Candragomin. The last is of general interest, in its conclusions at any rate, but all three belong to a type of detailed work which is greatly needed for the furtherance of Sanskrit studies; criticism in such cases, if required, is necessarily confined to detail also and is therefore out of place in a brief notice, which can do no more than point out the excellence and utility of the work.

A. 603.

E. H. JOHNSTON.

EARLY HISTORY OF KAUSĀMBĪ. By NAGENDRA NATH GHOSH. Allahabad Archæological Society, Series No. 1. 8½ × 5½, pp. xxv + 120, pls. 9, maps 2, photo 1. Allahabad : Allahabad Archæological Society, 1935. Rs. 4.

This volume, the first publication of the Allahabad Archæological Society, outlines the history of Kauśāmbī, which has been identified with the modern village of Kosam near Allahabad (*JRAS.*, October, 1927, pp. 689-698), from the sixth

century B.C. to the eleventh century A.D. Professor Ghosh makes use of much fresh evidence, such as the statue of the Buddha discovered in 1934, the pedestal of which bears an inscription of the second year of Kanishka's reign. His treatment of the controversial evidence relating to the Pabhosā Rock inscription is a scholarly contribution to the subject. His account of the Allahabad Pillar should be read in conjunction with "A Note on the Allahabad Pillar of Aśoka" by C. S. Krishnaswamy and Amalanda Ghosh (*JRAS.*, October, 1931, pp. 697-706). The book is illustrated by two maps and nine plates of the finds at present housed in the Allahabad Museum.

A. 457.

C. COLLIN DAVIES.

THE PADYĀVALĪ. An Anthology of Vaiṣṇava verses in Sanskrit, compiled by RŪPA GOSVĀMIN, a disciple of Sri-Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya of Bengal. Critically edited by SUSHIL KUMAR DE. Dacca University Oriental Publications Series, No. 3. 10 × 7, pp. cxlviii + 296. Dacca : University of Dacca, 1934. Rs. 7/8.

The *Padyāvalī* of Rūpa Gosvāmin has been edited twice before, but never in a critical manner. Dr. S. K. De has now produced a critical edition which fulfils all the requirements of modern scholarship, and with its abundant references to sources and parallels makes a valuable addition to the study of other anthologies and alamkāra literature. The verses are mainly devotional, and express only one aspect of Caitanyaism, but Dr. De has contributed an introduction of over a hundred pages, which gives an outline of the movement and explains its historical antecedents. He also gives a clear and admirably expressed account of the metaphysical system. His independent and judicious treatment of the subject augurs well for the larger work on Caitanyaism which he promises.

A. 361.

E. J. THOMAS.

DYNASTIES ET HISTOIRE DE L'INDE DEPUIS KANISHKA JUSQU'AUX INVASIONS MUSULMANES. *Histoire du Monde*, tome VI². By L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN. 9 × 5½, pp. xx + 396, sketch-maps 3. Paris : E. de Bocard, 1935. Fcs. 40.

This volume forms pt. 2 of tome vi of the *Histoire du Monde*. In pt. 1 Professor de la Vallée Poussin dealt with the period from Candragupta to Kanishka ; in this he carries us on to the Muhammadan invasions, that is, to the time of Maḥmūd of Ghazna in the Panjāb, and a century or two later in respect of Eastern, Central, and Southern India.

The record is arranged on a geographical and chronological basis. The author divides India into (1) northern and (2) southern, taking the Narmadā, roughly speaking, as the line of demarcation. In the first part he gives a synopsis of the dynasties that ruled in northern India, from the Kābul valley to Assam and from Kāthiāwār to Orissa ; in the second part the dynasties of Mahārāṣṭra, the Kanarese, Telugu, and Tamil countries are similarly treated, and brief references made to Ceylon. This arrangement has its advantages where, as in this work, no attempt is made to present a general, connected history of India as a whole, and the limits of space restrict the information in great measure to chronological lists of the kings, with their dates as far as these are known, and such matters of special interest from religious, literary, and artistic points of view as are associated with their reigns. The design has been skilfully carried out. A remarkable feature of the compilation is the succinct yet lucid manner in which the results of research that must have involved vast reading and reference have been formulated. Care has been taken to utilize the more reliable authorities and to state the variant views on questions still in dispute. Full references are given, except in the case of certain inscriptions and grants. For the dynasties of Southern India more particularly the genealogical tables appended to Sewell's *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, ed. by S. K. Aiyangar (1932), merit attention, and the

dynastic lists at the end of Hiralal's *Inscriptions of the C.P. and Berar* are useful for those areas ; while H. W. Codrington's pioneer work, *A Short History of Ceylon*, might well have been cited in reference to that island. For the Bhārasīvas and Vākātakas, reference should be made to *JBORS.* xix, pts. i and ii (1933).

A good number of typographical errors have been noticed, which call for correction in any reprint or fresh edition.

This volume, like the earlier one by the same author, will prove most useful as a work of reference and as a basis for fuller study of the history of particular periods or areas.

A. 521.

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

L'ĪŚVARAGĪTĀ. Le Chant de Śiva—Texte extrait du Kūrma-Purāṇa. Traduit du sanskrit par P.-E. DUMONT.
 10½ × 7, pp. 252. Baltimore : The Johns Hopkins Press.
 Paris : Librairie Paul Geuthner, 1933. 75 fr.

The *Īśvaragītā* has an interest not only as evidence for the development of the Śiva-cult, but also as being an imitation of the *Bhagavadgītā*. It is not hostile to Vaishnavism, but seeks to absorb it. Professor Dumont has given an excellent transliterated text and translation with notes and a concordance that make a study of its problems a pleasure. There is much to show that it is later than the *Bhagavadgītā*, but perhaps the most striking fact is the occurrence of two Greek words. In xi, 5, Śiva says that there are two kinds of *yoga*, *abhāva* and *mahāyoga*. However, when he goes on to discuss them in detail he does not speak of *mahāyoga*, but of " what is called *sunaphā* ", *sunaphākhyaṃ taṃ yogam*, xi, 34. When we turn back to the earlier passage we find that for *abhāva* and *mahāyoga* there are the variants *anaphā* and *sunaphā-yoga* respectively. Surely these are not corruptions of such words as *abhāva* and *mahā*, but vice versa. They fit exactly, and give the proper meaning : *anaphā prathamō mataḥ, aparāḥ sunaphā-yogaḥ*, and below in xi, 7, *sa mayā yogo* should be

sunaphā-yogo. The two words (really ἀναφή and συναφή) occur together in astrological works, where *anaphā* (non-contact) is the moon's passing away from a planet in the adjoining sign, and *sunaphā* (conjunction) is the passing of the moon into the next sign on the other side, in which there is a planet. They here express the well-known distinction of the mystics, the negative knowledge of God reached by abstracting all particulars and the positive experience of the bliss of union. But the editor has also found συναφή in Proclus and Plotinus referring to union with the One, and he suggests a borrowing from a Greek philosophical text. 'Αναφή is not in the Greek lexica, but the editor points it out in a scholium on Proclus. What relation it has to συναφή he does not say, and at present it is only in the astrological texts that we find the two terms in combination.

A. 419.

E. J. THOMAS.

HISTORY OF THE PARAMARA DYNASTY. By D. C. GANGULY.

Dacca University Bulletin, No. XVII. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. v + 387. Ramna : University of Dacca, 1933. Rs. 10.

Dr. Ganguly has succeeded in making an interesting book out of the unattractive material afforded by inscriptions, by gleaning some historical facts from the court panegyrists and Jain writers. Mālavā, or Mālhwā, from its position was generally at war during the four centuries (A.D. 800-1200) covered by the book, and the author has had to collate the records of the Paramāras with those of the various powers ruling round that tract. He has done his task with diligence and a good critical spirit which has led him to differ in several conclusions from previous writers.

Thus while Vincent Smith, following the later traditions of the Paramāras gave them a Gurjjara origin, Dr. Ganguly claims that they were really descended from the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. There is some ground for this in the Harsola grant, which is, however, not clear, and its editors (Dikshit and Diskalkar

(*Ep. Ind.*, xix, p. 239) suggest that the descent was from a princess. Great care has been shown in working out the chronology of the main line and in dealing with the minor branches of the clan. An interesting chapter describes the culture of the period.

Some of the conclusions appear less reliable; for example, the suggestion that the tale in the *Harṣa-carita* about a ruler of Mālwa being transformed into a parrot refers to a contest with a Punjab chief (p. 109) or that Bhoja conquered a Rājā of Chambā (p. 110). And the defeat of "Suratrāṇa Maujadin" by Viradhavala of Dholka and Dhārāvarṣa of Abu requires further examination. Mu'izz-ud-dīn Bahrām is the name of the son and ultimate successor of Shams-ud-dīn Īltutmish, not as Dr. Ganguly suggests (p. 316), a part of Īltutmish's name. Mr. Allan (*Cambridge Shorter History*, p. 128) takes "Maujadin" as Bahrām Shāh who ruled ingloriously from 1240 to 1242. So that if Dr. Ganguly is right in giving 1161 as the date of Dhārāvarṣa's first inscription "Maujadin" may have been Mu'izz-ud-dīn Muḥammad bin Sām, and the occasion the first battle of Tarāori in 1191.

The book is well equipped with tables, references to inscriptions and a bibliography. Misprints are not very numerous and are not misleading except at p. 233 where 1209 should be 1309. The index is barely complete. It omits, for example, "Jaitugi," though two rulers, of different dynasties, are mentioned in the book.

A. 268.

R. BURN.

THE KATHA UPANIṢAD. Carey Centenary Volume. By J. N. RAWSON. 9 × 6, pp. xviii + 242. London: Oxford University Press. 1934. 12s. 6d.

The Kāthaka or Kāṭha Upaniṣad is the first of the metrical Upaniṣads. This makes it apparently easier to understand than the old Upaniṣads. In every verse of good Indian poetry the conclusion of the idea coincides with the conclusion of the verse, or, even better, with the conclusion of the half-verse.

The dialogue form, chosen and adhered to in the Kāthaka Upaniṣad (a dialogue between Yama and Naciketas) gives a further incentive to concise and pregnant expression of thought in assertion and contradiction. Thus the Kāthaka Upaniṣad is generally regarded as easy of comprehension.

Moreover, according to the general opinion of those who discuss the age-sequence of the Upaniṣads, it is connected with the beginning of the middle Upaniṣad period.

The Kāthaka Upaniṣad depicts—sometimes in literal quotations—the views of the old chief Upaniṣads concerning cosmogony and ritual. To these questions are now added psychological problems (Yoga), which develop in the later Upaniṣads into further personal problems, e.g. god personalities, which are not personified elements of nature as in the Rigveda.

For all these reasons special interest is shown in the Kāthaka Upaniṣad, particularly in the West and in modern India, which is influenced by the West. Because of this the author of the above book undertook the difficult task of writing the first comprehensive commentary on the Kāthaka Upaniṣad which is indeed the first ever published on an Upaniṣad on the lines of classic philological research or of bible exegesis. Rawson makes use of all three chief groups of the Vedānta interpreters (Śankara's Advaitam, Rāmānuja's Viśiṣṭa-advaitam, and Madhva's Dvaitam), and adds the explanations of most of the modern and Western authorities. Thus an extensive compendium has been made up (xviii + 242 pages), a work most valuable on account of its accuracy in compilation and translation. But the very exhaustiveness of the work emphasizes the fact that the Kāthaka Upaniṣad presents fundamental difficulties to the understanding. Some of these can, it is true, be ascribed to the author's point of view. Intent on pointing out the parallels to monotheism he treats the slight trends in this direction which occur in the Kāthaka Upaniṣad as completed conceptions. But perhaps even for these another explanation might be found. Rawson interprets

the first appearance of the Yoga, too, in a theistic sense. Yoga, which according to his own views, is in its classic form with Patañjali (Yoga-sūtras) far removed from the idea of God. Thus Rawson displaces the balance which, in the Kāthaka Upaniṣad, is still actually on the side of the old cosmic Upaniṣads.

To understand the ancient Upaniṣads we must adopt a basis of thought fundamentally different from that to which we are accustomed. We must discard the Western premises of view handed down to us from the times of the Sophists of ancient Greece, the presupposition that Man and the single personality is the measure of all. We must return to the presophistic cosmic standpoint that Man and his highest anthropomorphic ideal, God or gods, are only part and parcel of the universe. But when we once take this difficult step and abide by it, the way is open for the understanding of the whole world of the early Upaniṣads and of all texts previous to their times. All these are founded on the fundamental idea of complete union and relationship of all and everything. Without a logical break they develop on this basis their conceptions of cosmogony and magic ritual.

But even this attitude towards Indian mind does not help us over all the difficulties of the Kāthaka Upaniṣad. These arise because it may be regarded as the transition from natural to transmitted cosmic views. The premise of equality for everything is firmly held, even if psychological research has arrived at the conception of a purely intellectual Ātman. Rightly or wrongly this merely human Ātman is now sought in all nature, whether in animate or inanimate shape.

In addition to these inner difficulties the shortness of the metric form of the Kāthaka Upaniṣad, far from simplifying the understanding of the text, renders it more complicated. Verses from Rīgveda and quotations from the early Upaniṣads are introduced. On the other hand the metric form of the Kāthaka Upaniṣad is suitable for later insertions.

The distinctions between the two Adhyāyas or between single Vallis within the same Adhyāya do not help in the solution of this difficulty.

Further in the Kāṭhaka Upaniṣad the balance between early cosmic and new personal problems has not yet been established, as is perhaps the case in the subsequent middle and later Upaniṣads.

New difficulties crop up, especially in the Kāṭhaka Upaniṣad, when we apply detailed analysis.

The plot of the Kāṭhaka Upaniṣad is taken almost word for word from Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, iii, 11, 8. There Yama has, through the sin of neglected hospitality towards a brahmin, forfeited in the first night his offspring, in the second his cattle, in the third his good works; their redemption by means of corresponding gifts is characteristic of the consistent Brāhmaṇa views. Offspring is gained or, in this case, regained by returning the son (Naciketas) to his reconciled father (*pratīta* = returned to his senses); cattle (worldly possessions) and also good works (ethical Karma) are, according to the Karma-mārga, likewise acquired or redeemed by sacrificial fire. In the Kāṭhaka Upaniṣad actio and reactio 1 and 2 remain the same as in the Brāhmaṇa narrative. But to the Karma-mārga is added in the times of the Kāṭhaka Upaniṣad the Jñāna-mārga; thus the ethical debt (actio 3) is now replaced by the granting of knowledge as the new conception of good works. Therefore the knowledge of Yoga and the knowledge of immortalization of works or of their agent, the Ātman, is now asked for. Thus it is not a question of the *meaning* of samparāya (death) but definitely one of the continuation of the Ātman in death, the third boon in Kāṭhaka Upaniṣad, i, 20 and 29. In this way a difficulty of interpretation is solved by consistent comparison with the Brāhmaṇa text.

Other problems cannot be solved by comparison. The Kāṭhaka Upaniṣad contains *hapax legomenon*, unfortunately in most important passages. The second boon is granted to

Naciketas in the form of a 'śṛṅkā'. In the discussion of the third boon (Jñāna-mārga), however, this same śṛṅkā is rejected with scorn—perhaps this contradiction and the *hapax legomenon* are to be explained as a change of front from Karma-mārga to psychological Jñāna-mārga. Śṛṅkā should accordingly in both instances be translated as "chain", in the sense of the magic practice of sacrifice, which is emphasized by the magic of numbers (*tri-naciketas, tribhir . . . trikarma-krt . . . trinaciketas . . . trayam . . .* i, 17 and 18), following on the first appreciation of śṛṅkā. The contradiction between the second and third mention of śṛṅkā would lie in the nature of this composite text (combination and conflict of Karma- and Jñāna-mārga).

Another difficulty in the understanding of details might be overcome by the simple means of substituting a rendering different from the one generally accepted. Kāthaka Upaniṣad, i, 3, tells of the cows which Naciketas' father offers in what is called the "sarva-vedas" (sacrifice of all and everything). It would be more than surprising if the father had dared to supply nothing but cows which were "old" and "whose strength was worn out" (Rawson, p. 57 f.) In my *Madhvas Kommentar zur Kāthaka Upaniṣad*, published in 1922, I suggested a translation of "nir-indriya" as "sinnloses Vieh"—senseless cattle. On the one hand this would agree better with the idea of *sarva-vedas*, the greatest sacrifice, for which the worst cows ought not to be chosen—it is noteworthy that the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa does not mention a depreciation in their quality!—on the other hand this would also explain the resolution of the *śraddhāvān* (ardently devout) Naciketas, to make the sacrifice really one of all and everything by offering up his own human sense-gifted person.

A further small addition to the meaning may be made. The two attributes of the Puruṣa in Kāthaka Upaniṣad, vi, 8, must be taken together. "Alinga" might well be rendered, as a few translators besides Rawson have given it, in the logical sense as "indefinable" (without characteristics).

This is suggested by the accompanying attribute "vyāpaka", which also has a logical tinge. The following verse, 6, 9, points expressly to this view that the exterior perception, confined to marks, fails to help us to conceive the Puruṣa, and that a real conception of him can only be gained by intuition. In connection with this thought, Kāṭhaka Upaniṣad, ii, 23, can also be understood. Here we are not meant to regard the "vṛṇute" as a personal choice of grace of Him, the Ātman, or as a personal favour of revelation to His follower. The expression seems to be merely metaphorical, as if one were speaking of an object of which one suddenly and spontaneously becomes aware. Rawson takes this poetic mode of expression as a starting-point for his theistic interpretation.

There has also been an attempt to point out a theistic tendency of the Kāṭhaka Upaniṣad in its use of the term dhātu- (or dhātuḥ-) prasāda (grace of the creator). Rawson's conscientious scientific methods, however, raised a doubt here in his own mind as to whether it would not be better to give the impersonal rendering "through clarification of the elements" (dhātu-prasāda), although from his outlook he prefers the theistic interpretation. If one, however, understands the two above-mentioned passages in the way suggested by me, there is scarcely a trace of theistic tendency to be found.

The designation "Puruṣa" for the highest Ātman, which is taken over from early cosmic texts does not support the theistic theory.

"The highest step of the Viṣṇu" is interpreted in rigvedic manner as connected with the ancient ideas of Svarga.

The highest Ātman, identified with the impersonal cosmic power of the Brahman, is still in the sense of the old Upaniṣads "ānanda" (supreme bliss), because he is "ananta" and "bhūman" (=unlimited, cosmic wideness). Therefore, it is superfluous to replace *ananta* in Taittirīya Upaniṣad, ii, 1, by *ānanda* (cf. Rawson, p. 35). With this highest universal Ātman every single ātman is identified as his worldly manifes-

tation. It is not evident why Rawson designates this fundamental dogma of *all* Upaniṣads as "impossible bare identity" (p. 169). We regret that Rawson has not added the intended chapter on definite theism in the Kāthaka Upaniṣad as a justification of the subtitle of his book *An Introductory Study in the Hindu Doctrine of God and of Human Destiny*. His occasional hints of "the theistic element in the Upaniṣads being much stronger than was once supposed" and his remark that the Kāthaka Upaniṣad "is on the whole distinctly theistic" (p. 208) would then have been more convincing. He himself admits (p. 145) that in the Kāthaka Upaniṣad "a personal development . . . had not yet proceeded very far".

Nor can his definition of the Yoga in the Kāthaka Upaniṣad as "meditative prayer" and "prayer of communion with Him, the God" (p. 92, 223 ff., etc.) be accepted without fuller explanation. The comparison he makes with the Yoga taught in the Bhagavadgītā, the chronology of which is still uncertain, is not quite convincing, since even there another meaning is possible. (I hope to publish shortly a treatise giving in detail a vindication of these views.) The analogies with Western thinkers, which Rawson often brings in, are not a definite help. There are literal similarities of expression but bound to another basis of thought.

In the above review no mention has been made of other possible deviations from his interpretation of points not essential to the main principle.

Sometimes we might prefer to his translation an earlier rendering which he quotes but rejects, e.g. on Kāthaka Upaniṣad, ii, 8; ii, 13; ii, 16, and iii, 1. Occasionally he himself gives a better translation in his notes than in the text, e.g. on "apramatta", Kāthaka Upaniṣad, vi, 11. Only in rare cases does one fail to see the reasons which made him deviate from the literal translation (in Kāthaka Upaniṣad, iv, 1, by rendering "kaścit" by "a certain" he unnecessarily narrows the meaning of the wide term. The literal translation agrees better with the *general* tenor of this passage).

These trifling criticisms are not intended to detract from the merit of the work, which is excellent in its details. The objection I have raised is a matter of principle, a divergent standpoint.

A. 251.

BETTY HEIMANN.

Art, Archæology, Anthropology

THE SPIRIT OF MAN IN ASIAN ART. By LAURENCE BINYON.
Harvard University Press.

In his introductory remarks to this series of six lectures, Dr. Binyon says: "Looking on our world as it is, there are moments when one may be provoked to think that the most conspicuous characteristic of mankind is a gift for making a prodigious mess of its affairs, even, one may think, an unteachable stupidity, with all the cruelties directly and inevitably springing from that stupidity." It is unnecessary to indicate the appositeness of these remarks to conditions in the immediate present.

The six lectures were delivered in Harvard University, 1933-4, and are concerned with the art of China, India, Persia, and Japan. He surveys this wide and teeming field with the eye of the poet and with the vision of deep sympathy and insight, sensitive to the tenderest vibrations evoked by the artist's brush or the modeller's hands. If he sometimes sees spiritual qualities in the work more profound than perhaps the painters and designers themselves knew, this may be, that each picture or object is the cumulative effort of progressive seeking by many minds before the full conception is rendered by the skilled hand of the latest master.

In his first lecture the author refers to the early cave paintings. The cave dwellings of palæolithic man witness the antiquity of human desire to express pictorially certain emotions and impressions engendered by environment. What these emotions were we have no means of determining.

Whether of fear, which would induce a belief or hope in some superhuman power of protection; or the desire for greater strength to overcome a dreaded force such as that of wild beasts; or of reverence or admiration for the beings depicted; or merely the desire for the companionship of decoration, we cannot say. We avail ourselves of the freedom to guess, complacent in the knowledge that there is no solution.

But we do know that a combination of emotions has prompted the adornment of the walls of shrines in all ages. The exaltation of deities and saints, the wrathful visitations of offended gods or their beneficent dispensations, contests between good and evil and even the bickerings between the gods themselves; the gruesome adventures of martyrs and the perturbing Stygian experiences of ordinary men and women—all these have been displayed on temple walls by way of warning and guidance for the good of our souls, from time immemorial.

Apart from these hieratical exhortations there are also the secular subjects suited to palace and home, legendary, historical, and idealistic.

Out of the practice of mural painting and sculpture came the portable picture painted on wood, leather, silk, paper, etc. Of the several materials used, silk and paper have preserved most beautiful examples of the painter's art. Silk and paper were both invented in China and the artists of that land have created some of the greatest of paintings.

Although Dr. Binyon fans the flame of our enthusiasm for each of the four "schools", Chinese, Indian, Persian, and Japanese, in turn, yet linking them by interweaving strands, he leaves us with the impression that the greatest is the Chinese.

Describing the early bronzes he speaks of the "sense of volume and power that they communicate", and this must be generally felt. The highly stylized dragon-like creatures in low relief that stride round many of them do not, however, quite justify his previous statement that "degeneration"

of the living form is hardly known in China. The "playful grotesqueness" of the artist's fancy is delightfully shown in some of the early textiles and lacquer painting, when in floral forms subtle suggestions of animals and birds come and go and drifting clouds become for an instant quaint dragon- or sprite-like creatures changing back into clouds, as in certain moods one may conjure them up when watching the skies.

The genius for suggesting movement, as in the fluttering and swaying draperies noticed in the description of the Ku K'ai-chih scroll, has perhaps never been so successfully rendered as by Chinese artists. It is seen in many of the temple banner paintings, in wall paintings from Turfan, in the drifting cloud-flowers on some of the painted vessels from Astana graves. At the recent Burlington House Exhibition there was a rough sketch on paper, in which one looks down from a rocky height on to a wide plain across which two horsemen are galloping at a terrific pace. The horses and riders are small—mere thumbnail sketches, done in half a dozen strokes but vividly portraying speed, helped by the forward-leaning pose of the riders as they urge their mounts onwards. This skill and power to depict movement is seldom found in Indian and Persian art. Violent action is frequently shown in the miniatures, but the impression conveyed is that of petrified violence. Exceptions are found in some of the Sasanian rock carvings, in which the methods suggest Chinese inspiration; and, as the author says, in the Bagh Cave paintings.

In the second lecture the Ajanta and Bagh paintings are discussed. The contrast between the plastic quality of these and the flatness or two-dimensional character of later Asiatic art is referred to. The value of line in the later work, rather than of plastic quality, is noted. This may be due to Chinese influence. In the wall paintings of Miran, of about the end of the third or early fourth century A.D., discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in 1907, line does not play the part that it

does in later Central Asian painting. Here, there is the plastic quality of Pompeian painting, with delicate shading and skilfully placed highlights. It is probable that in these we see the style of painting used in Gandhara, of which nothing has, so far, been discovered.

This lecture tells of the introduction of Buddhism into China. With the growth in traffic of monks and pilgrims between China and India the interchange of ideas became increasingly intimate. Canonical texts and detailed iconographical notes and drawings were eagerly sought at the sacred places in India. Chinese painters and decorators found employment in the shrines of Chinese Turkestan and through them the importance of line asserted itself. The use of highlights was systematized and delicate shading was still commonly employed in mural painting, applied with amazing technical skill but, as the lecturer says, without much understanding.

It is to Chinese artists we owe the creation of those charming and impressive Paradises painted on silk, which formerly hung in the shrines of The Thousand Buddhas at Tun-huang. Portions of one of these are shown in Plates 12 and 14, and although neither gives the whole scheme, nor of course the wonderful colour, they convey some idea of the exquisite drawing and sense of design.

The history of Persian art is delightfully reviewed in the fourth lecture. In the miniatures illustrating the romances of Persia the effect is that of delicious feasts of colour. There are the obvious efforts to follow Chinese teaching in the rendering of rocks, trees, and clouds, but always missing the soul of these things. Rocks and clouds are billowy conchoidal or spongy masses, lacking the truth and vitality inherent in those of the Chinese artists.

The joy in colour and the consequent love of flowers is always present in these jewelled pictures of Persia. But here again the plants do not live. They are used for the beauty of their colour.

This Persian art, as the author says, passed into India with the coming of the Moghuls and became gradually modified in Indian hands. Some of the most successful achievements were in portraiture. A very beautiful example is given (but unfortunately without colour) on Plate 41. Another picture, of the Pahari school, is given on Plate 63.

The fifth lecture is devoted to Japan, and is mainly psychological. It is conjectured that the apparent modern transformation of the Japanese may be largely external. This conjecture gains in significance when we compare the story of the Forty-seven Ronin with a recent political occurrence in Japan.

Dr. Binyon expresses profound admiration for Japanese Buddhist sculpture, which he considers a refinement of the Chinese style. In the attenuation of the figure he finds an accession of spirituality. "The bronze trinity in Horuji" he considers "unrivalled in its consummate delicacy by anything of the kind surviving in China".

In painting and drawing the Japanese inherited the Chinese genius for expressing movement although perhaps by less subtle means. They shared the Chinese delight in beautiful garments but carried it, at times, to violent extremes, until almost nothing remained but clothes to express the figure.

The picture of the saint Kobo as a boy, reproduced on Plate 54, is really beautiful. There are certain points in this which suggest Indian influence.

The author describes the changes in Japanese art consequent upon political upheavals. He tells of the scenes of "battle and adventure", of Japan's age of chivalry and of the subsequent return to the contemplative mood of the Sung period in China.

The last lecture reviews to some extent the foregoing and also recalls the intermittent ripples of interest in Eastern art that reached the West. The absence of interest displayed by Marco Polo during his travels in matters artistic is deplored, although there is little doubt that the silks he brought back

to Italy helped towards the great and far-reaching influence, which still persists, upon the whole figured silk industry. Next to weaver's designs the widest artistic influence was probably that of pottery. There are, however, many evidences, not generally recognized, of the early influence of the arts of Asia upon the West. The more obvious ones are those which have not been assimilated and have ultimately been ejected. They could find no lodgment in the spirit of Western man. Certain superficial symptoms resulting from the recent Chinese Exhibition threaten a noxious outbreak, but it may be confidently regarded as a quickly passing disorder.

Dr. Binyon's book is a delight to read both for its historical and critical content and for its musical English.

A. 413.

F. H. ANDREWS.

THE CHINESE EYE: An Interpretation of Chinese Painting.

By CHIANG YEE. Methuen. 7s. 6d. net.

In view of the now widespread interest in Chinese art, an explanation of the traditional aims and ideals animating Chinese artists from the pen of a Chinese painter and poet is very welcome. Books and articles by European writers on the subject are numerous, but none of these of course can write with the authority of a native of China. Mr. Chiang Yee confirms and amplifies the views of those who have written most sympathetically on his country's art, specially stressing the profound influence on painting of philosophy and religion, and its close union with poetry; also on the supremacy of landscape as a theme of painting. For the Chinese painter's avoidance of the nude human form he gives a reason more explicit than Western writers have suggested. "We hold the view that the human capacity for calculated action and behaviour has led to all kinds of evil conduct. The human body grows corrupt from the crooked thoughts

it harbours, and so we do not care to paint it." Mr. Chiang Yee gives a concise historical sketch of the successive periods of Chinese painting: but it is in the later chapters of the book, dealing with "Inscriptions" and various questions of technique, that he adds most to our knowledge. An artist writing on his own art is always interesting, and here we are shown the Chinese painter's outlook from within. The differences between this outlook and that of the European mind are great indeed, and much of the significance in a Chinese picture would be unguessed by a Western spectator. With Mr. Chiang to enlighten us, however, we should have no difficulty in understanding the principles at least, though fine shades of appreciation will always escape us. Whether our æsthetic critics can bring themselves to approve of an art so "literary", so saturated with symbolism, is another matter. The important thing is not to misunderstand. At any rate we see how intimately Chinese painting, and poetry too, are related to the larger art of living. "Chinese painters are not merely painters of pictures; they must be well-trained, fine personalities, thoughtful and imaginative, sensitive to the poetry of life. From the very beginning painting has never been a profession; the practisers of it have even been ashamed to sell their works for money." Again: "Our love of nature is based upon a desire to identify our minds with her and to enjoy her as she is. But the West tries to imitate, to control, and to master her."

The technical information on brushes, ink, paper, silk, and on the "species of painting" is of real value. Mr. Chiang writes a pleasant English and has a persuasive manner. This book tells much in small compass, and to all who take an interest in Chinese painting, and want to know more about its essential qualities, it will be an initiation.

A. 558.

LAURENCE BINYON.

THE ROMANCE OF THE WESTERN CHAMBER (HSI HSIANG CHI).

A Chinese play written in the thirteenth century.

Translated by S. I. HSIUNG. $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. pp. xxiii + 281, ill. 10. London: Methuen and Co., 1935. 8s. 6d.

When I was a little boy and attending a private school there would often lie hidden beneath the Confucian classic before me a slender copy of the *Western Chamber*. I used to chant the Classics loudly and with fervour to let the teacher know what a good boy I was; but what I enjoyed and laid closest to my heart was that naughty little book. And I was no exceptional boy. My teacher himself had once done the same, as also my father and my grandfather. The moralists regarded it as immoral to read the *Western Chamber*, but they themselves could not but remember every striking and witty phrase of the book they called improper.

In old China a marriage to be moral had to be according to the will of parents and the services of "go-betweens" had always to be employed. It was considered a scandal for a boy and a girl to make love according to their own feelings and on their own account. But human is human the world over, and if the Confucian books are the classics of morality, then the *Western Chamber* is one of the classics of humanity. The *Western Chamber*, like many other popular works in the literatures of the world, is not the creation of a single author. A famous poet of the eighth century, Yüan Chen, records the story of this romance in an essay of his. "Graduate" Tung (of whom we know nothing save his surname and the fact of his having graduated) wrote the story up into an epic to be recited in troubadour fashion to the accompaniment of the "pipa", a Chinese variety of guitar. In the thirteenth century Wang Shih Fu or Kwang Han Ching or both of them together wrote a drama, which is the form now translated by Mr. Hsiung.

Lady Precious Stream, Mr. Hsiung's first English publication, is more an original work than a translation. It was a play written with a view to its commercial value as entertainment

for an English audience, as Mr. Hsiung said himself. It had never been cast into a concrete form by any literary man before him : but it became a literary play under his pen. The *Western Chamber*, on the other hand, occupies a well-defined position as a classic of Chinese popular literature. Had Mr. Hsiung added anything to it, with whatever refinement of taste, it could have been no improvement to the original play. It is astonishing to find Mr. Hsiung's version so faithful : there is nothing more and nothing less. It is just the beauty I enjoyed clandestinely as a little boy.

If you compare any lines of the translation taken at random with those of the original work you will find that they are a word-for-word translation. For example, when Ying Ying returns from seeing her beloved off, she sings :—

“ He is now in the midst of the mountain
And his whip can be seen in the dying rays of the sun
All the sorrows of the world seem to be accumulated in my
breast.
How can a carriage of this size bear such a burden ? ”

It may be noticed that Mr. Hsiung has not trammelled the meaning in the forms of English verse. This is all for the best. Nor does he ever shrink from the familiar or colloquial phrase. He has placed faithfulness before all other considerations.

Mr. Hsiung has promised to write a play entirely of his own. We may therefore look forward to two very great pleasures : the production on the English stage of this drama of old Cathay followed by that of a play depicting modern Chinese life.

THE EARLIER ARABIC LITERATURE OF CHESS. Libro del Ajedrez, de sus Problemas y Sutilezas, de Autor Árabe desconcido. Por FÉLIX M. PAREJA CASAÑAS. Publicaciones de las Escuelas de Estudios Árabes de Madrid y Granada, Serie A, Núm. 3. Madrid, 1935.

The game of chess, learnt by the Arabs as a result of the conquest of Persia during the caliphate of 'Omar b. al-Khaṭṭab, is the subject of a considerable Arabic literature, much of which is still extant although only one smaller work is mentioned in Brockelmann's *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*. The Kitāb al-Fihrist already records the titles of six works on chess written during the first four centuries of Islam by the chess masters, al-'Adlī and ar-Rāzī who played together before the caliph Mutawakkil, by aṣ-Ṣūlī the favourite of the caliphs Muktafi and Rādī, and his pupil al-Lajlāj, and by an otherwise unknown player, al-Iqlīdisī. None of these works is known to have survived in its original form, though two works by al-Lajlāj, unmentioned in the Fihrist, are still extant—a short taḍkira incorporated in the Constantinople MS. Abdalhamīd I, 560 (ff. 133b-135a), and a longer work, رسالة الجلاج في بيان لعب الشطرنج, now in the As'ad Efendi Library, No. 1858. A Persian translation of this work forms part of MS. 2866 in the same library.

The following centuries saw the production of compilations based on the works of al-'Adlī and aṣ-Ṣūlī, which seem to have taken the place of the original works. The earliest and most comprehensive of these, the كتاب الشطرنج مما افه العدلی والصولی وغيرهما, survives in MS. Abdalhamīd I, 560, which was written in 535/1140 (referred to below as "A.H."), and there is a later and incomplete copy of this work in the Khedivial Library, Cairo (Muṣṭafa Pasha, 8201). Other MSS. of this recension which help to supply lacunæ in the Constantinople MS. are MS. Vefa ('Atīq Efendi, 2234, copied in 618/1221) and a MS. of 972/1564, now in the Public

Library, Cleveland, U.S.A., where it forms part of the Greswold White collection, a collection that contains transcripts and photographic copies of most of the Constantinople MSS. of chess.

A second compilation from the earlier works is the British Museum MS. Arab. Add. 7515 (Rich), written 655/1257, which has been edited by Señor Pareja Casañas in the work now under review.

The eighth century A.H. saw the production of four more original works on chess. Ḥajjī Khalīfa mentions, in addition to the K. fī sh-shaṭranj al-‘āliya by as-Sarakhsī (also mentioned by b. Abī Uṣaibi‘a), b. an-Najār’s ‘Istiwa‘ an-nahj fī taḥrīm al-la‘ib bi sh-shaṭranj, and b. ad-Duraihim’s Iqāz al-muṣīb fī ma fī sh-shaṭranj min al-manāṣib, both of which are lost. The Rylands Library, Manchester, however, contains (Arab. 59) the *زهوة ارباب العقول في الشطرنج المنقول* of Abū Zakariyā Yaḥyā b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥakīm (of which there is a later MS. in the Abdalhamīd I Library (561), and (Arab. 93) the *كتاب انموذج القتال في لعب الشطرنج* of b. Abī Ḥajala. The list of works dealing with the earlier Muslim game is completed by the Bodleian MS. (Arab. Pocock 16) which contains the *نفحات كمام الورد في تفضيل الشطرنج على النرد* of b. Sukaikir, written 979/1571.

To these works, all of which deal with all aspects of chess, must be added a number of smaller works which deal with special features of chess. To the list which I give in my *History of Chess* (Oxford, 1913) must be added the short treatise by al-Qarāmānī (see Brockelmann, ii, 224), and the *قاعدة في اللعب بالشطرنج* of b. Taimīya of which there is a MS. in the Omoumi Library (1001) at Constantinople.

I now return to the British Museum MS. edited by Señor Pareja. This forms part of the valuable collection of Oriental works made by Claudius J. Rich during his residency in Bagdad from 1808 to 1821 as Agent for the East India

Company, and was purchased in 1825 by the British Museum. It now consists of 132 quarto leaves, but there are unfortunate lacunæ in its pages, and it is possible that the pages have been disarranged in the course of time. This would account for some of the discrepancies between the plan of the work as stated on f. 2*a* and the actual existing arrangement of the work itself, but does not explain all of them, and, although Señor Pareja thinks otherwise, I still believe that the compiler, in rearranging his material according to his plan, left vacant leaves on which he added new material later without regard to its relation to his original system of classification.

The MS. is dedicated to a prince who is described as الجنب المولى العالمى المويدي النطعري العادلى. At a later date the name of this prince has been obliterated, and, although Duncan Forbes claimed that the epithets are appropriate to the Ayubite dynasty that ruled over Syria and Egypt in the twelfth and thirteenth century A.D., neither Cureton in his catalogue of the Arabic MSS. in the Museum nor any later scholar claims to identify the prince in question or his dynasty. Señor Pareja and I agree that the MS. was almost certainly written farther East, though I think that Pareja goes too far in claiming that the author was a shi'ī. The same phrases accompany the name of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib in other chess works undoubtedly written by orthodox Muslims.

The MS. follows the general plan of the earlier Arabic works on chess. It opens with an introduction which contains : f. 1*b*, dedication ; f. 2*a*, plan of the work and discussion of the legality of chess ; f. 4*a*, the origin and invention of chess by Ṣuṣa b. Dāhir ; f. 5*a*, comparison between chess and nard (the Arabic backgammon) ; f. 5*b*, the symbolism of nard ; f. 6*a*, the symbolism of chess ; f. 8*a*, a eulogy of chess with verses in praise of chess ; f. 8*b*, the classes of chess-players ; f. 9*a*, the decisions in the end-game ; f. 11*a*,

the relative values of the chessmen. Then follow six chapters : (1) f. 11*a*, the openings current in the compiler's day ; (2) f. 12*b*, *maṣṣūbāt* (problems) won with the winner's King under threat of mate ; (3) f. 42*a*, the older openings given in al-'Adli's work ; (4) f. 44*a*, *maṣṣūbāt* won with the winner's king not under threat of mate ; (5) f. 103*a*, *maṣṣūbāt* that are drawn of which the solutions are given ; and (6) a selection of ten specially difficult *maṣṣūbāt*. The work continues with some miscellaneous matter, ff. 121*a*–128*b*, *mikḥāriq* (puzzles), the use of the chessboard as an abacus, the *shatranj at-tāmma* on the board of 10×10 squares ; and closes, f. 130*b*, with a collection of apt quotations from the earlier Arabic poetry which may be recited in various positions of a game. As is the case in most of the Arabic works on chess, the greater part of the work consists of a collection of *ta'biyāt* (openings) and *maṣṣūbāt* : there are actually 215 diagrams of these, of which nine are blank, but have accompanying text, and three are blank without text.

The compiler not only abstains from giving his own name, but also as a rule has suppressed the names of his authorities. The earlier compilations often contain information as to the source of a *maṣṣūba*, but this work, even when it has evidently copied the *maṣṣūba* and its solution from A.H., regularly omits these particulars. Once or twice al-'Adli is named as the source for a particular passage, and al-Lajlāj is mentioned as the authority for a couple of *ta'biyāt*, but the name of aṣ-Ṣūlī never appears although all other Arabic chess works praise him highly as the greatest of all Arabic masters, and although the compiler actually borrows a considerable portion of aṣ-Ṣūlī's preface on f. 8*b*. It looks as though the compiler has sought to give the impression that his work is an original production. A collation of his work with A.H. shows that he has made good use of the latter work ; he has taken no fewer than thirty-five *maṣṣūbāt* and their solutions from A.H., at times even adopting the accidental scribal errors in A.H. unaltered.

Señor Pareja (II, xxiv) thinks that the compiler knew little of chess, basing his belief on certain textual blunders in the solutions to *manṣūbāt*. I think he makes too much of these. The compiler probably copied the solutions mechanically and left textual difficulties to be elucidated later; the fact that he occasionally forgot to complete the diagram suggests as much. But the fact that he made a selection of *manṣūbāt* from earlier sources, and has shown a very sound appreciation of what positions were worth copying, convinces me that he had a real mastery of chess. But he copied very carelessly, and many of the difficulties that confronted Señor Pareja are due to the carelessness of the compiler. That he has so often resolved these with success is evidence of the care and acumen that he has brought to his task as editor. But the truth is that the MS. which he has edited is not the best of the existing MSS. and is far inferior to A.H. in all the matter that is common to the two works. Its real value lies in the number of *manṣūbāt* for which it is our only authority.

It is possible to discover from A.H. the source of most of the introductory matter. The discussion of the legality of chess is almost certainly taken from al-'Adlī who was criticised by aṣ-Ṣūlī for his neglect to give the full 'isnād for the traditions. In A.H. the discussion occupies some sixteen pages, and every tradition has its complete chain of authorities, and all those in the present work are to be found there. Señor Pareja has identified many of the authorities, but the aḍ-Daḥḥāk who gave the last tradition about al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī is wrongly identified (i, 8, n. 8): A.H. gives his name as aḍ-Daḥḥāk b. Dīrhem. It is curious that none of the chess works cites the opinions of the founders of the great legal schools. For these it is necessary to consult al-Māwardī (MS. Berlin, Wetzstein ii, 1739, ff. 57b-68a), or b. Taimīya.

The story of the invention of chess is taken from al-'Adlī who gives it as the third of the legends current in his day.

The concluding paragraph of the eulogy of chess is an extract from aṣ-Ṣūlī, but the concluding sentences (i, 18) vary. In A.H. they run: ويعرقون بالطبقة المتقاربة لانه لا يكاد يجتمع من الطبقة العالية ثلثة في وقت ولقد غير الرازى حيناً لا يرى احداً في طبقه وكذلك كان العدلى قبله. Here our MS. replaces the name of ar-Rāzī by that of al-ʿĀrī, a change which can hardly be dismissed as a scribal error. We owe the list of great players to aṣ-Ṣūlī, and our MS. is the only one that attempts to bring the list up to date. Other MSS. merely repeat aṣ-Ṣūlī's list. It is strange that none adds the name of aṣ-Ṣūlī.

The account of the five classes of players is also taken from aṣ-Ṣūlī; al-ʿAdlī gave a different set of criteria for the classes. The section on the end-game is al-ʿAdlī's; A.H., following aṣ-Ṣūlī, rearranges the decisions in a better order.

The section on the ta'ābī in favour in the compiler's day is interesting as showing how players had been influenced by the example of aṣ-Ṣūlī and al-Lajlāj. Señor Pareja (i, 24, n. 1) urges that there were two players known as al-Lajlāj, Abū'l-Faraj Muḥammad b. ʿObaidallāh, named in the Fihrist, and Abū'l-Muẓaffar b. Saʿīd, the author of L. But L. has undoubtedly erred in the name of its author which is given in A.H. as Abū'l-Faraj Muẓaffar b. Saʿīd. It would have been a strange coincidence if two master players, both stammerers, both chess authors, and both pupils of aṣ-Ṣūlī, should have been contemporaries. As Señor Pareja points out, the text to the first ta'bīya does not correspond with the diagram, the text speaking of twelve moves and the diagram showing sixteen. This is an example of the compiler's carelessness in copying. He quotes from the text of L. which has ليس من الابدأ ما يتحرك الدوب كلها في اثني عشرة غيره, but copies a diagram of a later position after the moves 13 Rg1—g2, Rg8—g7; 14 Rg2—c2, Rg7—c7; 15 Qe1—f2, Qe8—f7; 16 Pa2—a3, Rb8—b7. The third

diagram is taken from the same work; it illustrates the play on the Queen's wing which al-Lajlāj thought inferior. A later chapter gives twelve of the fourteen openings which al-'Adlī gave (cf. my *History of Chess*, pp. 235-240). The reading *خنس* of the MS. (diagram 62) is an error for the *حيش* of the other MSS.

The "calculation for geometry" (i, 246) and the paragraph mentioning Galen are taken from al-'Adlī's work. The shawāhid on ff. 130a-132a of the MS. occur in no other chess work. Señor Pareja has succeeded in identifying about half of the passages, a notable performance.

The most striking feature of the collection of *manṣūbāt* is the prominence given to conditional problems in which mate is to be given by a particular piece or on a particular square. This is a development of the problem which had not appeared in aṣ-Ṣūlī's day. The collection opens with five positions of this kind, and there are some dozen problems of the kind in the MS. In these problems the characteristic feature of Muslim problems, the equality of force on the two sides, is abandoned, and the winning side has the greater force, the difficulty of the task justifying the departure from the ordinary Muslim convention. Señor Pareja has devoted much time to the elucidation of the problems, and usually with marked success, and there is little but praise to be given to this part of his work. In No. 31 (ii, 45), however, his note is wrong for 2 Bd6 × Rb8 does not destroy the soundness of the problem. Black would simply continue 2, Qa6-b7 +; 3 Ka8-a7, Ba3-c5 + +.

In his second volume Señor Pareja gives a valuable commentary on the MS., and a sketch of the history of chess in Islam which adds but little to what is given in my *History*. He concludes this by a useful vocabulary of the technical terms of chess as used in the MS. Some entries in this call for remark.

مبطن (ii, cv). This he explains as equivalent to "discovered check", thus rejecting the explanation given in my

History (p. 225). The term is used five times in A.H. (ff. 91a, 92a, 93b), and twice in the British Museum MS., but since the second passage lacks a diagram and is unintelligible without it, it offers no help. Señor Pareja's translation satisfies the other British Museum passage, but does not satisfy any of the passages in A.H., in every one of which the check is given from a square adjacent to the King by a Rook. Both attempts to elucidate the term accordingly fail, and the meaning of this technicality has still to be discovered.

احق (ii, cviii) must be deleted. The compiler has misread the لحق (see ii, cxxv) of A.H., from which he has transcribed the solution.

رخ (ii, cxii). Señor Pareja regards both شاه and رخ in the expression شاه رخ as verbs. This assumption, though tentatively made by Pertsch (see v. d. Linde, *Quellenstudien*, p. 395), is wrong. It was the custom of Arabic players when attacking the King to name the King, just as English players once used to say "Queen" when they attacked the Queen. If a second piece was attacked at the same time, the Arabic player named it as well. شاه رخ means simply "King and Rook", and we may parallel it by شاه و فرس (A.H., f. 56a); شاه و فرزان (A.H., f. 55b); شاه و فيل (L., f. 26a); and شاه و يندق الشاه (L., f. 63a).

These are small blemishes in a work which shows scholarship and sanity throughout. Señor Pareja has produced a work which is not only a valuable contribution to our knowledge of a game that owes so much to the skill and enthusiasm of the early Arabic players, but also a credit to Spanish scholarship.

TIBETAN LITERARY TEXTS AND DOCUMENTS CONCERNING CHINESE TURKESTAN. Selected and translated by F. W. THOMAS. Part i, Literary Texts. Oriental Translation Fund. New series, vol. xxxii. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. x + 323. London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1936.

In the present volume Professor Thomas has collected and translated all the Tibetan literary texts at present known which relate to Chinese Turkestan. The second part, now in the press, contains, besides an introduction and index to the whole work, translations of the Tibetan documents procured by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan.

There can be few occupations more irritating, and yet more fascinating, than extracting the valuable fragments of authentic history from texts of this kind. The authors are interested exclusively in religious history, and in particular the history of individual monasteries; other historical facts are mentioned only incidentally; and chronology is of the most rudimentary kind. Add to this the maddening habits of including much matter which is demonstrably fabulous and of casting past history in the form of a prophecy purporting to be delivered in the yet more remote past, and a geographical terminology which has little relation to the terminology of other available sources, and it will be appreciated that the way of the historian who attempts to use this material is indeed hard.

Nevertheless there are many treasures to be found. The significance of the main and many minor geographical and personal names is clear. We know for instance that *Li* is Khotan, even if we do not know why. The dynastic name *Vijaya* of the Kings of Khotan reappears, under the form *Viśa*, in the late Śaka documents and, under the form *wei-chih*, in Chinese history; and many other equations can be made. In some instances the process of identification is a little laborious; it does not, for instance, spring to the eye that *Par-mkhan* is merely Ferghana in Tibetan dress. I have even found one equation between these documents and the

Divān Lughāt at-Turk of Kāshgari. In the *Annals of the Li Country* (p. 118 of Professor Thomas's translation) the King of Kashgar is called "The King of Ga-hjag". Giving to *h* the nasal sound which we know that it had in early Tibetan, we here have the equivalent of كنجاك, the name given by Kashgari to the native language of Kashgar, which should be transliterated *Ganjak*, and not, as hitherto, *Kenček*. The word is clearly Iranian, and the same as Ganja, the name of another well-known town at the other end of the Iranian area in the Southern Caucasus. This is another piece of evidence reinforcing the view which I, at any rate, have long held, that the ethnic sub-stratum of the population of Western Chinese Turkestan was Iranian from an early, possibly even the earliest, period.

Professor Thomas has made another most valuable contribution to science by assembling these texts with such an ample *apparatus* of commentary and cross reference.

A. 651.

G. L. M. CLAUSON.

THE UṆĀDISŪTRAS IN VARIOUS RECENSIONS. Part VI: The UṆādisūtras of Bhoja with the Vṛtti of Daṇḍanātha Nārāyaṇa and the UṆādisūtras of the Kātantra School with the Vṛtti of Durgasimha. Edited by T. R. CHINTAMANI. Madras University Sanskrit Series No. 7, Part 6. 10 × 6½, pp. xiv + 107 + 51 + 72 + 24. Madras: University of Madras, 1934. 6s.

Neither of these two sets of *UṆādisūtras* has been printed before, and grammatical students will welcome their publication in an edition, which is sound, though admittedly tentative in places for want of adequate manuscript material. The commentaries contain a good many words of lexicographical interest, which have been fully indexed by the editor, but they do not give any of those quotations from well-known works of literature, which lend a special interest to similar commentaries by writers of the Bengali school.

A. 275.

E. H. JOHNSTON.

THE TRESSÉ IRON-AGE MEGALITHIC MONUMENT. By V. C. C. COLLUM. Sir Robert Mond's Excavations. 10 × 8 $\frac{3}{4}$, pp. xi + 123, pls. 35, figs. 14. Oxford : University Press, 1935. 10s. 6d.

This volume contains a report on the excavation of a hitherto unexcavated megalithic monument, of the *allée couverte* type, discovered at Tressé, in Brittany, which contained a crouched burial *in situ*, and various objects by which it was possible to date the tomb. The work was carried out through the generosity of Sir Robert Mond, who entrusted the excavation to Miss Collum, and she has drawn up this very detailed and complete report, which is fully illustrated. She concludes that the pottery and other objects found on, or near, the site, including a Domitian coin, point to a date during the period of Roman intercourse with Gaul, probably the first or second century A.D.

The monument is embossed with double pairs of sculptured human breasts, on one stone those of a virgin, and on another those of a mother, and Miss Collum devotes half the volume to a discussion of the significance of these sculptured stones as symbols of the world-wide cosmic cult of the Mother-goddess. She considers it probable that these symbolic sculptures were suggested to the Tressé Armoricans by representations of the Goddess Artemis, emanating from Ephesus, since Dinan, close to Tressé, was a flourishing Gallo-Roman port. The sculptures on this tomb, she believes, were here symbolizing the Eternal Female Principle of Life, "to whose embrace her votary goes in death, that, like the worshipper of Shakti, yielding himself to Kālī, his body may be received again into the womb of Earth the Mother" (p. 67). Such symbolism, the author feels, cannot be attributed to primitive folk.

Miss Collum links together what is known of Druidism and the Mother-Goddess cult of the Celtic-speaking peoples, and claims that these Tressé sculptures provide evidence of a theosophic belief, which should clear the Romano-Celtic

culture and the builders of the megalithic monuments, once for all, of the charge of barbarism. The route by which the cosmic cult of the Female Principle and, later, the Gnostic cults, reached Gaul, Britain, and Ireland, was, most probably, by way of Asia Minor, Syria, or the Ægean, and thence to Spain, Armorica, and Ireland, from the sixth century onwards. The compiler of this report seeks, further, to show that the Kabbalistic teaching of the Elohim, the Supernal Mother, and the Bride, Malkuth, may have a bearing on the symbolism of the double pairs of breasts found at Tressé. She claims that these beautiful symbolic reliefs prove that the Celtic-speaking peoples did not give themselves to a superstitious cult of the dead, and the theosophic doctrines which were held by the cultured classes among them are not to be confused with the primitive beliefs and superstitions of the pre-Celtic population.

Miss Collum gathers together her conclusions in a final section (pp. 113, 114) and, though, perhaps, in some instances, these conclusions are based upon probabilities rather than upon historical certainties, she has produced an exceedingly interesting theory to account for these discoveries.

The book is to be warmly recommended to archæologists and historians, and it will be found of absorbing interest also to those who are students of comparative religion, and especially of Oriental cults. The volume has been beautifully produced by the Oxford University Press, with a good bibliography, but there is no index.

A. 497.

MARGARET SMITH.

Islam

IL CALIFFATO DI HISHÂM. Mémoires de la Société Royale d'Archéologie d'Alexandrie. By F. GABRIELE. Tome vii, 2, pp. 141. Alexandrie: Société de Publications Égyptiennes, 1935.

A foreign language always lends extra interest to a book of this sort; yet, after allowing for this, it seems to be

eminently readable, although it is mostly discussion of detail. The author has studied the original histories carefully, is familiar with modern discussions, has no hobbies to ride, and is careful not to go beyond the evidence. The verdict on Hishām is more favourable than Wellhausen's. The caliph had in him, like most of the Umayyads, a strong bedouin strain, which gave him a touch of the peasant and made him think of the empire as a farm and also encouraged what others called his meanness. In spite of this he tried to put good men in important posts and to do his best for the state. The empire was stronger at his death than it was at his accession and, if the frontier provinces did try to make themselves independent, the fault lay in the size of the empire and not in the ruler. His unwillingness to shed blood made the Abbasid propaganda easier, though it is a back-handed accusation to find fault with him on this score.

Of necessity, corrections to established views can only be in matters of detail. So it is argued that Maslama's last campaign was not a disaster, as it is commonly represented, but an ordinary raid from which the Muslims retreated in good order before superior forces to a secure base. Further, the sources on which Ṭabari relied for the history of Khurāsān were more concerned to tell a lively tale than to write history as it is beloved of historians. The Muslim capture of Bukhāra in A.H. 111 and the retaking of Balkh after the revolt of Ḥārith b. Suraij are not mentioned explicitly. Therefore the author argues that Samarkand must have been recaptured in A.H. 118 so that the independence of Sughd was even shorter than is allowed by *The Arab Conquests in Central Asia*.

The book has no index.

A. S. TRITTON.

THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS

No. 5078, vol. 189, of 15th August, 1936, includes an account of some papyrus fragments of "Deuteronomy" in Greek, dating from the second century B.C. It is thus the oldest biblical MS. yet discovered. The fragments seem to have been the property of some Christian community in the Fayoum. Supposing that "The Law" was translated in the second or third century B.C. in Alexandria, a copy on papyrus might have been used and handled till it became too sadly worn for easy decipherment as a text of the law, and it might finally have been offered up as mummy cartonnage. The pieces would then be cut or torn up, glued together, coated with plaster, and placed round the mummy. But before this last phase of utility the reverse side of the scroll might have been used for casual accounts. The text described here has a character of its own, and the cumulative evidence leads to the conclusion that these fragments can be dated to the second century B.C. They belong to the John Rylands Library, Manchester.

In No. 5079 of 22nd August, 1936, there appears a short illustrated account of the excavations carried out in the neighbourhood of Persepolis, which was the centre of the Persian Empire in the fifth century B.C.

No. 5082 of 12th September contains an account by Professor Frankfort of the excavation at Tell Agrab, which laid bare temples deserted 5,000 years ago and fresh proof of Indo-Sumerian cultural association. Fragments of a green steatite vase came to light, showing a Sumerian figure seated before a building within which is a humped bull of the Indian type. Now the humped bull is not indigenous to Mesopotamia, yet here are the signs of an Indian cult in a Mesopotamian setting.

In No. 5083 of 19th September Dr. Robert Brown describes the finding in the limestone caves at Sterkfontein, near Krugersdorp, in the Transvaal, of the brain case and parts of the skull of an anthropoid ape with human characteristics,

akin to the Taungs skull, but a more adult specimen. It is thought to be a different species because the fossil mammals in the two cases are all different.

No. 5084 of 26th September contains an illustrated account of some of the finds at the site of the earliest temple at Khafaje, in Mesopotamia. They include a little statuette of a woman of the Jemdet Nasr period, which is described by Professor Frankfort as "the earliest stone sculpture representing a human being which has yet been found in Western Asia". There are also pottery vases in the shape of animals, which are particularly interesting, for similar vases have been found in Anatolia.

No. 5086 shows coloured representations of "Tapestry of Ancient Times", and begins a new series of illustrated descriptions of old textiles, designed to illustrate the remote ancestry of the art of tapestry, etc. No. 1 depicts third-fifth century work from Egypt. The following numbers show Coptic, Arab, and Medieval work. Amongst the finds of the Wellcome Archæological Research Expedition to the Near East at Tell Duweir (Lachish) were sherds of Cypriote ware, a goblet imported from Greece (1450-1400 B.C.), a fragmentary text contemporary with the Duweir Ewer, and a chamber quarried in chalk, containing the remains of some 1,500 bodies. Among the skulls are three specimens of primitive trephining operations.

No. 5088 includes descriptions of Stone Age life as typified by the existing Australian aboriginal, "How an Artist saw China in the Third Century B.C.," as depicted on tomb tiles from Old Loyang, Honan, and examples of Malvinia Hoffman's bronze records of the different types of man in the Field Museum at Chicago.

No. 5089 gives André Parrot's account of the excavation at Mari, with its palace, sculptures, wall paintings, and cooking utensils of Abraham's time. The type of face portrayed is extraordinarily modern.

No. 5090 includes an illustrated article by Sir Arthur

Evans on the discoveries of Minoan Culture shown in the exhibition at Burlington House, including an ivory figurine with loin clothing of thin gold plate, seals, frescoes, faience, and jewellery.

Nos. 5091 and 5092 give a description by Dr. Ernest Mackay of the new discoveries of Indian culture in Prehistoric Sind at Chanhudaro on the lower Indus Valley, showing their arts, industries, toys, and the high state of efficiency of their methods of sanitation.

The thanks of the Society are also due for the following volumes :—

CASABLANCA ET LES CHAOUIA EN 1900. By Dr. F. Weisgerber.

Preface by General d'Amade. Paris : Paul Geuthner, 1936.

VOCABULAIRE FRANÇAIS-KABYLE. By Octave Depont.

Paris : Paul Geuthner, 1936.

VOCABULAIRE FRANÇAIS-ARABE. By Octave Depont. Paris :

Paul Geuthner, 1936.

ANNUAL CUSTOMS AND FESTIVALS IN PEKIN. As recorded in the Yen-ching Sui-shih-chi by Tun Li-Ch'en. Tr. by Derk Bodde. Peiping : Henri Vetch, 1936.

TAMERLANE, OR TIMUR, THE GREAT AMIR. Tr. by J. H.

Sanders from the Arabic Life by Ahmed Ibn Arabshah.

London : Luzac and Co., 1936.

MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION AND FINANCE IN PRE-BRITISH

DAYS. By B. G. Bhatnagar. Allahabad : Indian Press, 1936.

THREE DESERTS. By C. S. Jarvis. London : John Murray, 1936.

EASTERN COSTUME. By F. Gilbert Blakeslee. Hollywood,

Cal. : Warner Publishing Co., 1935.

MITHRA, ZOROASTRE ET LA PRÉHISTOIRE ARYENNE DU

CHRISTIANISME. By Charles Autran. Paris : Payot, 1935.

MASSIME DI ELIA METROPOLITANO DI NISIBI (975-1056).

By R. P. Paolo Sbath. Cairo : Imp. " Al-Chark ", 1936.

The following observations are published at the request of the author of *The Book of the Wars of the Lord*, of which a review appeared in *JRAS.* 1935, pp. 767-770.

In the review of my edition of Salmon ben Yeruhim's *The Book of the Wars of the Lord*, which appeared in this *Journal* on p. 767, etc., the reviewer says in the beginning of the third paragraph, that it is the second edition of this rhymed epistle which he is taking under consideration. The fourth paragraph begins: "This text was first published more than seven decades ago by S. Pinsker in his *Likkute Kadmoniyoth*."

I do not know which Karaitic work the reviewer had in mind, but as far as the work edited by me is concerned, his statements do not tally with the facts.

Pinsker, in the second part of the work cited (pp. 16-19), gives a brief summary of the eleven chapters (i.e. chaps. 3-13), which were still in manuscript before him. The first two chapters consisting of 176 verses had been published in the *Literaturblatt des Orients*, vol. 7. In this summary based on a defective manuscript he quotes 44 verses, i.e. 40 verses (45-84) of chapter 14, and the 4 opening verses of chapter 15. Later, S. Poznansky cited verses 1-64 of chapter 12 in Kaufmann's *Gedenkbuch* (Breslau, 1900, pp. 186-7). In all there appeared in print before my edition, 284 verses, mainly disconnected and based on defective manuscripts. My edition, based on four manuscripts, contains 1,608 verses. Whether Pinsker's 44 lines, or even the 284 verses, should be designated as the first, and mine as the second edition, I leave to the reader to judge.

ISRAEL DAVIDSON.

FONDATION DE GOEJE

1. Depuis sa dernière communication la Fondation a subi une perte douloureuse et très sensible en la mort de son président, M. Snouck Hurgronje, décédé le 26 juin. Successeur de M. de Goeje comme président de la Fondation, il l'a entouré pendant plus de 25 ans de soins dévoués, dont les publications de la Fondation ont tiré un profit très considérable. Le Conseil ne saurait guère publier cette communication sans donner expression à ses sentiments de profonde reconnaissance envers feu son Président, sentiments qu'a renouvelés et renforcés par son décès profondément regretté.

2. Le Conseil est maintenant composé comme suit : MM. A. J. Wensinck, président ; Tj. de Boer ; J. L. Palache ; Paul Scholten ; C. C. Berg, secrétaire-trésorier.

3. La publication du texte d'Ibn Abī Dāwūd sur les variantes du texte du Koran par M. Jeffery a fait de tels progrès qu'on pourra s'attendre à l'apparition de l'ouvrage au courant de l'automne.

Le texte du *Rawḍ al-Mi'tār* a été préparé pour l'impression par M. Lévi-Provençal, de sorte qu'on se propose de publier au cours de l'année prochaine l'ouvrage accompagné d'une traduction partielle en français.

4. Des dix publications de la Fondation il reste un certain nombre d'exemplaires, qui sont mis en vente au profit de la Fondation, chez l'éditeur E. J. Brill, aux prix marqués : (1) *The Ḥamāsa of al-Buhturī*, photographic reproduction of the MS. . . . with indexes by R. Geyer and D. S. Margoliouth (1909), fl. 96 ; (2) *The Fākhīr of al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Salāma*, ed. C. A. Storey (1915), fl. 6 ; (3) I. Goldziher, *Streitschrift des Gāzālī gegen die Bāṭiniyya-Sekte* (1916), fl. 4.50 ; (4) Bar Hebraeus's *Book of the Dove*, translated by A. J. Wensinck (1919), fl. 4.50 ; V. C. van Arendonk, *De opkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen* (1919), fl. 6 ; (6) I. Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung* (1920),

fl. 10; (7) *Averroes, Die Epitome übersetzt . . .* von S. van den Bergh (1924), fl. 7.50; (8) *Les "Livres des Chevaux" de Hišām b. al-Kalbī et Muḥ. b. al-A'rābī*, publiés par G. Levi Della Vida (1927), fl. 5; (9) D. van der Meulen and H. von Wissmann, *Hadramaut* (1932), fl. 9; (10) *at-Ṭabarī, Kitāb Iḥtilāf al-Fuqahā'*. Das konstantinopler Fragment herausg. von J. Schacht (1933), fl. 4.80.

LEIDEN.

Novembre, 1936.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Lidzbarski Trust

At the Oriental Congress held in Rome on 23rd-29th September, Professor P. Kahle of Bonn University made the following announcement: Professor Mark Lidzbarski, well known as an authority on N. Semitic Epigraphy and Mandiac literature, who died in 1928, left by his will a sum of money sufficient to provide a prize of 5,000 gold marks to be awarded for some extensive work dealing with Semitics, especially archaeology and the science of religion, the subject of such work to be announced at every second international Congress of Orientalists, and the prize awarded at the following Congress.

He desired that a Committee for the choice of subjects and assignation of the prize should consist of four persons, of whom the German and the American Oriental Societies, the French Société Asiatique, and the R.A.S. should each appoint one. Administration of the Trust was to be in the hands of the Prussian Kultusministerium, which commissioned Professor Kahle, as manager of the D.M.G., to approach the other Societies. That Society appointed Professor Enno Littmann of Tübingen to serve on the Committee; the S.A., Mons. R. Dussaud, Membre de l'Institut; the American O.S., Professor Ch. Torrey of Yale University; and the R.A.S., Professor D. S. Margoliouth of Oxford.

It was further desired in the will that at those Congresses at which no prize was awarded a medal should be presented to some Orientalist of special merit.

In accordance with this latter provision, at the recommendation of the Committee, a medal executed by Karl Dauert of Berlin, and bearing on the obverse the head of Lidzbarski with the legend MARK LIDZBARSKI 1868-1928 and on the reverse LIDZBARSKI-MEDAILLE VERLIEHEN AN NIKOLAUS

RHODOKANAKIS AUF DEM XIX. INTERNATIONALEN ORIENTALISTENKONGRESS SEPTEMBER 1935 ROM was awarded to Professor N. Rhodokanakis of Graz University.

The subject selected for a prize composition is "The Additions to our Knowledge of the Aramaic Dialects since the publications of Theodor Nöldeke".

Competitors should send in their works to the Geschäftsführer of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft not later than six months before the next International Congress of Orientalists.

Dr. B. C. Law Trust Series of publications under the Royal Asiatic Society

By the generosity of Dr. Bimala Churn Law, of Calcutta, a Trust has been founded to facilitate the publication of original literary contributions on Buddhism, Jainism, or the History or Geography of Ancient India up to the end of the thirteenth century A.D.

The first period during which MSS. may be offered by competitors will end on 31st December, 1938.

Details are given in the loose sheet enclosed in this issue of the JOURNAL, and these may also be obtained on application to: The Secretary, Royal Asiatic Society, 74 Grosvenor Street, London, W. 1.

Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, British Museum

Students are requested to note that the present temporary Students' Room will be closed as from 1st January, 1937, for an indefinite period, owing to removal.

Notice will be sent of the reopening of the permanent Students' Room.

SIDNEY SMITH,
Keeper.

Notices

Copies of every article published in the *Journal* are available for purchase at the time of publication. In the case of a few of the older *Journals* the copies of certain articles are sold out, but in most cases they are still obtainable. The cost varies in accordance with the number of pages and plates ; the average price is about 1s. 6d. each.

Will Library Subscribers whose subscriptions are paid through agents and who desire that their names should appear in the List of Members for next year kindly send their names to the Secretary, either direct or through their agent, before 1st April.

As it has been found necessary, owing to the financial situation, to reduce the number of pages in the *Journal of the R.A.S.* for the present, the space available for reviews of books has been proportionately restricted, and the Editor regrets that he is unable to publish a review of every book presented to the Library of the Society.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY'S LIBRARY

The Royal Asiatic Society has been affiliated to the National Central Library, Malet Place, London.

This means that a member of the R.A.S. may borrow any book from any other library in the United Kingdom which is itself affiliated to the National Central Library.

As there are some 150 libraries so affiliated, the scope for borrowing scientific or rare books is very materially increased.

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Vol. 12 (New Series), 1936.

Kane, P. V. Kalivarjya (actions forbidden in the Kali age).

Ivanow, W. The sect of Imam Shah in Gujarat.

Heras, H., Rev. The Origin of the so-called Greco-Buddhist School of Sculpture.

Bengal, Past and Present. Vol. lli, Part i, Serial No. 103,
July-Sept., 1936.

Cotton, E., Sir. The Sardhana Pictures at Government House,
Allahabad.

Seth, M. J. Armenians as Political Stepping-Stones in India.

Indian Art and Letters.

Vol iv, New Series, No. 2, 2nd issue for 1930.

le May, R. Sculpture in Siam.

Gangoly, O. C. A Newly Discovered Illustrated Indian Manuscript.

Yetts, W. P. Archæology in China.

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

Vol. xvii, Parts iii and iv, 1935-1936.

Law, B. C. Countries and Peoples of India. (Epic and Pauranic Sources.)

Ghatage, A. M. A Few Parallels in Jain and Buddhist Works.

Kibe, M. V. Further Light on Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā located in Central India from Vālmiki's Rāmāyana.

The Indian Historical Quarterly. Vol. xii, No. 3, September, 1936.

Przyluski, J. Uposatha.

Shembavnekar, K. M. The Identity of the Indus Valley Race with the Vāhikas.

Iraq. Vol. iii, Part 2, Autumn, 1936.

Stein, A., Sir. An Archæological Tour in the Ancient Persis.

Palestine Exploration Fund. Sixty-eighth Year. October, 1936.

Starkey, J. L. Fourth Season's Work at Tell Duweir.

Förster, E. O. The Hittites in Palestine.

Journal Asiatique. Tome cccxxviii, Janvier-Mars, 1936.

Renou, L. Sylvain Lévi et son œuvre scientifique.

Lévi, S. Kaniska et Śātavāhana.

Archiv für Orientforschung. Band xi, Heft 3, 1936.

Giuseppe, F., and Weidner, E. F. Die Reliefs der assyrischen Könige. III. Die assyrischen Reliefs in Italien.

Acta Orientalia. Vol. xv, Pars. ii, 1936.

Johnston, E. H. The Buddha's Mission and last journey :
Buddha-carita, XV to XXVIII.

Mowinkel, S. Wer war Gilgameš ?

— Zur siebenten Tafel des gilgameš-Epos.

Boletim Do Instituto Vasco Da Gama. No. 31, 1936.

Gracias, A. Os Primeiros Goeses em Portugal.

O Oriente Português. Lus. C. 111, Est. 111, Nos. 12-13, 1936.

Pissurlencar, P. O Elemento Hindu da Casta Chardó.

Pereira, A. B. de B. Os portugueses em Diu.

Journal of the American Oriental Society.

Vol. 56, No. 3, Sept., 1936.

Creel, H. G. Bronze Inscriptions of the Western Chou Dynasty
as Historical Documents.

Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies. Vol. i, Number 2, July, 1936.

Bohlin, Birger. Newly Visited Western Caves at Tun-huang.

Eberhard, W. Contributions to Astronomy of the Han Period.

III : Astronomy of the Later Han Period.

Przyluski, J. Les Sept Terrasses du Barabudur.

The Chinese Social and Political Science Review.

Vol. xx, No. 3, October, 1936.

Riasanovsky, V. A. The Code of Northern Mongolia : Khalkha
Djirom.

Djāwā. 16de Jaargang, No. 1, 2 en 3, Juli, 1936.

McPhee, C. The Balinese wajang koelit and its music.

Spies, W. Bericht über den Zustand von Tanz und Musik in der
Nègara Gianjar.

Bonnet, R. Beeldende Kunst in Gianjar.

Stutterheim, W. F. Enkele ouden van Bali.

Goris, R. Enkele mededeelingen nopens de oorkonden gesteld in
het Oud-Balisch.

PRESENTATIONS AND ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY

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From the Royal University Library, Uppsala.

Allen, T. G., Egyptian Stelæ in the Field Museum of Nat. History . . . (Field Mus. of Nat. Hist., Anth. Ser., vol. 24, no. 1, Publ. 359). $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$. *Chicago*, 1936. *Exchange.*

Alt, A., Völker und Staaten Syriens im frühen Altertum . . . (A.O., Bd. 34, Heft 4). 9×6 . *Leipzig*, 1936. *Bought.*

Anantakṣṇa Iyer, L. K., The Mysore tribes and castes. Vol. 1 . . . Chap. 1 is by Baron von Eickstedt. 9×6 . *Mysore*, 1935.

From the Curator, Govt. Oriental Library, Mysore.

Ātreya, B. L., The philosophy of the Yoga-vāsistha . . . 10×7 . *Madras*, 1936.

From the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar.

Baroda. The Gaikwads of Baroda. English documents. Vol. 1. Pilaji and Damaji Gaikwads, 1720-1768. Ed. by J. H. Gense . . . and D. R. Banaji . . . $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7$. *Bombay*, 1936.

From Messrs. D. B. Taraporevala Sons.

Bankipore. Oriental Public Library. Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian MSS. . . Vol. 19. (Arabic MSS.) Jurisprudence Pt. 2 and Law of inheritance . . . By Maulavi Abdul Hamid. $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$. *Patna*, 1933. *Bought.*

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Cavaignac, E., *Le problème hittite* . . . (Études d'Arch. et d'Hist.) 8 × 5½. *Paris*, 1936.

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Cerny, J., *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*. Nos. 25593-25674. Ostraca hiératiques . . . Fasc. 3. 14 × 10½. *Le Caire*, 1933.

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Chapouthier, F., and Joly, R., *Fouilles exécutées à Mallia. 2e rapport. Exploration du palais, 1925-6* . . . (École Française d'Athènes. Études crétoises, 4.) 11½ × 9½. *Paris*, 1936.

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Clark, E. W., *Ao-Naga dictionary . . .* 1st ed. 9×6 . *Calcutta*, 1911. *Presented by Mr. Wolfenden.*

Combe, E., Sauvaget, J., and Wiet, G., *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe. Tome 7 . . .* $11\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$. *Le Caire*, 1936.

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Haddon, A. C., and Start, L. E., Iban or Sea Dayak fabrics and their patterns. A descriptive catalogue of the Iban fabrics in the Museum of Archæology and Ethnology, Cambridge . . . $10\frac{1}{2} \times 8$. Cambridge, 1936.

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Herzfeld, E., Paikuli. Monument and inscription of the early history of the Sasanian empire . . . (Forschungen zur islamischen Kunst, 3). 2 vols. $16\frac{1}{2} \times 13$. Berlin, 1924.

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TRANSLITERATION
OF THE
SANSKRIT, ARABIC
AND ALLIED ALPHABETS
TOGETHER WITH
NOTES ON CHINESE AND JAPANESE

THE system of Transliteration of the former, as shown in the Tables given within, is based on that approved by the International ORIENTAL CONGRESS of 1894. A few optional forms have been added so as to adapt it to the requirements of English and Indian scholars. The Council earnestly recommends its general adoption (as far as possible), in this country and in India, by those engaged in Oriental Studies.

SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

अ	.	.	.	a
आ	.	.	.	ā
इ	.	.	.	i
ई	.	.	.	ī
उ	.	.	.	u
ऊ	.	.	.	ū
ऋ	.	.	.	r̥ or r̄
ॠ	.	.	.	r̄ or r̄̄
ऌ	.	.	.	l̥ or l̄
ॡ	.	.	.	l̄ or l̄̄
ए	.	.	.	e or ē
ऐ	.	.	.	ai
ओ	.	.	.	o or ō
औ	.	.	.	au
क	.	.	.	ka
ख	.	.	.	kha
ग	.	.	.	ga
घ	.	.	.	gha
ङ	.	.	.	ṅa
च	.	.	.	ca or <u>cha</u> ¹
छ	.	.	.	cha or <u>chha</u> ¹
ज	.	.	.	ja
झ	.	.	.	jha
ञ	.	.	.	ña
ट	.	.	.	ṭa
ठ	.	.	.	ṭha
ड	.	.	.	ḍa
ढ	.	.	.	ḍha
ण	.	.	.	ṇa
त	.	.	.	ta
थ	.	.	.	tha
द	.	.	.	da

¹ In modern Indian languages only.

ध	.	.	.	<i>dha</i>
न	.	.	.	<i>na</i>
प	.	.	.	<i>pa</i>
फ	.	.	.	<i>pha</i>
ब	.	.	.	<i>ba</i>
भ	.	.	.	<i>bha</i>
म	.	.	.	<i>ma</i>
य	.	.	.	<i>ya</i>
र	.	.	.	<i>ra</i>
ल	.	.	.	<i>la</i>
व	.	.	.	<i>va</i>
श	.	.	.	<i>śa</i>
ष	.	.	.	<i>ṣa</i>
स	.	.	.	<i>sa</i>
ह	.	.	.	<i>ha</i>
ळ	.	.	.	<i>ḷa</i> or <i>ḷu</i>
• (Anusvāra)	.	.	.	<i>m̐</i>
◌ (Anunāsika)	.	.	.	<i>m̐</i>
ː (visarga)	.	.	.	<i>ḥ</i>
× (jihvāmūlīya)	.	.	.	<i>ḥ</i>
∞ (upadhmānīya)	.	.	.	<i>ḥ</i>
₣ (avagraha)	.	.	.	<i>'</i>
Udātta	.	.	.	<i>ˆ</i>
Svarita	.	.	.	<i>˘</i>
Anudātta	.	.	.	<i>˙</i>

ADDITIONAL FOR MODERN VERNACULARS

ड	.	.	.	<i>ṛa</i>
ढ	.	.	.	<i>ṛha</i>

Where, as happens in some modern languages, the inherent *a* of a consonant is not sounded, it need not be written in transliteration. Thus Hindi करता *kartā* (not *karatā*), making; कल *kal* (not *kala*), to-morrow.

The sign ~, a tilde, has long been used by scholars to represent *anunāsika* and *anusvāra* and *nūn-i-ghunna*—when these stand for nasal vowels—in Prākṛit and in the modern vernaculars: thus अँ *ā*, आँ *ā* and so on. It is therefore permitted as an optional use in these circumstances.

ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

ʾ at beginning of word to be omitted ; hamza elsewhere '
or alternatively, hamza may be represented by ʾ or ʿ

ب	b	ط	ṭ or ṭ ¹
ت	t	ظ	ẓ or ẓ ¹
ث	ṭ or <u>th</u>	ع	ʿ
ج	j or <u>dj</u> ¹	غ	g̣ or <u>gh</u>
ح	h	ف	f
خ	h or <u>kh</u>	ق	q
د	d	ك	k
ذ	d or <u>dh</u>	ل	l
ر	r	م	m
ز	z	ن	n
س	s	و	w or v
ش	ʃ or <u>sh</u>	ه	h
ص	ʃ	ة	t or <u>h</u>
ض	ḍ	ي	y

vowels ʾ a, ʾ i, ʾ u

lengthened ʾ ā, ʾ ī, ʾ ū

also ē and ō in Indian dialects, ü and ö in Turkish

Alif maqṣūrah may be represented by ā

diphthongs ʾ ay and ʾ aw, or ʾ ai and ʾ au
respectively

Also in India, in transliterating Indian dialects, and
for Persian, will be recognized ʃ for ث, ẓ for ذ,
and ẓ for ض

waṣla

Although allowed by the Geneva system, the use of *dj* for ج in England or India is not recommended ; nor for modern Indian languages should ط be transliterated by ṭ or ظ by ẓ, as these signs are there employed for other purposes.

A final silent *h* need not be transliterated,—thus بندہ *banda* (not *bandah*). When pronounced, it should be written,—thus گناه *gunāh*.

ADDITIONAL LETTERS

Persian, Hindī, Urdū, and Paṣhtō.

پ	<i>p</i>
چ	<i>ç, c, or ch</i>
ژ	<i>z or zh</i>
گ	<i>g</i>

Turkish letters.

ک	when pronounced as <i>y, k</i> is permitted
ن	<i>ñ</i>

Hindī, Urdū, and Paṣhtō.

ت or پ	<i>t</i>
ڈ or د	<i>d</i>
ڑ or ر	<i>r</i>

ں (*nūn-i-ghunna*) ~ as in the case of the Nāgarī *anunāsika*

Paṣhtō letters.

ځ	<i>ś, ź, <u>ts</u> or <u>dz</u></i>
ږ	<i>zh or <u>g</u> (according to dialect)</i>
ښ	<i>n</i>
ښ	<i>sh or <u>kh</u> (according to dialect)</i>

HEBREW

א	א = ' <i>a</i>	ך	ד = <i>d</i>
ב	ב = <i>b</i>	ז	ז = <i>d</i>
ג	ג = <i>b</i>	ה	ה = <i>h</i>
ד	ד = <i>g</i>	ו	ו = <i>w</i>
ה	ה = <i>g</i>	ז	ז = <i>z</i>

ה	ח = <i>h</i>	ג	ג = <i>g</i> (or <i>r</i>)
	ח = <i>h</i>	פ	= <i>p</i>
ט	ט = <i>t</i>	פ	פ = <i>f</i>
	צ = <i>z</i>	צ	צ = <i>s</i>
י	י = <i>y</i> (as consonant)	ד	ד = <i>d</i>
כ	כ = <i>k</i>	ק	ק = <i>k</i> or <i>q</i>
ל	= <i>k</i>	ר	ר = <i>r</i>
ל	ל = <i>l</i>	ש	ש = <i>s</i>
מ	מ = <i>m</i>	ש	= <i>s</i>
נ	נ = <i>n</i>	ת	ת = <i>t</i>
ס	ס = <i>s</i>	ת	ת = <i>t</i>
ע	ע = '		

CHINESE AND JAPANESE

For Chinese the use of the Wade system is requested, and for Japanese that of the Rōmaji-kwai (Romanization Society).

Authors and Reviewers who use Oriental names, words, or quotations in the text of their writings for the JOURNAL are requested, as a convenience for the general reader, to append a translation (into English) of all quotations and also a transliteration of all names or single words.



JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY 1937

PART II.—APRIL

Archaic Chinese Characters

Being some intensive studies in them

PART II

By L. C. HOPKINS

The origin of the character 去 *ch'ü*, to go away; to dismiss, do away with, deprive of.

THE solution about to be proposed is quite new. By such Chinese specialists as may see it, if any, I confidently expect it to be derided. By the few Western students who concern themselves with this branch of inquiry, it will perhaps seem rather improper, rather improbable, and "rather interesting, all the same".

The present usually accepted account of the origin of the form of this character is based on the Lesser Seal scription found in the *Shuo Wen*, which is 𠂔. And this is said to represent a dish with a cover.¹ I believe this explanation is due to the author of the *Phonetic Shuo Wen*, 說文通訓定聲 *Shuo Wen t'ung hsün ting shêng*, an authority much consulted by both Chalmers and Wieger.

¹ Chalmers, *The Structure of Chinese Characters*, p. 46, and 18, and Wieger, *Chinese Characters* (English version), "an empty vessel and its cover," p. 103.

Now let us see what the *Shuo Wen* says under this character *ch'ü*, its 172nd Radical, and what it does *not* say. It devotes just eight words to the entry, four to the explanation of the word, and four to the analysis of the character. Those of the explanation are 人相違也 *jên hsiang wei yeh*, "A man departing," (or, more literally, "a man turning his back on. . ."). This is followed by 从大 Δ 聲 *ts'ung ta ch'ü shêng*, "Composed of *ta* and *ch'ü* for the sound." And here we should bear in mind an important distinction drawn by the author of the *Shuo Wen* in his analytic treatment of characters. It is this. When, as here, in his view, one component of a character is present only for the sake of its sound, he uses the single word 聲 *shêng*, "sound." When, as he believes, the component, besides indicating the sound, contributes also to the meaning of the full character, then the formula is 亦聲 *i shêng*, "also phonetic." Hence, clearly, Hsü Shên did not believe that the element Δ had anything in common with 去 *ch'ü* but the sound.

So then, we should note that under this character 去 *ch'ü*, his 172nd Radical, the author says nothing at all about its probable meaning "at first a dish with a cover". I desire to emphasize this silence.

But under his 171st Radical, written \square as the Lesser Seal norm, but Δ , when occurring in his own explanatory text, Hsü writes as follows, Δ 盧飯器以柳爲之象形 *ch'ü-lü fan ch'i i liu wei chih hsiang hsing*, "*Ch'ü-lü*, A food vessel made of wicker. A pictogram." It is this passage which has been lifted from its proper place by some later editor (I suppose the author of the *Phonetic Shuo Wen*), and applied to elucidate the succeeding Radical 去 *ch'ü*, whose lower element is alleged to be a food vessel, while, to put the lid on the matter (so to speak), the upper element in the Lesser Seal, as previously shown, is alleged to represent the vessel's cover.

This conjectural analysis has hitherto held the field. But when the results of the Honan excavations came to be

examined, certain forms of the character *ch'ü* 去 were disclosed, earlier than any previously recorded, which render the standing explanation so incongruous as to be untenable. Here are four examples in illustration and support of that assertion.



Will anyone maintain that a primitive artist desiring to represent a food vessel and its cover, would have drawn a design of such patently disproportionate relations between the two parts as are shown in the above figures? No. We must try back to the text of the *Shuo Wen*, and to the brief and useful note on it by the great scholar Tuan Yü-ts'ai. It touches both the explanation and the analysis of the character given by Hsü Shên. On the former, 人相遠也 *jên hsiang wei yeh*, Tuan glosses, 遠離也 *wei li yeh*, "wei, to turn the back on, is equivalent to li, to separate"; and then adds, 人離故从大大者人也 *jên li ku ts'ung ta, ta chê jên yeh*, "A man separating, hence composed with 大 *ta*, 大 is 人 *jên*, man." This last is a pregnant saying, and cannot be left unnoticed.

On the face of it, it appears incorrect. *Ta* means *great*, it does not mean *man*. How then does Tuan come to use such a seemingly paradoxical phrase? It is because he knew and bore in mind a feature in the construction of compound characters, well understood and illustrated by the author of the *Shuo Wen* (as for instance in the character before us), but either unrealized or ignored by some later writers. In most cases of compound characters where a component element is not used for the sake of its sound, it is embodied for one of two reasons.

The first and far the commonest is when the component form is used for the sake of the meaning of the spoken word

¹ Fig. 1, *Y.H.S.K.*, Hou Pien, 上, p. 12; (2) *Y.H.S.K.*, Ch. 6, p. 37; (3) Yin Ch'i I Ts'un, Bone 98; (4) *Ibid.*, Bone 537.



to which ancient tradition and usage have assigned it : such, for instance, is 日 *jih* the sun, in 旦 *tan*, dawn.


But the second, far less often used, and less recognized when used, is the choice of a component for the sake of the figurative value of its design, and not for its typical function as a selected form to represent a particular unit of speech. Such a figurative value has the lower element in the complex 𣎵 (cleverly equated by Yeh Yü-sên with the later and modern 春 *ch'un*, Spring). This lower element, though on the face of it seemingly the early form of 口 *k'ou*, mouth, was not so designed, but, as Kuo Mo-jo maintains, represents an ancient drawing of 盆 *p'ên*, a tub or bowl, and the full character picturing "a plant in a tub joyously striving towards the splendour of its blooming" (盆中艸木欣欣向榮 *p'ên chung ts'ao mu hsin hsin hsiang jung*).

And such a figurative value also has the original upper element in 𠂔 *ch'ü*. So did the author of the *Shuo Wen* understand it, when he wrote "a man departing". And so did his editor and commentator understand it as he glossed "大 *ta* is man", namely a linear figure of a man viewed frontally (or, dorsally) with arms extended and legs wide apart. And so, last and not least, do I conceive it, standing under the banner of the author, and the editor above named. But now we part company.

As will have been seen, Hsü Shên, in his *Shuo Wen* treats 去 *ch'ü* as a Phonetic Compound, the lower element supplying the sound. This is where I dissent, and become deeply heterodox. I disbelieve that this element 凵 in the Lesser Seal of the *Shuo Wen*, 凵 in the Honan Bone examples, has any concern with the sound of *ch'ü*, or is the first syllable of the term *ch'ü-lü*, a food vessel.

For consider the relevant facts. In the class of characters known as Phonetic Compounds, 諧聲 *Hsieh Shêng*, one part was chosen to guide the reader to the sound of the whole combination. To do this it must be a character assumed to be known already to the limited ranks of literate persons. Is it

at all likely that at an early stage of writing a form representing one part of a disyllabic term for a humble wickerwork food vessel would have been in existence, and in use among the few official scribes attached to the courts of those primitive ages, to whom, almost alone probably, was confined the art and mystery of recording events and inquiries to spiritual beings? To me it seems most unlikely, and though the figure of this "food-vessel",  or  is the *Shuo Wen's* 171st Radical, it is followed there by no other characters, and may have been included by the author only because of his need to explain the succeeding 172nd Radical 去 *ch'ü*, as a Phonetic Compound. But the solution about to be proposed discards the view that 去 *ch'ü* was ever a Phonetic Compound. A few preliminary sentences will perhaps help to render my contention more credible despite its novelty.

Very early in their exacting task the designers of the primitive Chinese characters must have had to face one particular difficulty presented by the nature of their spoken language. This was their need to give visible signs or tokens to many words having highly generalized functions, as nouns, adjectives, or verbs, and applicable over a wide and indeterminate field of usage. The problem was obvious and exigent. How was it met? Let us discover this from a word and its character already familiar to us in the previous part of this entry, the word *ta*, great, and the early form  of its character. Clearly there was and could be no single visible design equally suited to a man or a mountain, a crime or a crocodile, an empire or an emotion. The only means open to the prehistoric artist was ingenious *selection*, the choice of some one of the many applications possible, to serve in the first place as an example of one of these, and then as a type of all. Something familiar, and yet likely to attract and arrest the attention was called for. What more familiar than *man*? And what better able to arrest the attention of the onlooker than a man seen frontally, and in his full dimensions,

arms extended from his sides and legs wide apart? So was displayed the physical quality of largeness in the figure of a great, big man. And thereby was invented the character now written 大 *ta*.











And these same considerations, as I submit, will provide us with a reasonable, pertinent, and credible solution of the construction of the character 去 *ch'ü*, but an altogether new one.

Although this word *ch'ü* in modern and especially in colloquial Chinese, is almost confined to the sense of going away, or bygone, its use in literary and historical writings is even more common as an active verb, to put, send, drive, away, to get rid of, to deprive of; thus 去火 *ch'ü huo*, to "drive away the fire", to reduce the inflammation, 去惡 *ch'ü o*, to put away evil, 去官 *ch'ü kuan*, to deprive of office, 去疾 *ch'ü chi*, to do away with disease (the remarkable personal name of a noble personage mentioned in the *Tso Chuan*). Here again, the same difficulty in finding a visible figure that would be relevant to so many and such various relations between the subject of the verb to deprive of, and the objects of its action. So here again, a choice had to be made.

Now there is in Chinese an expression of two words, of which 去 *ch'ü* is the first, namely, 去勢 *ch'ü shih*, to deprive of virility. This term connoted a punishment in early days only too familiar, easier to illustrate than to endure, and when indicated graphically, certain to arrest attention. It was therefore fitted to fulfil the conditions required in this type of character, as explained above. And it is as a selected example and illustration of this limited use of the term *ch'ü*, that, it is now submitted, the original figure and symbol 𠂔 was conceived. Between the legs of the man, and separated from him, is a small object, neither mouth, nor food vessel, nor tub, as elsewhere, but a crude symbol of the amputated emblem the deprivation of which constituted what the whole character aimed at suggesting, namely, Castration.



至 *Chih*, To come to, or go to, to reach.

Only a short note is needed upon the origin of this character.

The Lesser Seal script is . And Hsü Shên proceeds to explain it thus: 鳥飛從高下至地也 *niao fei ts'ung kao hsia chih ti yeh*, A bird flying from aloft and descending to the ground; composed with the stroke , which is, as it were, the ground. He adds a so-called archaic form . Now the normal script of 至 *chih* on the Honan Bones, where it is quite common, is , with very slight variations, such as . And the same form is found on some of the older Bronzes, such as the 散氏盤 *San shih p'an* and the 同敦 *T'ung tui*. And Lo Chên-yü is quoted in the *Chia Ku Hsüeh* of Chu Fang-p'ü 朱芳圃 (though not from Lo's *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i K'ao Shih*) as pointing out that the script in the Bronzes is , where all but the base line really depicts an arrow, and that in certain Bronzes quoted by him, the character  or  (modern 侯 *hou*, orig. a target) displays the inverted form of 矢 *shih*, arrow. Hence in the archaic original of 至 *chih*, "the base line  is the ground, and  is the arrow coming from afar descending to the ground; and is not the figure of a bird."

Lo Chên-yü might have adduced, had he known it, Long-fellow's couplet, "I shot an arrow into the air, It fell to earth I know not where," and possibly the point might not have escaped him.

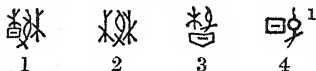
夏 *Hsia*. Summer; also a tribal or ethnic name.

This character has a remarkable, perhaps unique history. In its medieval phase, the Lesser Seal as recorded by Hsü Shên in his *Shuo Wen*, it is written thus , and described as a combination of 夂 *ch'ü*, to shuffle, 頁 *yeh*, the head, and 𠂔 *chü*, the two hands, and the author adds, 夂 is the two feet or legs, and gives  as a *ku wên* form. He defines the

word *hsia* as 中國之人也 *chung kuo chih jên yeh*, "a man of China" (was this some curious distinction from 中國人也 *chung kuo jen yeh*, "a Chinaman," akin to that between our own Men of Kent and Kentish men?). It is noticeable that Hsü Shên makes no mention of the sense of Summer in his entry, which altogether is not one of his most successful essays in hermeneutics.

But the discovery of the Honan Relics, and the systematic researches into their inscriptions by Chinese and Japanese scholars, in this particular instance especially by Mr. Yeh Yü-sên and Mr. Tung Tso-pin, have fairly turned the *Shuo Wen*'s account of 夏 *hsia* inside out, and provided a fascinating and ingenious alternative.

What we now learn from the Honan Bones is that during the Yin Dynasty there were in use not one but *two* words for summer, one pronounced with whatever was the contemporary sound of the modern 楸 *mou*, the other with that of modern 夏 *hsia*. *Mou* is found in full, and in several contracted variants, but in all cases preceded by the word *chin* 今, now, the present . . . , I need give 4 only,



All these composites vary round a type now written 楸 *mou*, a word, connoting luxuriance, abundance, and when 日 *jih*, sun or day, was added to the character, this indicated its special application to the season of luxuriance. Which season was that? Mr. Yeh Yü-sên, after citing the *Shuo Wen*'s explanation that 楸 *mou* is luxuriant vegetation, 楸木盛也 *mou mu shêng yeh*, observes 夏爲木盛之日, 當即夏之別構, *hsia wei mu shêng chih jih*, *tang chi hsia chih pieh kou*, "Summer being the season of luxuriant vegetation, [楸 *mou*] should be another construction of *hsia*."

¹ 1. T'ieh-yün Tsang Kuei, p. 227. 2. Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i, Vol. 7, p. 28. 3. *Ibid.* Vol. 6, p. 39. 4. Yin Hsü Wên Tzû in the I Shu Ts'ung Pien, No. 14, p. 22.

“Another construction” or framework must mean of the character 夏 *hsia*. Then Yeh’s view must be that two totally different characters, normally having very different sounds, were currently used in the speech of Yin times for the word *hsia* meaning Summer.

It may have been of course as Yeh thinks. But if I may suggest another explanation, it is that there may have been really two separate and unrelated words in contemporary use for Summer, one pronounced *mou*, meaning “the Growing season”, and the other, *hsia*, the Summer, in the same way as in English, Autumn and Fall are equivalent terms.

The character 田 *kuan*.

This is the 243rd of the *Shuo Wen*’s so-called Radicles. It is obsolete now, being replaced by its augmented successor 貫, with the same sound, which is the first of its two dependent characters.

The author’s description of 田 *kuan* is as follows: 穿物持之也从一橫 田 田 象寶貨之形 *ch’uan huo ch’ih chih yeh, ts’ung i hêng 田, 田 hsiang pao huo chih hsing*; lit. to perforate objects and hold them, composed with a horizontal stroke (一) piercing 田, which depicts coinage. I have followed Tuan Yü-ts’ai’s “corrected” text, and I have rendered *pao huo*, lit. valuable goods, by coinage.

Such is the *Shuo Wen*’s account of the character. But the discovery of the Honan Relics, which has raised more problems for us than it has helped to solve, has also led to numerous competing determinations which time alone can decide between.

In this last group is a type covering several variants, of which the following are examples:—

申 申 申 申 申 申.

On these six forms, Mr. Sun I-jang 孫詒讓 has the following note. After quoting in full the *Shuo Wen*’s explanation, Sun observes: Accepting Hsü’s explanation of “a horizontal line piercing the figure 田”, this is not a very



close illustration of the significance of the character. On examining the tortoiseshell inscriptions we find a form 𠂔 which should be the earliest pictographic figure of 𠂔 *kuan*. Another variant is 𠂔, a contracted modification of the above, for 回 is the figure of a coin having a central open space, 蓋回爲寶貨有空好之形, *kai* wei pao huo yu k'ung hao chih hsing*. The vertical line piercing downwards, being a mere difference between the vertical and the horizontal, but a most signal confirmation of the signification of (something) passing through (a quantity of) coins.

Further, in the phrase used in the *Ta Ya* Section of the *Book of Odes*, 串夷載路 *ch'uan* [here said to be read *kuan*] *i tsai lu*,¹ the 串 is also an unusual form of 𠂔 *kuan*. For as the ancient scription 𠂔 was originally two 口, a larger and a smaller, one contained in the other, this when modified by the two 口 being aligned one above the other, produced the character 串 *ch'uan*. And from these consecutive changes deducing the most primitive phase of the character, we can be sure that the earliest character certainly consisted of two 口 shaped forms.

In a brief note, another expert in this study, Mr. Yeh Yü-sen, agrees as to this equation of these newly found characters.

I have just space to make two remarks on the above.

First, though Sun I-jang does not state the fact explicitly, it is a corollary from his argument, that the ideal original shapes of the two 口 he describes must have been either

, in which case it would be a 璧 *pi*, or, if the central hole was square, it would be the  common Cash of China.

Secondly, Mr. Kuo Mo-jo differs entirely, and believes the subject of this discussion is an early form of 干 *kan*, a shield.

¹ Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. iv, part 2, p. 450, renders this: "The Kuan hordes fled away."

The Book of the Cure of Souls

BY A. J. ARBERRY

IN a former number of this journal I published a specimen translation of one of the *Rasā'il* of Junayd, as an announcement of my intention to make that famous personage the subject of a monograph.¹ It will be useful at this stage to print the text and translation of what is one of the most interesting of the little treatises preserved in the Istanbul manuscript, both because of its contents, and also for the reason that it is the only work of Junayd for which we have a second authority.² It is unfortunately true that the Istanbul manuscript, as the copyist himself is at pains to admit,³ is derived from a very faulty archetype, and with such an author as Junayd the work of emendation is necessarily attended with countless pitfalls. The Cairo manuscript of the *Kitāb Dawā' al-arwāḥ* exhibits roughly ninety variants as compared with the Istanbul manuscript, in the space of rather less than 2½ folios.⁴ In by far the majority of places the Istanbul manuscript appears to be the more correct.

The present opusculum is in reality a meditation on the theme of the vision, or perhaps more properly, the knowledge⁵ of God. The author takes a handful of Qur'anic passages in which God is spoken of as appearing—to Muḥammad, or to Moses—and by applying the principle of *istinbāt*⁶ indicates their significance for the Ṣūfī in his dealings with God. He concludes with a meditation on the familiar theme, "the true Ṣūfī." The whole work is well knit together, and forms a separate and independent treatise.⁷

¹ JRAS. July, 1935, pp. 499–507.

² In the text, C = Cairo *majāmi'*, 75; I = Istanbul Şehid Ali, 1374.

³ On fols. 57b, 60b.

⁴ Equally striking divergences are exhibited by the *Kitāb al-Luma'* in those passages which are common to it and the Istanbul MS.

⁵ For the "vision" of God, literally understood, is a conception abhorrent to orthodoxy.

⁶ Cf. Massignon, *Essai*, p. 28, n. 2.

⁷ A similar meditation on a Qur'anic passage occurs on fols. 58–9 of the Istanbul MS.

كتاب دواء الأرواح

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم.¹ الحمد لله الذى أبان بواضح
البرهان، لأهل المعرفة والبيان، ما خصّهم² به فى قديم القِدَم
قبل كون القبل حين لا حين ولا حيث ولا كيف ولا
أين،³ ولا لاحقين ولا لا حيث ولا لا كيف ولا لا أين،³
أن جعلهم أهلاً لتوحيده، وإفراد تجريده، الذاتين عن
ادعاء⁴ إدراك تحديده،، مصطنعين لنفسه مصنوعين⁵ على
عينه⁶ ألقى عليهم⁶ محبةً منه له،⁷ وَأَصْطَنَعْتُكَ لِنَفْسِي (xx, 43)
وَلِتُصْنَعَ عَلَى عَيْنِي (xx, 40) وَأَلْقَيْتُ عَلَيْكَ مَحَبَّةً مِنِّي
(xx, 39) فأحد⁸ أوصاف من صنعه لنفسه والمصنوع على عينه
والملقى عليه محبته منه له أن لا تستقر⁹ له قدم علم على
مكان ولا موافقة عقل على استقرار فهم ولا مناظرة عزم على
تنفيذ هم،¹¹ هم¹² الذين جرت بهم المعرفة حيث¹³ لا جرى
بهم العلم الى لا نهاية غاية،¹⁴ خنست العقول وبارت الأذهان
وانحصرت المعارف وانقرضت الدهور وتاهت الحيرة فى

C ادأ⁴ - C³⁻³ - C² إ + رب وفق للاتمام C + وبه الاعاةة¹
C⁹ - C⁸ واخذ⁸ - C⁷ والملقى عليه⁶⁻⁶ C والمصنوع⁵
I + غاية¹⁴ C بحيث¹³ C وهم¹² I تنفيذ¹¹ C يستقر¹⁰
I وانحصرت¹⁵

الحيرة عند نعت أول قَدَمٍ نُقِلَتْ لموافقة¹ وصف محلِّ لمحبة²
 ممّا جرت عليهم³ به العلوم التي جعلها لهم⁴ به له.⁴
 هيات ذاك⁵ له ما له به عنده فأين تَذَهَّبُونَ (lxxxi, 26)،
 أما سمعت علم طيِّهٍ لِمَا أبداه، وكشفه لِمَا واره، واختصاصه
 لسرّ الوحي لمن اصطفاه، أَوْحَى إِلَى عَبْدِهِ مَا أَوْحَى مَا كَذَبَ
 الْفُؤَادُ مَا رَأَى (liii, 10-11) بِالْأَفُقِ الْأَعْلَى (liii, 8)، شهد
 له أَنَّهُ عَبْدُهُ وَحْدَهُ، لم يُجْر عليه استعباد الغيرة⁷ بخفيّ ميل
 همّة ولا إلمام شهوة ولا محادثة نظرية ولا معارضة خطرة
 C, 24b ولا سبق حقّ بلفظة | ولا سبق أهل الحقّ بنطقة ولا رؤية
 حظّ بلمحة⁸، أَوْحَى إِلَيْهِ حَيْثُذَ مَا أَوْحَى (liii, 10) هَيَّأَ
 لَهُمْ مَا أُولَاهُ بِمَا بِهِ تَوَلَّاهُ واجتباها لأمرٍ فحمل ما حمل
 I, 53a (xxiv, 53) حمل، أَوْحَى إِلَيْهِ حَيْثُذَ مَا أَوْحَى | بِالْأَفُقِ
 الْأَعْلَى، ضاقت الأماكُن وخنست المصنوعات عن أن
 يجري فيها أو عليها وحيّ ما أوتى إلّا¹⁰ بِالْأَفُقِ الْأَعْلَى
 (liii, 8) إِذْ يَغْشَى السِّدْرَةَ مَا يَغْشَى (liii, 16)، نظر من
 جلال نظره من غير منظوره الى السدرة حيث غشاها ما

C ظنه⁶ C ذلك⁵ C بنذله⁴⁻⁴ C — C³ C فأ² C الموافقة¹
 C — C¹⁰ C — C⁹⁻⁹ C + C الله⁸ C الغير⁷

غشى فثبت لما غشاها. وأنظر¹ الى الجبل حيث تجلّى له¹
 جعله² ذكاً وخر³ موسى صعباً فلمّا أفق قال سُبْحَانَكَ
 تُبْتُ إِلَيْكَ (vii, 139-140) أن³ أعود لمسألتك الرؤية بعد
 هذا المقام الى إكباره⁴ ما فرط من سؤاله وإلى⁵ أن العلم
 لو صادف حقيقة⁶ في وقت المسألة لم يكن القول سائغاً⁷
 يليق به، وفي هذا المكان علم⁸ ليس حقه الرسم ولا يليق⁸
 الكتب.⁹ وأنظر الى إخباره عن حبيبه¹⁰ وَلَقَدْ رَأَهُ نَزَلَةً
 أُخْرِى عِنْدَ سِدْرَةِ الْمُنْتَهَى (liii, 13) والعند¹¹ هاهنا لا يقتضى
 مكاناً إنما يقتضى وقت كشف علم الوقت، فأنظر الى
 فضل الوقتين ومختلف المكانين وفرق ما بين المنزلتين
 فى العلوّ والدنوّ، وكذلك فضلت عقول¹² المؤمنين من
 العارفين فمنها¹³ ما يطبق خطاب المناجاة مع علم قرب من
 ناجاه وأدناه فلا يستره فى الدنوّ علم الدنوّ ولا فى العلوّ
 علم العلوّ، ومنها ما لا يطبق ذلك فيجمل الأسباب هى
 المؤدية اليه الفهم¹⁵ وبها يستدرك فهم الخطاب فيكون منه
 الجواب، ولا تتقف عند قوله وما كان لبشر أن يكلمه

1-1 I - 2 I لجلاله 3 C الى 4 C أكثره 5 C -

6 C + صلى الله 10 C الكتم 7 C - 8 C به 9 C + I حقيقته 11

12 C - 13 C منها 14 C ستره 15 C - 11 C المقيد 12 C عليه وسلم

اللَّهُ إِلَّا وَحْيًا أَوْ مِنْ وَرَاءَ حِجَابٍ أَوْ يُرْسِلُ رُسُلًا
 فِيُوحِي بِإِذْنِهِ مَا يَشَاءُ (xlii, 50). وهذه أماكن يضيق
 بسط العلم فيها إِلَّا عند المفاوضة لأهل المجاورة وفي¹
 الاشتغال بعلم مسالك الطرق المؤدية إلى علوم أهل^{C, 25a}
 الخالصة الذين خلوا من خلواتهم، وبرئوا² من إراداتهم،
 وحيل بينهم وبين ما يشتهون وعصفت بهم رياح^{I, 53b}
 الفطنة، فأوردتهم على بحار الحكمة، فاستنبطوا³ صفو ماء
 الحياة لا يحذرون غائلة⁴، ولا يتوقعون⁵ نازلة، ولا
 يشرهن إلى طلب بلوغ غاية، بل الغايات لهم بدايات،
 هم الذين ظهروا في باطن الخلق وبطنوا في ظاهريهم⁷،
 أمناء على وحيه حافظون لسره نافذون لأمره قائلون
 بحقه⁸ عاملون بطاعته، يسارعون⁹ في الخيرات وهم لها
 سابقون، جرت معاملتهم في مبادئ أمورهم بحسن الأدب
 فيما ألزمهم القيام به من حقوقه¹⁰ لم تبق¹¹ عندهم نصيحة إِلَّا
 بذلها، ولا قرينة إِلَّا وصلوها¹²، سمحت نفوسهم ببذل

1 C وفن 2 C وتبرأو 3 C فاستنبطوا 4 C — 5 C يتوقعون
 6 C يسرعون 7 C ظواهرهم 8 C لحقه 9 C ومسارعون 10 C حقوقهم
 11 C سنة 12 C وطيوها

المهج عند أول حقّ من حقوقه في طلب الوسيلة اليه
فبادرت¹ غير مُبقية ولا مستبقية بل نظرت الى أنّ الذي
عليها في حين بذلها أكثر ممّا لها² بما² بذلت، لوائح
الحق اليها مشيرة، وعلوم الحقّ لديها غزيرة، لا توقّفهم
لائمة³ عند نازلة، ولا تثبّطهم رهبة عند فادحة، ولا³
تبعثهم رغبة عند أخذ أهبة⁴، حافظون لما⁵ استحفظوا
من كتاب الله⁶ وكانوا عليه شهداء أن عرّج بهم⁷ اللجأ
عند القيام⁸ بواجب⁸ الى طلب الاستعانة لإتمام ما⁹
قد رأوه¹⁰، لم¹⁰ تبخّهم¹¹ المناصحة الإصغاء الى محادثته¹²
ما بقيت¹⁴ منهم بقية حيوة موجوده إشفاقاً من دخول
الوهم مع وجود العلم بواجب الحقوق الى حقوقها، نزل¹⁵
التوقّف عن استقبال المبادرة في حين الأمر بالسعى ليكون
الفعل عقيباً للأمر بلا فصل محدود يُعلّم في غير صفة
الأمر به. وهذه | صفات أهل الموالاة¹⁶ من أهل المصافاة C, 25b
الدائم نظرهم الى ما يجري بهم القول ممّا ألزم حقّ

C بما⁵ C احدى هبة⁴⁻⁴ I لا³ C له²⁻² C وبادرت¹
I¹⁰⁻¹⁰ فلدوه¹⁰ C —⁹ C —⁸⁻⁸ C لهم⁷ C + C عز وجل⁶
C ترك¹⁵ C يثب¹⁴ CI marg. محادثتهم¹³ C تبخّهم¹² C ولم¹¹
I الموالاة¹⁶

العبودية في الرهبانية التي¹ وقع الذم لمن التزمها ولم يقيم
 بواجب حقها بترك رعايتها، فسبقت نفوس المعاملين² بما لهم
 بعلمهم³ I, 54a | فاحتجوا برؤية ما لهم بعلمهم⁴ عما⁵ لهم
 بالإنعام⁶ عليهم⁷ بكشف علم علمهم⁸، فتكاثفت الحجب
 بالحجب⁹ عن كشف علوم الحجب¹⁰ فأقاموا تحت التغطية،
 وبعد الخروج من هذه الأماكن تبدو علوم كشف التغطية
 لَقَدْ كُنْتَ فِي غَفْلَةٍ مِنْ هَذَا فَكَشَفْنَا عَنْكَ غِطَاءَكَ
 فَبَصَرُكَ الْيَوْمَ حَدِيدٌ (I, 21)، وقف على حدود الأشياء
 بكشف¹¹ بارئها¹² لها¹³ وما ألبسها من نور الصنعة وزهرة
 الإرادة بنفاذ¹⁴ القدرة على جمعها وتفريقها ومجاريها¹⁵ وتحقيقها
 وَلَا يُوَدُّهُ حِفْظُهُمَا وَهُوَ الْعَلِيُّ الْعَظِيمُ لَا إِكْرَاهَ فِي
 الدِّينِ قَدْ تَبَيَّنَ الرُّشْدُ مِنَ الْغَيِّ¹⁶ (ii, 256).

I¹ علمهم² C فالإنعام³ I⁴ بعلمهم⁵ C المعاملين⁶ I الذي⁷ I
 I⁸ ومجاريها⁹ I بنفاذ¹⁰ C بها¹¹ C الآثار¹² C تكشف¹³ C —¹⁴ 6-
 + C تمت بعون الله تعالى وصلى الله على محمد النبي المكرم المطهر¹⁵
 الفضل المرحوم وعلى اله وصحبه وعترته الاطهرين الطيبين الاخبار
 I + النجبا الابرار والحمد لله رب العالمين وهو حسينا ونعم الوكيل

TRANSLATION

In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

Praise belongs to God, Who has made clear with manifest demonstration, to the people of gnosis and revelation, what special favours He bestowed upon them, in pre-eternal eternity, before "before" came into being, when there was neither "when" nor "where" nor "how" nor "there", and when there was neither "not-when" nor "not-where" nor "not-how" nor "not-there",¹ by making them worthy of His unification, and the separation of His isolation, who had passed away from the pretence of attaining His limitation.² For they were chosen for Himself, and made under His eye, and on them He cast a love from Him and of Him: "and I chose thee for Myself"³ and "that thou mayst be made under My eye",⁴ "and I cast on thee a love from Myself".⁵

Now one of the qualities of those whom God has fashioned for Himself, making them under His eye, and casting on them His love from Himself and of Himself, is this: that their knowledge stays not fixed⁶ in one place, nor does their intellect accord with a fixation of a certain intelligence, nor is their resolve directed towards the accomplishment of a single purpose. These are they who are transported by gnosis whither knowledge never transported them—to an infinite aim. Intellects would shrink, minds perish, gnosis be constricted, times pass away, bewilderment would wander in bewilderment, at the description of the first step taken

¹ Such descriptions of the indescribable nature of God are common-places in Sūfi literature; see the well-known definition of Ḥallāj quoted (anonymously) in Kalābādhi, *Kitāb al-Ta'arruf*, p. 13.

² Sc. of setting bounds to the illimitable nature of God.

³ Q. xx, 43. This and the following quotations in their context refer to Moses; here they are given a universal application.

⁴ Q. xx, 40.

⁵ Q. xx, 39.

⁶ Literally, "they have no foot (cf. Q. x, 2) of a knowledge . . ." The meaning of this and the following phrase is, that the mystics pass on continuously from revelation to revelation, so that their minds are in a state of flux.

to accord with the quality of a locus for a love,¹ because of the various degrees of knowledge, appointed by God for them through Himself and of Himself, which continued passing over them. For ah ! that, which is His, is His through Him being with Him²: "whither then will ye depart?"³ Hast thou not heard of the knowledge of His folding up what He Himself displayed, and His revealing what He Himself concealed?⁴ Of how He chose whom He chose to receive the secret of His revelation? "He revealed unto His servant what He revealed; the heart belied not what he saw"⁵ "at the highest horizon".⁶ He testified to him that he was His servant alone; therefore God did not use him jealously, because of any secret yearning for a desire, or a covert gratification of a lust, or a commerce with a glance, or traffick with a thought⁷: he did not stake a claim by utterance,⁸ nor outstrip the just claimants by a spoken word, neither did he for a single instant consider any personal advantage. "He revealed unto him" then "what He revealed"—He made his intellect ready for that which He bestowed on him when He took him to Himself, and chose him for a certain matter, laying on him "what burden he has to bear",⁹ and he bore it. "He revealed unto him" then "what He revealed—at the highest horizon": for space was too narrow, and created things shrank, before suffering

¹ Sc. the heart of man, which is the locus of God's love.

² The knowledge that sweeps over the mystic is not of himself, but of God, and never leaves Him.

³ Q. lxxxi, 26: man cannot escape from God.

⁴ "Folding up what He displayed" is man's non-existence from the time of the creative *kun* until his birth in time; "revealing what He concealed" is the knowledge of God, which was taken from man when he was disobedient.

⁵ Q. liii, 10-11. This passage is usually taken by the commentators to refer to a vision of Gabriel; it seems that Junayd interprets it as a vision of God Himself.

⁶ Q. liii, 8.

⁷ Sc. of other than God.

⁸ By speaking before God spoke to him, as if eager to claim Him.

⁹ Q. xxiv, 53; the burden of Prophethood.

the revelation that was made to him to pass through them or over them, save "at the highest horizon",¹ "when there covered the lote-tree what did cover it"²—a glance from the majesty of His glance, which has no object of glance, falling upon the lote-tree, when there covered it what did cover it, and it withstood that which did cover it.³

Consider also the mountain, when "He revealed Himself" to it; "He made it dust, and Moses fell swooning, and when he recovered, he said, Glory be to Thee! I have turned unto Thee"⁴—that is, I return to ask of Thee the vision: after experiencing this station,⁵ in spite of knowing how enormous his petition was, and despite the fact that, had knowledge met with reality in the time of asking, words would not have been permissible or appropriate.⁶ Now in this station there is a knowledge which may not be inscribed, and which it is not appropriate to put in writing.⁷

Consider also how God relates concerning His Beloved:⁸ "and he saw him yet another time, at the lote-tree of the utmost boundary."⁹ The word "at" here does not imply place: it only implies the moment of revealing the knowledge of the "moment".¹⁰ Consider then the excellence of the two moments, and the variety of the two places, and how the two stations differed, the one being on high, and the other below.¹¹ So excel the intellects of the gnostics who

¹ For there only God could make revelation in space, as explained later.

² Q. liii, 16.

³ The heavenly tree was able to withstand God's glance, which otherwise destroys all upon which it falls.

⁴ Q. vii, 139-140. This is the story of Moses, who asked God to let him see Him: the mountain turned to dust before the vision of God (not being preserved, as was the lote-tree).

⁵ Speaking of it as a mystical experience.

⁶ For the experience of God is ineffable.

⁷ So the Šūfis ever draw back from writing of their highest experiences.

⁸ Sc. Muḥammad.

⁹ Q. liii, 13: this is usually taken to refer to the *mi'rāj*.

¹⁰ In the mystical sense of the word.

¹¹ The two "revelations" described in Q. liii: the first "two bows' length off or nearer still", an earthly visitation, the second "at the lote-tree", in highest heaven.

believe. Some of them can utter intimate converse, being aware how near He is Who converses with them and draws them unto Him: whether they be on high or below, the knowledge of the fact does not veil them.¹ Others are not able to do this: with them God makes secondary causes² a means to understanding, so that through these they are able to understand when God addresses them, and answer Him. Do not pause at God's saying, "and no man is permitted that God may speak with him, save it be by revelation, or from behind a veil, or that He sendeth a messenger, to reveal by His leave what He wills."³ These are matters⁴ too vast for narrow knowledge to comprehend, except a man consult with those who enjoy neighbourhood,⁵ or occupy himself with the knowledge of the winding ways that lead to the sciences of the elect,⁶ who are solitary even from their solitudes, and are free of all their desires. For a barrier has been set between them and the objects of their lusts: swept along by the winds of understanding, they were brought down to the seas of wisdom, whence they drew the pure water of life. They fear no mischief thereof, no visitation they expect, neither are they avid to seek the attainment of any end: nay rather, ends are for them beginnings.⁷ What in other men is hidden, in that they are manifest, and they are hidden in that in which other men are manifest.⁸ They are the trustees of God's revelation, the preservers of His secret, performing His command, speaking of His truth, acting in obedience to Him. They vie with one another in good works, hastening beforehand to perform them: in the

¹ Permitting converse with God, a feature of much Ṣūfī experience, as the *Mawāqif* of Niffarī exemplify.

² Sc. phenomena, the "natural" mysticism.

³ Q. xlii, 50.

⁴ Literally, "places."

⁵ Sc. with God.

⁶ Sc. the Ṣūfis.

⁷ Since they rest not in any goal, but take each achievement as a starting-point for higher things.

⁸ Their souls are as other men's bodies, for by and for them they live.

very beginning of their course they preserved excellent manners in their dealings,¹ whatever might be the due which they were required to pay to God. No wise counsel is there, which they have not put into practice, no means to winning God's favour, which they have not employed. Their souls liberally gave all their strength in paying His first due, seeking to come to Him, zealous, leaving nothing, and reserving nothing: rather, they considered that what they owed, at the time of their payment, was greater far than all that their payment had of merit. God's manifest signs² to them point, and the sciences³ of God in them abound. No reproach gives them pause at any visitation, no fear hinders them at any calamity, no covetousness incites them in making any preparation.⁴ They preserve God's Book which was entrusted to them, and to it bear witness, for when they perform any duty, they do not turn from seeking refuge in turning to ask God's help, to complete what they set out to do. Their counselling others does not diminish their listening to God addressing them,⁵ so long as there remains in them any vestige of the life that is in Him: for they fear lest, knowing what they are required to do for God, they may suffer some vain conceit to enter into the performance of their dues.⁶ Therefore they do not hesitate to run forth eagerly whenever the command comes, that act may follow command, without sharp, appreciable division, such as would not be of the nature of the command.

These are the qualities of the elect of God, His beloved friends, whose eye is ever fixed on the saying, which has

¹ They observed *adab* in their behaviour towards God.

² Sc. created things, the guides to natural religion.

³ The intellectual guides to God's religion.

⁴ Whatever they suffer or undertake, they do it for God alone, with no other motive.

⁵ The variant reading would mean "others addressing them", which less appropriate to the context.

⁶ They continue to listen to God, and are not puffed up by their position as counsellors of others, into imagining that what they do is by their own power.

application to them, impressing the duty of servanthood in true discipline—a discipline which is only condemned¹ in the case of those who undertake it, without performing their obligations under it, failing to practise it.

The souls of practitioners take hastily the knowledge² they have, and are veiled by the thought of that knowledge so that they do not know what the knowledge of that knowledge means to them or what God's favour means in revealing to them the knowledge of what that knowledge is.³ So veil thickens upon veil, hiding the revelation of the sciences of the veils,⁴ and they remain beneath their covering. Then, when they have emerged from these conditions,⁵ there appear to them the sciences of the unveiling of the covering. "Thou wast in heedlessness of this, and we uncovered thy covering, and thy sight to-day is keen"⁶—such a man understands the limits⁷ of things, for the Creator uncovers them, and reveals the light of creation in which He clothed them, and the beauty of will, which was manifested in His pervading power, concentrating them and separating them, giving them movement⁸ and reality. "It tires Him not to keep them both,⁹ for He is High, Mighty. No constraint is there in the faith: guidance has become clear from error."¹⁰

¹ As in the well-known Tradition, "no monkery (*rahbānīyah*) in Islam" which Junayd thus explains.

² Religious theory—the law, and its ramifications in religious practice.

³ That is, knowing what God's purpose was in prescribing certain duties to man. This passage is obscure, and perhaps the reading of I¹ is correct.

⁴ This is the true purpose of Šūfī discipline.

⁵ Literally, "places."

⁶ Q. i, 21.

⁷ A play on words—*ḥadīd* and *ḥudūd*.

⁸ Literally, "their courses."

⁹ In the context, heaven and earth.

¹⁰ Q. ii, 256. The foregoing translation is of necessity somewhat tentative, and I should welcome any suggestions for emendation or clarification.



Muhammad's Pilgrimage Proclamation

By RICHARD BELL

THAT sūrah IX of the Qur'ān contains a proclamation made to the people at the pilgrimage is stated in v. 3 of the sūrah itself. As to how much of the sūrah was contained in the proclamation, there is, however, no agreement either in Moslem tradition or among European scholars.¹ The tradition that the proclamation was made by 'Alī at the pilgrimage of the year IX is very generally accepted. The story is given by Ibn Hishām (ed. Wuestenfeld, p. 921): "When the Barā'a (sūrah IX) was revealed to the messenger of Allah, it was suggested to him that he should send it to Abū Bakr, who had already been sent to lead the pilgrimage. But he said: 'No one shall act instead of me but a man of my own household.' Thereupon he summoned 'Alī b. Abī Tālib, and said to him, 'Go with this message from the beginning of the (sūrah) Barā'a, and proclaim among the people on the day of sacrifice, when they are gathered in Minā, that no unbeliever will enter Paradise, and that after this year no polytheist shall perform the pilgrimage, and no naked person shall make the circuit of the House.' " The story then proceeds to relate that 'Alī set out on the prophet's camel, overtook Abū Bakr and made the proclamation at the time and in the terms which the prophet had appointed.

Now it is suspicious that the making of the proclamation should have been entrusted to 'Alī, when the pilgrimage was being led by Abū Bakr, and the statement attributed to the prophet that no one should act instead of him but a man of his own household, makes it practically certain that the story is an Alyite invention. This is confirmed by the fact that, according to another tradition, a proclamation was indeed made at the pilgrimage of the year IX, but not by

¹ Cf. Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Korans*, i, p. 222.

'Alī. The tradition occurs several times in *Bukhārī*¹; Abū Huraira (not indeed always a trustworthy authority) claims that he, along with others, was sent by Abū Bakr to proclaim among the people: "After this year, no polytheist shall perform the pilgrimage, and no naked person shall make the circuit of the House." Elsewhere,² the same tradition is given but with the addition—evidently an afterthought—that 'Alī arrived with the *Barā'a* and proclaimed it. Now in the story given by Ibn Hishām, the proclamation which 'Alī is commissioned to make agrees, not with any part of Sūrah IX, but with that claimed to have been made by Abū Huraira, except that there is added at the beginning the item that "no unbeliever shall enter Paradise"—an important enough statement, but easily enough derived from the Qur'ān, and hardly needing, one would think, to be specially proclaimed at that time and place. The 'Alī story is secondary and has been based on Abū Huraira's.

The fact that the proclamation said to have been made by 'Alī did not correspond with the words of Sūrah IX, was pointed out by Grimme,³ who then, disregarding the whole story so far as the sūrah is concerned, boldly dated the whole of vv. 1-24 before the expedition to Mecca (year VIII). His main ground for this is that otherwise we have no reference in the Qur'ān to this important event. That is a cogent argument, though other passages might be found to have a bearing upon it. One would at least expect the breaking of the treaty of Hudaibiya to be mentioned in the Qur'ān, and it is *a priori* tempting to take the *barā'a* of v. 1 to be the denunciation of that treaty. The phrase *yauma l-hajji l-'akbari* (v. 3) constitutes a difficulty, which Grimme did not succeed in removing. While according to the usual pointing of 'akbar as genitive, the phrase, as he says, can only be translated "on the day of the greatest pilgrimage", the

¹ *Ed. Krehl.*, i, p. 409; ii, p. 298; iii, p. 163.

² *Bukhārī*, iii, p. 249.

³ *Mohammed*, i, p. 128 ff.

common interpretation "the greatest day of the pilgrimage" requires only the change of the final vowel. Leaving that aside, we still have the difficulty that the expedition to Mecca was not a *hajj*. Grimme's explanation that "any undertaking whose object was the Holy House of Mecca was for Muhammad a *hajj*" cannot be accepted as satisfactory. There can hardly be any doubt that the proclamation referred to in v. 3 was intended to be made at the pilgrimage proper. In fact, that is perhaps just what the phrase means.

If that be so, Muhammad or his representative must have been free to attend the pilgrimage, and to make an important proclamation there, that is, he must already have had command of Mecca. But Nöldeke found passages in the early part of the *sūrah* that are best dated before the conquest of Mecca—vv. 13-16 and 17-22; and Schwally, while rejecting Grimme's theory, retains that dating for these verses. We are thus left with the difficulty that verses of earlier date intervene upon those of later.

There is at least room for a fresh examination of the passage. V. 1 is evidently the heading of a document. The absence of the *bismillah* from the beginning of this *sūrah* is due to the perception that it already had a formal heading declaring it to be "from Allah". V. 3a is either the continuation of that heading, or is a second one similar to it. Between these, v. 2 is certainly out of place. Even if we accept the usual interpretation that four months are here allowed before the *barā'a* comes into effect, it looks as if part of the document itself had got mixed up with the heading. To allow any length of time between the announcement of a decree from Allah and its coming into effect was, however, not Muhammad's way. Then, why should the Moslems, who are spoken of in the second person in v. 1, be told at this late stage of their experience to go about freely in the land and learn that they could not frustrate Allah? On the other hand if we adopt the usual supposition that it is the polytheists who are addressed in v. 2, we are faced with an abrupt

change of address. Now in v. 5 we find mention of the months again; they are there described as *hurum*, which would naturally mean "sacred". But why should the months between the promulgation of the *barā'a* and its taking effect be called sacred? Further on in the *sūrah*, in v. 36, we come upon months that are sacred (*hurum*). We notice further that there is a possible ending in the middle of that verse, and if we join together vv. 36a, 2, and 5, we get excellent sense.

"36a. Twelve is the number of the months with Allah, (written) in Allah's book on the day when He created the heavens and the earth; of these four are sacred; that is the right¹ religion.

"2. So go about freely in the land four months and know that ye cannot frustrate Allah, and that Allah is the humiliator of the unbelievers.

"5. Then when the sacred months have come to an end, slay the polytheists wherever ye find them, seize them, beset them, lie in ambush for them everywhere; if they repent and observe the Prayer, and pay the Zakāt, set them free; Allah is forgiving, compassionate."

V. 6 being addressed specially to the prophet, is not continuous with v. 5 but apparently belongs to some similar context.

Further v. 3b does not join well to 3a. "The people" for whom the proclamation was intended must have been, to some considerable extent at least, Muhammad's own followers, while those addressed in the second half of the verse are evidently unbelievers. It is similar in style to v. 2, though it does not connect closely with it.

The interpretation of these phenomena is difficult, but they seem to necessitate the assumption that vv. 1, 3a, and 4 were written on the back of discarded scraps from other contexts, and that when the *Qur'ān* was edited, the whole was read consecutively. Unfortunately the original context

¹ Or "eternal" (?).

of 3*b* and 6 cannot be so easily discovered as that of 2 and 5. Now if that assumption be correct, the fact that 2 and 5 were originally continuous will imply that 1 and 4 were to begin with continuous. Between them, 3*a* (written on the back of 3*b*) was inserted later, or as we shall see reason to infer immediately, 4 was discarded when 3*a* was inserted. There are, therefore, two things to be sought in what follows, first a *barā'a*, and second an '*adhān*', intended to be delivered to the people at some pilgrimage.

With v. 7 we come to a very appropriate beginning of the *barā'a*: "How shall the polytheists have an agreement with Allah and with His messenger?" But if v. 4 formed part of the *barā'a* the rest of v. 7 would be a repetition, and yet so varying as to be hardly consistent with it. Besides, if we were to adopt Grimme's date for the *barā'a* and assume—as will be confirmed in the sequel—that it was the renunciation of the treaty of Hudaibiya, it is difficult to see how the Moslems could, before the conquest of Mecca, have made agreements at the "Sacred Mosque". Further, as the passage stands, v. 8 comes in very awkwardly after the injunction to maintain the agreements so made, as long as the other parties fulfilled them; but it would connect admirably with 7*a*. The *barā'a* therefore began with 7*a*, followed by 8; in the '*adhān*' 7*a* was followed by 7*b*, a modification of 4 which was omitted. In v. 9 we are struck by the phrases, "they have sold the signs of Allah for a small price" and "have turned (people) aside from the way of Allah", which are characteristic of early Medinan passages; also in v. 10 we have the uncommon phrase *lā yarqubūna . . . 'illan wa-lā dhimmatan*, which we have already had in v. 8 and find nowhere else in the Qur'ān. The explanation probably is that vv. 9, 10 formed an early Medinan scrap on the back of which v. 8 was written; in using the scrap Muhammad adopted some of the phraseology of the discarded piece and wove it into the new verse. V. 11, now that vv. 9, 10 are thus removed, would possibly connect with v. 7*b*, but its concluding phrase

raises the suspicion that it also is of an earlier date. The continuation of 7b as part of the '*adhān*' is really found in v. 12, which we must assume was written on the back of v. 11. Vv. 13-16 are an incitement to fight against a certain people. There can be no reasonable doubt that it is the Meccans who are meant, and that Nöldeke was right in placing this passage before the conquest of Mecca. Muhammad charges them with having broken their oaths and having had it in mind to expel him. They have evidently not yet been guilty of any open acts of hostility, for he goes on to remind his followers that the enemy had taken the initiative in hostilities on the previous occasion, so that they are quite entitled to be beforehand with them this time. This, therefore, was the resumption of a previous war. If not actually part of the *barā'a*, the passage must from its juxtaposition have been delivered shortly after it, and the presumption is, therefore, that the *barā'a* was the denunciation of the treaty of Hudaibiya which preceded the resumption of hostilities with Mecca. The only question which arises with regard to the passage is whether v. 16 originally belonged to it. The turn of thought is quite in Muhammad's manner, cf. II, 210, III, 136; but as addressed to his tried veterans in Medina, it seems at this stage a little out of place. On the other hand, it would be quite in place if the passage were repeated in Mecca to a crowd of recent converts. In that situation v. 13 with its direct attack on the Quraish would not be very appropriate, and may perhaps have been omitted, the continuation of v. 12 being then found in 14. Still, as it does not refer to them by name, it might be retained as referring to any who might in the future violate their oaths. In fact, it may be surmised that v. 12 itself is a veiled warning to the Meccans as to the consequences of any attempt to break their oaths. It was with them principally that "agreements had been made at the sacred mosque". If we were to suppose that the '*adhān*' was proclaimed at the pilgrimage next following the submission of Mecca such a warning would be quite in

place, and the fact that his erstwhile main opponents were really in Muhammad's mind would explain the unusual phrase 'a'immat al-kufr applied to supposed breakers of their oaths in v. 12. Tradition, as in Ibn Hishām, p. 886, says that, after the battle of Hunain, Muhammad made a hurried visit to Mecca in the month of Dhu-l-Qa'da, ostensibly to perform the 'umra; it is possible that he then made arrangements for the proclamation being made. Such a dating of the 'adhān would also enhance the appropriateness of v. 16 as a reminder to the newly converted Meccans that the acceptance of Islam involved duties as well as advantages.

As regards vv. 17, 18, a good deal depends on the meaning of the verb 'amara. Does it mean simply "to perform the 'umra" or is it here used in the sense of "to manage". In v. 19, the noun 'imāra, set alongside the giving of water to the pilgrimage, presumably means the management of the Ka'ba; but v. 19 is not necessarily continuous with v. 18. The address seems to be rather different. But in the mere sense of performing the 'umra, the description of those who are to be allowed to do so (v. 18) is somewhat formal, and it is difficult to see why the 'umra in particular should be forbidden. On the other hand, if we take the word in the sense of managing or maintaining, these two verses state what was no doubt one of the main objects of the resumed war with Mecca, viz. the gaining possession of the Holy Places. Polytheists were no longer to be allowed to manage the Ka'ba, and exclude the true believers from it. Vv. 17, 18, therefore, as Nöldeke discerned, belong to before the expedition to Mecca; if not part of the barā'a, they are at least closely associated with it. Whether they were redelivered as part of the 'adhān may be doubted. There would be little point in making such a declaration after Mecca had submitted and the Holy Places were already in Moslem hands. The omission of the verses would also give a better connection between v. 16 and v. 19, than that between v. 16 and v. 17. Possibly, if, as above surmised, v. 16 were added for the purposes of

the '*adhān*', it was written on the back of vv. 17, 18, which thus retain their position here.

Vv. 19-22 are rather different in tone from the context. V. 19 indeed connects well enough with v. 16 as addressed to new converts in Mecca who might be inclined to think that if they looked after the Holy Places and attended to the needs of pilgrims, they were doing their duty by Islam. But vv. 20-2 hardly look as if they had been first composed for that purpose. Their mild and persuasive tone might suggest that they belong to an earlier period, and have found their way here in the same way as other verses which we have already cut out of the passage. But if vv. 17, 18 were delivered to Muḥammad's followers in Medina as a statement of the object of the expedition against Mecca, and then, after all, as tradition records, Meccan families, now become Moslem, were confirmed in their traditional offices of guarding the Ka'ba, and supplying the needs of pilgrims, it would be only natural that some murmuring should arise among the Muhājerīn and the Anṣār who had so long borne the brunt of the conflict. The passage was perhaps first designed to allay this dissatisfaction, and later used as part of the '*adhān*' to impress upon new converts the merit of "striving with goods and person in the cause of Allah".

Vv. 23 and 24 are similar in sense, and while this is not inappropriate to their present position, they do not connect very well either with the context or with each other. They could in fact hardly have stood together in the same discourse, and v. 23, especially, being directly addressed to the prophet by the command: "say," is quite out of place. They are probably scraps on the back of which the passage 19-22 was written.

Vv. 25-7 are practically dated by the reference to the victory of Ḥunain, the special emphasis laid on which would seem to imply that it was fairly recent. The tense of the verb in v. 27 might also imply that the policy to be followed in

regard to those who had been overthrown was not yet quite decided. The passage follows very well upon vv. 16, 19-22 as adding weight to the appeal to be active in the *jihād*.

V. 28 appears to be the climax of the proclamation, and to some extent explains why it is interwoven with the *barā'a*. It is in a sense also a *barā'a*. Allah has done with the polytheists; they are not even to approach His House. From the latter part of the verse it is evident that it must have been delivered in Mecca, and that it is in effect addressed to the Meccans. For it was they who had reason to fear a diminution of their revenues by the non-Moslem Arabs being forbidden to come to the Ka'ba. Muḥammad's Medinan followers would not thereby be much affected. That this prohibition would be laid down soon after the Ka'ba had come into Moslem hands is very probable and accords with the assumption that the '*adhān*' was intended to be proclaimed at the pilgrimage of the year VIII. This is not in conflict with the tradition as to the proclamation made at the pilgrimage of the year IX. Apart from the fact that that tradition rests upon the unsatisfactory authority of Abu Huraira—which should here not be stressed, as the tradition is not of the sort usually fathered upon that prolific authority—it had reference to the polytheists taking part in the pilgrimage. That was an advance upon what is here laid down, for as most of the pilgrimage rites had no connection with the Ka'ba, the promulgation of this verse did not prevent them taking part in it.

This seems to have been the end of the proclamation. The next passage of the *sūrah*, vv. 29-35, deals with the people of the Book, and has no apparent relevance as part of the pilgrimage proclamation. It amounts in effect to a proclamation of war against Jews, and especially Christians, which was no doubt issued in preparation for the expedition to the North which took place in the year IX.

Vv. 36, 37 are usually regarded as late, and Nöldeke inclined to associate them with the '*adhān*', though regarding

this as by no means certain. But if the reconstruction given at the beginning of this article be correct, the present verses 2 and 5 must have been discarded from here and the substitution of 36b and 37 made before the *barā'a* was written. The passage in its original form must have belonged to the early days of the war with Mecca, while Muḥammad was still prepared to respect the sacred months, and the substitution must have been made when he resolved to disregard them so far as fighting was concerned. The *nasi'*, the insertion of an intercalary month, being regulated in Mecca, must in the nature of things have caused difficulty. Muḥammad could not carry on hostilities with the Meccans for many years without coming up against this difficulty. It was not to be expected that he would accept the position that the months which were actually to be regarded as sacred depended upon whether the Meccans decreed an intercalary month or not. In all probability he dealt with the matter long before the year VIII.

The result of this investigation may be summed up by presenting the two documents separately.

A. The *Barā'a*; denunciation of the Treaty of Hudaibiya, and associated deliverances dealing with the renewal of war with Mecca.

1. Renunciation by Allah and His messenger of the polytheists with whom ye have made covenants ;

4. Except those polytheists with whom ye have made a covenant and who then have not failed you in anything or backed anyone up against you ; their covenant fulfil up to (the end of) its period ; Allah loveth those who show piety.

7a. How shall the polytheists have a covenant with Allah and with His messenger ? 8. How ? If they get the upper hand of you, they will not regard bond or agreement ; they will satisfy you with their mouths, but their hearts will refuse ; the most of them are rogues.

13. Will ye not fight against a people who have violated their oaths and had it in mind to expel the messenger, and

who took the initiative with you the first time ? Are ye afraid of them ? It is more in order that ye should be afraid of Allah, if ye are believers.

14. Fight them and Allah will punish them at your hands, will humiliate them, and aid you against them, and bring healing to the breasts of a people who are believers, 15. and will take away the anger of their hearts ; Allah relenteth towards whomsoever He willeth ; Allah is knowing, wise.

17. It is not for the polytheists to manage Allah's places of worship, giving evidence of unbelief against themselves ; the works of such are of no avail and in the Fire they shall abide.

18. They only shall manage Allah's places of worship who have believed in Allah and the Last Day, have established the Prayer, and paid the *Zakāt*, and have feared nothing but Allah ; possibly such will be among those who are rightly guided.

B. The '*Adhān*', based on the *Barā'a*, and proclaimed at the pilgrimage of the year VIII.

1. Renunciation by Allah and His messenger of the polytheists with whom ye have made covenants ;

3a. And a proclamation from Allah and His messenger to the people on the day of the great pilgrimage that Allah renounces the polytheists, (as does) also His messenger.

7. How shall the polytheists have a covenant with Allah and with His messenger ?—except those with whom ye have made covenants at the sacred mosque ; as long as they act straight with you, act straight with them ; Allah loveth those who show piety ;

12. But if they violate their oaths after they have made a covenant and attack your religion, fight the leaders of unbelief ; no oath will hold in their case ; mayhap they will refrain.

14. Fight them and Allah will punish them at your hands, will humiliate them, and aid you against them, and will bring healing to the breasts of a people who are believers,

15. and will take away the anger of their hearts ; Allah relenteth towards whomsoever He willeth ; Allah is knowing, wise.

16. Or did ye reckon that ye would be left (at peace) when Allah did not yet know those of you who have striven, and have not chosen any ally outside Allah and His messenger and the believers ? Allah is well aware of what ye do.

19. Do ye even the giving of water to the pilgrimage and the management of the sacred mosque to (the conduct) of him who has believed in Allah and the Last Day, and has striven in the cause of Allah ? They are not alike in Allah's estimation ; Allah guideth not the wrong-doing people.

20. Those who have believed and emigrated and striven with goods and person in the cause of Allah are of higher rank in Allah's estimation ; they are the blessed.

21. Their Lord giveth them good tidings of mercy and goodwill from Himself, and gardens for them in which is enduring delight ; 22. in which they will abide for ever ; verily, with Allah is mighty reward.

25. Allah hath already helped you on many fields, and on the day of Hunain when ye prided yourselves on your numbers but they did not benefit you at all, and the land, wide as it was, became too narrow for you, and then ye turned away in retreat.

26. Then Allah sent down His assurance upon His messenger and the believers, and sent down hosts which ye did not see, and punished those who disbelieved—that is the recompence of the unbelievers.

27. Then after that Allah relenteth towards whomsoever He willeth ; Allah is forgiving, compassionate.

28. O ye who have believed, the polytheists are simply filth, so after this present year they shall not approach the sacred mosque ; if ye fear poverty, Allah will in the end enrich you from His bounty, if He willeth ; Allah is knowing, wise.

The Lute Scale of Avicenna

By HENRY GEORGE FARMER

THE history of the musical scale in the Near and Middle East is full of perplexities. In my *Histoire abrégée de l'échelle de la musique arabe*, which I submitted to the Congress of Arabian Music at Cairo in 1932,¹ and in my article *Mūsīqī* contributed to the *Encyclopædia of Islām*,² I have endeavoured to show how this scale developed among the Arabs and Persians. In spite of the appearance of a gradual and natural evolution there are still many problems to be solved in the history of this scale, and one of them is the scale propounded by Ibn Sīnā, better known in the Occident as Avicenna.

To appreciate the problem it is necessary to have a brief outline of the history of the scale (*tabaqa*)³ in the Islāmic East. For more precise details the reader is referred to the various works mentioned in the course of this inquiry.

The earliest known scale in use by the Arabs was one applied to a pandore called the *ṭunbūr mīzānī* or *ṭunbūr baghdādī*. Its scale is fully described by Al-Fārābī (d. ca. 950),⁴ and it was still known, if not actually practised, as late as the thirteenth century since an author named Al-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Kātib, in his *Kamāl adab al-ghinā'*, written in 1228, refers to it.⁵ This scale was based on the division of a string into forty equal parts which, theoretically, would produce the following scheme on a pandore supplied with frets (*dasātīn*, sing. *dastān*)⁶ :—

FRETS	.	Nut	2nd	4th	6th	8th	10th
CENTS ⁷	.	0	89	182	281	386	498

¹ *Recueil des Travaux du Congrès de Musique Arabe*, Caire, 1934, p. 647.

² Vol. iii, 749-755.

³ This was the old name for a scale, but the moderns use the term *sullam*.

⁴ Kosegarten, *Alii Ispahanensis Liber cantilenarum magnus*, 89-92; Land, "Recherches sur l'histoire de la gamme arabe" (in *Actes du Sixième Congrès Inter. des Orientalistes* . . ., 1883, pt. i), p. 59; R. d'Erlanger, *La musique arabe*, i, 218.

⁵ Fol. 85. This MS. is in the Töp Kapū Sarāy Library, Constantinople.

⁶ *Dastān* was a Persian term taken over by the Arabs.

⁷ Cents are hundredths of an equal semitone.

The scale may have been a relic of ancient Babylonian-Assyrian days, as I have mentioned elsewhere.¹ J. P. N. Land thought that it was actually the parent of the Pythagorean scale.² At any rate, we know that it was a pre-Islāmic scale, since Al-Fārābī speaks of its pre-Islāmic frets (*al-dasātīn al-jāhiliyya*).

Yet the story of the Arabian and Persian scale is more intimately connected with the lute (*ūd*), the national instrument of both the Arabs and Persians. Indeed, the whole trouble which both practitioners and theorists found in systematizing the scale was due to the fact that it was to the lute, a fretted instrument, that the scale had to be adapted, as we shall see presently.

I have already shown elsewhere³ that a relic of the oldest tuning (*taswiya*) of the Arabian lute existed in the modern Moroccan lute. It was a single octave scale, i.e. the strings were tuned to *C-D-G-a*, as the following diagram of the finger-board of the lute shows:—

		STRINGS			
		<i>Dhail</i>	<i>Māya</i>	<i>Ramal</i>	<i>Ḥusain</i>
Nut (<i>anf</i>) . . .		0	204	702	906
FRETS {	1st finger (<i>sabbāba</i>) fret		408		1110
	3rd finger (<i>binṣir</i>) fret		498		1200

When the Arabs adopted the Persian system of tuning the strings a fourth (498 cents) apart, i.e. the lowest string was depressed to *A*, and the highest string was lifted to *c*, they

¹ Farmer, "The Influence of Music: from Arabic Sources" (in *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, lii, 1926, p. 121).

² Land, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

³ Farmer, *An Old Moorish Lute Tutor*, p. 26; *JRAS.* (1932), p. 386.

were able, by means of a shift or by repeating the notes of the lower octave, to obtain the double octave *A* to *a'*, and it was this scale that was popular during the "Golden Age of Islām" so eloquently described in the *Kitāb al-aghānī*. Here it is :—

		STRINGS			
		<i>Bamn</i>	<i>Maḥlath</i>	<i>Maḥnā</i>	<i>Zīr</i>
Nut (<i>anf</i>) . . .		0	498	996	294
FRETTS {	1st finger (<i>sabbāba</i>) fret .	204	702	1200	498
	2nd finger (<i>wusṭā</i>) fret .	294	792	90	588
	3rd finger (<i>biṣṣir</i>) fret .	408	906	204	702
	4th finger (<i>khinṣir</i>) fret .	498	996	294	792

This is the scale of Ishāq al-Mausilī (d. 850), as reported by his pupil Yahyā b. 'Alī b. Yahyā b. Abī Maṣṣūr (d. 912).¹

Meantime the writings of the Greeks had begun to influence the Arabic theorists and the famous Al-Kindī (d. ca. 874) was one of the first to try his hand at adapting Greek theories to the Arabian lute. Although Ziryāb had already added a fifth string to the lute in Moorish Spain sometime between A.D. 822 and 852,² Al-Kindī was the first to suggest its adoption in the East,³ his idea being obviously to reach the double octave (*al-jamā'at al-tāmma*), the *οὐσστημα τέλειον* of the Greeks, without recourse to the shift or the repetition of the notes of the lower octave.

He also seems to have been the first to introduce a semitonal fret, called the anterior (*muḥannab*), between the nut and the first finger fret. The latter innovation presented difficulties

¹ Brit. Mus. MS., Or. 2361, fol. 236 v.

² Al-Maqqarī, *Analectes*, ii, 86-7.

³ Cf. *Kitāb al-aghānī*, v, 53.

due primarily to the tuning of the lute by fourths. An anterior fret at 90 cents, the Pythagorean $\lambda\epsilon\iota\mu\mu\alpha$ (= Arab. *baqiyya*), gave the lower octave of the three second finger notes on the *mathnā*, *zīr*, and *ḥadd*¹ strings at 90, 588, and 1086 cents respectively, but the two remaining anterior notes on the *zīr* and *ḥadd* strings at 384 and 882 cents were too low. To obviate this Al-Kindī added another anterior fret at 114 cents, the Pythagorean $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\tau\omicron\mu\acute{\eta}$ (= Arab. *infiṣāl*), which gave the requisite correspondences at 408 and 906 cents. The result was that the anterior (1) fret was used only in the lower octave, whilst the anterior (2) fret was used only in the upper octave, as specifically mentioned by Al-Kindī.²

Here is the fretting of the Arabian lute according to Al-Kindī³ :—

		STRINGS				
		Bann	Mathlath	Mathnā	Zīr	Ḥadd
Nut (anf)		0	498	996	294	792
FRETS	Anterior (<i>mujannab</i>) (1)	90	588	1086	[384]	[882]
	Anterior (<i>mujannab</i>) (2)	[114]	[612]	[1110]	408	906
	1st finger (<i>sabbāba</i>)	204	702	1200	498	996
	2nd finger (<i>wuṣṭā</i>)	294	792	90	588	1086
	3rd finger (<i>binṣir</i>)	408	906	204	702	1200
	4th finger (<i>khṣinir</i>)	498	996	294	792	90

¹ Al-Kindī calls this fifth string the *zīr ṭhānī* but *ḥadd* was the name given it by all later writers.

² When I wrote my *Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence* (1930), p. 313, I had not fully appreciated this point, but cf. my article *Mūsīqī* in the *Encyclopædia of Islām*, iii, p. 753.

³ Brit. Mus. MS., Or. 2361, fol. 236 v. : Lachmann and El-Hefny, *Ja'qūb Ibn Ishāq al-Kindī, Risāla fī khubr tā'līf al-alḥān*, p. 5. The notes in square brackets were not used.

The practitioners had also contributed to the scale. There were two other second finger frets, known as the Persian and Zalzalian, which had become recognized. The former was at 303 cents and the latter at 355 cents. Thus they are reported by Al-Fārābī. The Persian second finger fret was older and its position on the finger-board of the lute was arrived at by a method common to all practitioners. It was placed *half-way* between the first and third finger fret.¹ The Zalzalian second finger fret was introduced by a lutenist of Baghdād named Zalzal (d. 791) who placed it *half-way* between the Persian second finger fret and the third finger fret. It was a neutral third, an interval which appears to have been used much earlier than Zalzal and still persists in Arabic-speaking lands.

Here are the frets of the lute used in the time of Al-Fārābī² :—

		STRINGS				
		Bamm	Maḡlāth	Maḡhnā	Zīr	Ḥadd
Nut . . .		0	498	996	294	792
FRETS	Anterior . . .	90	588	1086	384	882
	Persian anterior . .	145	643	1141	439	937
	Zalzalian anterior . .	168	666	1164	462	960
	1st finger . . .	204	702	1200	498	996
	Old 2nd finger ³ . .	294	792	90	588	1086
	Persian 2nd finger . .	303	801	99	597	1095
	Zalzalian 2nd finger . .	355	853	151	649	1147
	3rd finger . . .	408	906	204	702	1200
	4th finger . . .	498	996	294	792	90

¹ Cf. D'Erlanger, op. cit., i, 170.

² Al-Fārābī says that ten notes were to be found on each string, and it is these that are given here. He mentions two others at 114 and 318 cents.

³ This was the Pythagorean third, sometimes called by Arabic and Persian

The first, third, and fourth finger frets were used by all practitioners. It was only in the second finger frets that there was any divergence. These frets were not all used by any one performer. In Syria, the land in which Al-Fārābī was writing, it is highly probable that the Pythagorean frets were favoured, whereas in 'Irāq and Arabia the Zalzalian frets were used, and in Persia those which carried the Persian name.

The next theorists to deal with the question were the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* (ca. 961) and Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Khwārizmī (ca. 976-7), but they do not raise any fresh points. It is of importance to note that the latter only knew of one anterior fret which he calls the *zaid* instead of the *mujannab*, but he mentions three second finger frets. Here is what he says¹:—

“And there is sometimes fixed above the 1st finger fret another fret which is named the surplus (*zaid*) fret. Next to the 1st finger fret is the 2nd finger fret which is sometimes placed in different places. The first of these is named the Old 2nd finger fret, and the second is named the Persian 2nd finger fret, and the third is named the Zalzalian 2nd finger fret. . . . As for the Old 2nd finger fret, it is tied near to the quarter of what is between the 1st finger fret and the 3rd finger fret. The Persian 2nd finger fret [is tied] approximately upon the half of what is between them. The Zalzalian 2nd finger fret [is tied] approximately upon three-quarters of what is between them.”

From this account it would appear that in Persia (the book was written for one of the Sāmānids) the fretting of the second finger notes was practically identical with that described by Al-Fārābī. Yet in the following century, according to Ibn Sinā (d. 1037) and his disciple Ibn Zaila (d. 1048), there

writers the Old second finger fret, but Al-Fārābī tells us that the majority of the practitioners termed it the Anterior of the second finger (*mujannab al-wustā*).

¹ *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm* (Van Vloten ed.), pp. 238-9.

had been a change. For the former we have to depend on the chapter on music in his *Kitāb al-shifā'* and the *Kitāb al-najāt*, and for the latter on a very lengthy treatise entitled the *Kitāb al-kāfī fī'l-mūsīqā*. Neither of these theorists mentions the Persian 2nd finger fret at 303 cents nor the Persian anterior fret at 145 cents, and instead of the Zalzalian 2nd finger fret and the Zalzalian anterior fret at 355 cents and 168 cents (*vide* Al-Fārābī) they mention them being placed at 343 cents and 139 cents respectively.

Here is the text of that part of the *Kitāb al-shifā'* of Ibn Sīnā which deals with the fretting of the lute. It is based on three manuscripts, viz.: Pococke 109 and Pococke 250 in the Bodleian Library and No. 1811 in the India Office Library.¹

A = Bodleian MS. (Pococke 109).

B = Bodleian MS. (Pococke 250).

C = India Office MS. (1811).

الآلات على اقسام فنمها ذوات اوتار ودساتين ينقر
عليها كالبربط . . . والمشهور المتداول المقدم² عند الجمهور
هو البربط وان كان شيء اشرف منه فهو غير متعارف
بين الصنائع جداً فيجب ان نتكلم على احواله ونسب
دساتينه ويكون لغيرنا ان يجهت فينقل الكلام منه³ الى
سائر الآلات اذا عرف الاصول فنقول ان العود قد قسم
طول ما بين مشطه وانف ملاويه على الربع من جهة

¹ I have also used the Royal Asiatic Society MS. of the *Shifā'* (Arabic, No. 58), as well as the two copies of the *Najāt* in the Bodleian (Marsh 161 and Marsh 521), the Persian *Dānīsh Nāma* (Brit. Mus. (Add. 16659)) and Ibn Zaila's *Kitāb al-kāfī* (Brit. Mus., Or. 2361), for comparison.

² Omitted from B.

³ في B.

الملاوي وشدّ عليه¹ الدستان الاسفل وهو الدستان
 المنسوب² الى الخنصر فيكون بين مطلقه وبين خنصره
 الذى بالاربعة ثم قسم طوله واخذ تسع الطول الى الانف
 وشدّ عليه دستان السبابة فيكون بين مطلقه وبين سبابته³
 الطينى ثم قسم ما بين سبابته⁴ الى المشط على طينى آخر
 وشدّ عليه دستان البنصر⁵ فحصل⁶ من مطلقه الى سبابته
 طينى ومن سبابته⁷ الى بنصره طينى آخر وحصل بين
 بنصره وخنصره البقية وذلك جنس طينى وايضاً قسم
 ما بين الخنصر والمشط بثمانية اقسام وزيد⁸ واحد منها على
 الخنصر وشدّ عليه دستان الوسطى القديم الفارسي فكان⁹
 ما بين هذا الدستان والبنصر¹⁰ فضلة الطينى وبقي بينه
 وبين السبابة¹¹ الطينى ثم جاء المتأخرون وشدّوا للوسطى¹²
 دستاناً آخر في قريب من الوسط بين السبابة والخنصر

¹ عليها in B.

² منشور [?] in B.

³ سبابه الوسطى in C.

⁴ سبابته in A and سبابه in B.

⁵ البنصر in B. الخنصر in A and C.

⁶ فحصل in C.

⁷ omitted from B. من مطلقه الى سبابته طينى ومن

⁸ In B ?

⁹ وكان in C.

¹⁰ الخنصر in A and C.

¹¹ وبيته added in B.

¹² الوسطى in B.

فمنهم من ينزله قليلا ومنهم من يرفعه قليلا فيخرج من ذلك اجناس مختلفة لكنهم ليسوا يميزون في زماننا التفاوت فيه والاقرب من ذلك ان تكون¹ السبابة من ذلك الوسطى على نسبه الزائد جزءاً من اثنا عشر² والوسطى³ من الخنصر على نسبه الزائد جزءاً من احد عشر⁴ تقريباً⁵ لا⁶ بالحقيقة لانه يخرج حينئذ على نسبة ١٢٨ الى ١١٧ فيكون على تاليف بعض الاجناس المذكورة ثم انهم شدوا فوق السبابة دستاناً آخر على الطينين من هذا الدستان المشدود للوسطى يكون⁷ كالمجتب له ليوخذ⁸ اسجاحه من الوتر الثالث له⁹ ثم انهم شدوا فوق ذلك دستاناً يظنه اكثرهم انه كالمجتب للوسطى¹⁰ القديمة وليس كذلك بل هو من هذا¹¹ الوسطى الحديثة المعروفة بالزلزلية على نسبة مثل وسبع فهذه هي¹² دساتين العود

¹ يكون in B and C.

² اثني عشر in A and B.

³ الوسطا in A.

⁴ احدى عشر in A.

⁵ omitted from B. والوسطى من الخنصر على نسبه الزائد جزءاً من احد عشر

⁶ لا omitted from B.

⁷ تكون in B.

⁸ له added in B.

⁹ omitted in A and B.

¹⁰ الوسطى in B.

¹¹ Omitted from B.

¹² هي omitted from A.

TRANSLATION

"Instruments are in classes. Among them are those with strings (*awtār*) and frets (*dasātīn*) upon which one plays such as the lute (*barbaṭ*) . . . And the best known, the most preferred in current usage is the lute. If there is any instrument more noble than this it is quite unknown to the practitioners [of music]. It is necessary therefore that we should speak about its construction (*lit.* states) and the ratios of its frets. We leave it to others to deal with the remaining instruments if they know the principles [of their construction and the ratios of their frets].

"So we say—Verily the lute (*ūd*)¹ is divided between the bridge-tail-piece (*muṣḥṭ*) and the nut (*anf*) upon a quarter of the whole [length], and there is tied upon it [the place of the division] the lowest fret called the 4th finger (*khinṣir*) fret. So there will be between its open string (*mutlaq*) and its 4th finger fret the interval of the 4th [$3 : 4 = 498$ cents]. We then take a ninth of the length from the nut and there is tied upon it the 1st finger (*sabbāba*) fret, and there will be between its open string and its first finger fret the interval of the tone [$8 : 9 = 204$ cents]. We then divide what is between its first finger fret and the bridge-tail-piece upon another tone [$8 : 9 = 204$ cents] and there is tied upon it the 3rd finger (*binṣir*) fret [at $64 : 81 = 408$ cents],² with the result that from its open string to its 1st finger fret is a tone, and from its 1st finger fret to its 3rd finger fret is another tone, and between its 3rd finger fret and its 4th finger fret is the minor semitone (*baḡiyya* [$243 : 256 = 90$ cents]). And this [collection of notes] is the diatonic genre (*jins ṭanīnī*). We then further divide what is between the 4th finger fret and the bridge-tail-piece into eight parts, and one of these parts is laid off from the 4th finger fret

¹ Here Avicenna uses the generic and Arabic term *ūd* for the lute rather than the specific and Persian word *barbaṭ*.

² MSS. A and C have 4th finger (*khinṣir*) fret.

[towards the nut end] and there is tied upon it the Old Persian 2nd finger fret. And what is between this fret and the 3rd finger fret¹ is the major semitone (*faḍlat al-tanīnī*) [2049 : 2187 = 114 cents], and between it and the 1st finger fret a tone.

"Later the moderns came and tied another 2nd finger fret [the Zalzalīan] about midway between the 1st finger fret and the 4th finger fret. Some make it a little lower and others a little higher, and different genres (*ajnās*) result from that, but nowadays they do not distinguish this difference. And that which is most generally accepted is that the 1st finger fret should be from the [Zalzalīan] 2nd finger fret upon the ratio of 12 : 13 [= 139 cents] and the [Zalzalīan] 2nd finger fret should be from the 4th finger fret upon the ratio of 11 : 12 [= 151 cents] nearly, not actually, because the ratio is 117 : 128 [= 155 cents]. It will therefore be upon the structure (*ta'rif*) of some of the genres (*ajnās*) mentioned.²

"Next they tied above the 1st finger fret, [towards the nut end], another fret, at the distance of a tone [8 : 9 = 204 cents] from this [new] tied 2nd finger fret [32 : 39 = 343 cents]. It will be an anterior (*mujannab*) fret [12 : 13 = 139 cents], being the lower octave (*isjāh*)³ of the [new 2nd finger fret on the] *mathnā* string. Then they tied above this a [nother] fret which most people consider to be an anterior (*mujannab*) fret [at 243 : 256 = 90 cents] of the Old [Persian] 2nd finger fret [27 : 32 = 294 cents]. Yet it is not so, but is upon the ratio of 7 : 8 [= 231 cents] from this new 2nd finger fret [32 : 39 = 343 cents] known as the Zalzalīan fret, [and therefore the ratio of this anterior fret is 256 : 273 = 112 cents]. So these are the frets of the lute."

¹ All the MSS. have 4th finger (*khinṣir*) fret.

² Cf. the *ἐμαλόν* of Ptolemy.

³ According to the *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm* (p. 240) the word *isjāh* is incorrect, the proper word being *sajāh*, the latter term being also used by Al-Fārābī.

Here is Ibn Sīnā's fretting of the lute set out in a table :—

		STRINGS				
		<i>Bamm</i>	<i>Mathlath</i>	<i>Mathnā</i>	<i>Zīr</i>	<i>Ḥadd</i>
Nut . . .		0	498	996	294	792
FRETS	[Old Persian anterior] ¹	[90]	[588]	[1086]	[384]	[882]
	[Diatonic] anterior	. 112	610	1108	406	904
	Zalzalian anterior	. 139	637	1135	433	931
	1st finger . . .	204	702	1200	498	996
	Old Persian 2nd finger	294	792	90	588	1086
	Zalzalian 2nd finger .	343	841	139	637	1135
	3rd finger . . .	408	906	204	702	1200
	4th finger . . .	498	996	294	792	90

It is worthy of note that Ibn Sīnā calls the Pythagorean third (294 cents) the Old Persian 2nd finger fret. His system of fretting does not embrace the Zalzalian third (343 cents) in the second octave, whilst his exclusion of the Old Persian anterior fret (90 cents) deprives him of the lower octave responses of the Old Persian 2nd finger fret notes. He does not appear to have known of Al-Kindī's solution of the problem by the use of two anterior frets at 90 and 114 cents. Of course, there was an easy way out of the difficulty by adopting a different system of tuning (*taswiya*). The normal method of tuning was by fourths, i.e. each string was tuned at 498 cents from its lowest neighbour. It fitted in with the cosmological system of the "four-fold" things which held sway in science and philosophy in the Islāmic East. If the *bamm* and *mathlath* strings and the *mathnā* and *zīr* strings were tuned in fifths, i.e. at 702 cents, the frets of the lower and upper octave would agree. Both

¹ This fret is excluded by Ibn Sīnā.

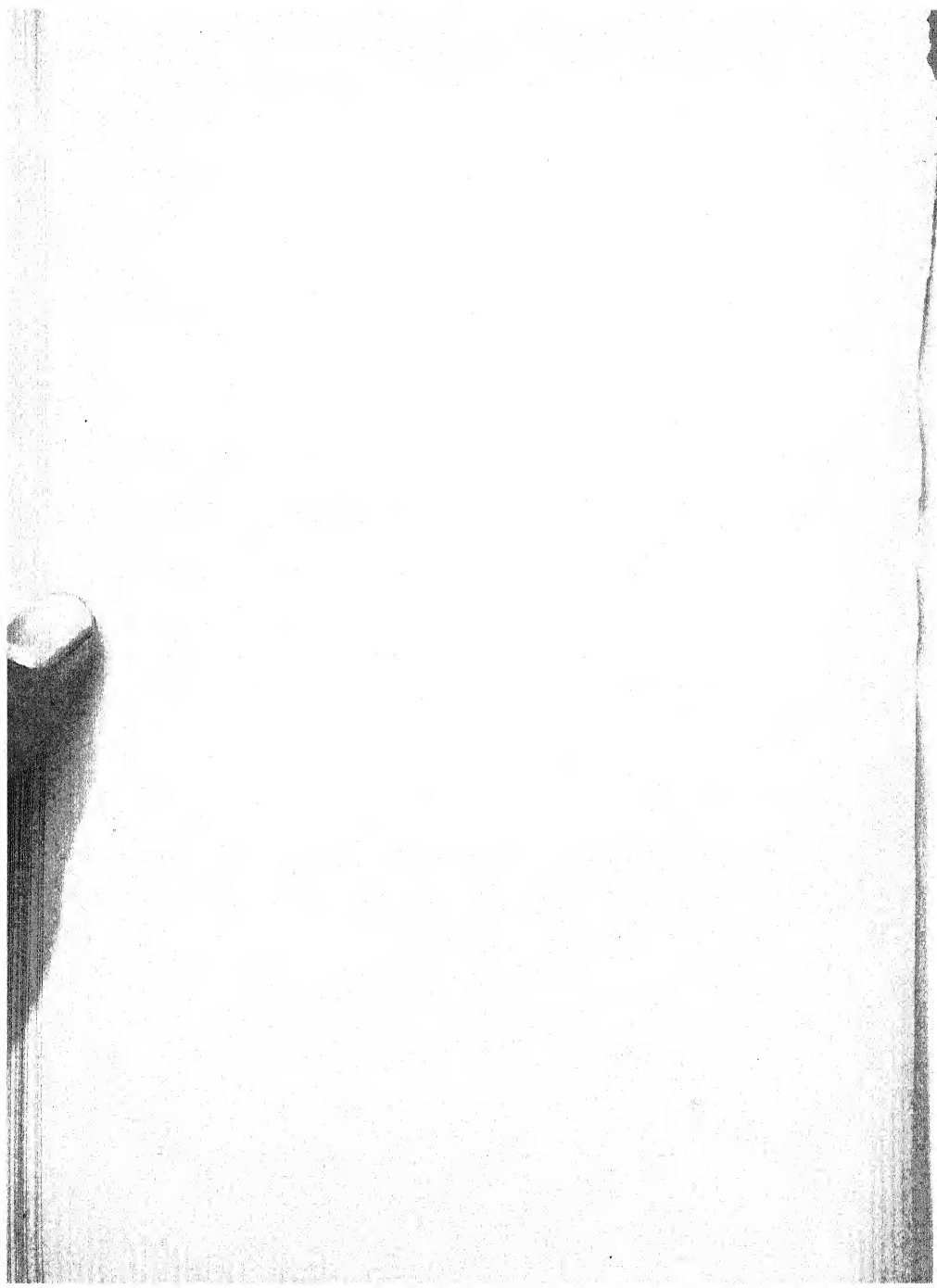
Al-Kindī and Al-Fārābī had suggested other methods of tuning,¹ but Ibn Sīnā gives an alternative system of tuning which regularized the admission of the Zalzalīan notes in the second octave, which were excluded under the system of tuning by fourths. By tuning the *zūr* string a major third (408 cents) from the *mathnā* string, the frets produced the following :—

		STRINGS				
		<i>Bamn</i>	<i>Mathlath</i>	<i>Mathnā</i>	<i>Zūr</i>	<i>Hadd</i>
Nut		0	498	996	204	702
FRETS	[Old Persian anterior] ² [90]		[588]	[1086]	[294]	[792]
	[Diatonic] anterior . 112		610	1108	316	814
	Zalzalīan anterior . 139		637	1135	343	841
	1st finger	204	702	1200	408	906
	Old Persian 2nd finger	294	792	90	498	996
	Zalzalīan 2nd finger . 343		841	139	547	1045
	3rd finger	408	906	204	612	1110
	4th finger	498	996	294	702	1200

This was certainly an improvement on Al-Fārābī's scale and tuning, because it embraced the elusive Zalzalīan notes in the second octave. It was not until the time of Ṣafī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu'mīn (d. 1294), however, that an absolutely perfect scale was evolved.

¹ Whilst the normal tuning was A-D-G-c, Al-Kindī suggested G-D-G-c and Al-Fārābī B \flat -D-G-c.

² Excluded by Ibn Sīnā.



The Self: an overlooked Buddhist Simile

By C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS

I AM not referring to the simile (and its fate) of the Jeta-wood and the faggots.¹ That at least I have not overlooked, nor have others. Charles Eliot once wrote to us, that it seemed to imply the existence of a self that was other and more than body and mind (as the wood was *there*, and other, and more than the faggots). I remarked, Was it not a curious way of teaching the existence of a something (about which there might be a doubt), merely by implication? I was then blind to two things: the tremendous emphasis on the immanence of Deity as 'Self' current in the lifetime of the 'Buddha' (rendering any assertion of It unnecessary); the decline in that emphasis by the time the Suttas came to be finally worded and canonized. To very few was awareness of this earlier and later constantly present. 'Was?' It is still true of most.

With regard to the former point, Jesus *did not need* to assert the existence of Deity, nor even the aspect of That as Father, save only so far as to make It real for the Many. And when he said, according to the Fourth Gospel: "The father judgeth no man"² . . . he did not hasten to add: even if he does not judge, he is not therefore non-existent. In his day there was no need for him to add that. And so, with this parallel in mind, I wrote in my *Sakya* "In the Jeta-wood parable, as in the Second Utterance, the central point in both is left unsaid. I mean that, in reminding hearers that the faggots borne away to be firewood were as body and mind, it was not necessary (then) to say that the wood was still there, as the 'man' was still there, becoming, even as the wood was growing. Nevertheless, it may be that we have here

¹ *Samyutta*, iii, 333 (the reference in my *Sakya* is misprinted).

² *John* v, 22.

some later editing.”¹ Yet an eminent scholar once expressed to me the opinion, that there was nothing here which (in face of the growing anti-self position in Buddhism) could be called an omission, deliberate or otherwise. And St. Luke’s words rose in memory: “But their eyes were holden that they should not know him.”

The simile to which I now refer is ascribed to the ‘Buddha’ in the 35th or Lesser Saccaka-Sutta of the Majjhima-Nikāya. It illustrates the emphatic warning given to the first handful of fellow-workers, which is the pith, the original part, of the Second Utterance, called in later times the Anattalakkhaṇa-Sutta, the ‘Not-having-marks-of-self’ talk, a warning from which Hinayāna Buddhism has drawn such a deplorably wrong conclusion. This conclusion is, that since neither body nor mind is (i.e. has the mark of) self, *therefore there is no self*. This only became plausible, when (with the cleavage from the current Brahmanic teaching become wide, and with the ever-growing preoccupation in proto-Sāṅkhyan analysis of mind) the man or self was coming to be held as only ‘to be got at’ through body and mind, nay, as some held, was just these two, and these only. I have suggested my own simile here, namely, that this is as if one were to come aboard asking for the captain and, rejecting boatswain and purser as being ‘not he’, were to go away saying: there is no captain! Had I better remembered what I had read, I should not have overlooked the following similes, which appeal more to India of the sixth century B.C. than any marine figure.

This identification of self with body and mind is put forward as the opinion of one of the growing Jaina school among the Licchavi republican rājas of Vesālī. As to that, it is not the opinion we should expect from either a Jain, or from Vesālī. Jainism has no such psychological anomaly, and the Vajjians of Vesālī were the stoutest defenders of the Bhagavā as having taught the reality of the ‘man’, as

¹ *Sakya, or Buddhist Origins*, p. 325.

no mere complex, at the Patna Council. It is the following, the 'Greater' Saccaka-Sutta which is more fitly located at Vesālī, showing the Founder of Buddhism as severely experimenting in that *tapas* of bodily austerities, which Jainism prescribed as the cure for karma past, present and future. It is not this Sutta that has been 'overlooked'.

Turning to the Commentary, we find a long, interesting account of the founding of the Jaina school at Vesālī by a man and woman and their four daughters, although nothing is said about what their 'theses' taught. This account introduces the Lesser Saccaka, and serves also for the Greater. And the historically interesting question arises as to the significance, in the Majjhima, of the thirteen pairs of Suttas, in which either the Lesser or the Greater precedes the other.

Save that Saccaka appears in both, burdened with inordinate self-esteem, there is nothing to connect the treatment in the two. The Lesser here is so curious a mixture of worthy sayings and unworthy trimmings, so suspiciously like editorial patch-work in its chief statement, so bespattered with appeals to a popular audience, that its legitimate presence in the Canonical text as containing any *ipse dixit* of the Founders, seems to be on a shaky basis. It reminds us of the odd intrusion of the ribald Kevaddha Suttanta in the dignified Khandha-section of the Dīgha-Nikāya. I am inclined to see, in the 'trimmings' of popular appeal, matter that has got, either by mistake, or by a very slender majority of votes, into the Sutta from the Commentary's chat.

We have after all a somewhat similar occurrence as patent in the Cūḷa-Kamma-vibhanga-Sutta of this Majjhima. In the Sanskrit recension from Nepal, edited by the late Sylvain Lévi, we find an episode—of a foolish popular kind—put into the text which, in the Pāli Canon is *only in the Commentary*. I referred to this in my review of the work two years ago.¹ Indeed this feature of a Lesser and a Greater paired Sutta

¹ JRAS. 1935, p. 358.

deserves further inquiry. Why should any two be so named ? It is not the relative length for, of the thirteen pairs, several Lessers are longer than the Greater. Nor the relatively serious treatment ; the Pāli Cūlakammavibhanga is a simple, sober and dignified reply to an inquiry about a man's responsibility hereafter for deeds done here. The Greater is much more wordy and discursive, the laboured enumerations of a pedant, rather than of a great sage.

But let us consider in a résumé the Lesser Saccaka.

The Jain Saccaka 'swanks' about his dialectical powers ; he meets Assaji, one of the first five to join Gotama ; asks what is Gotama's teaching about ? Assaji answers, and Gotama endorses later, that " the five khandhas are transient and not the self ". Saccaka, confident in his skill and his Vesāli backers, seeks a debate to smash this view, in the Greatwood near by, where the touring Gotama is staying. His response to the view just stated is, that the essence or substance of each khandha (*rūpatta*, *vedanatta*, etc.¹) is the basis (*patiṭṭhā*) whereby a man works merit or demerit, even as the earth is the basis of all growth, all activity. Gotama : " See here, are you herewith contending, that " I " am body, " I " am feeling, perception, and all mind ? " Saccaka : " Yes, I am. " Gotama : " Well then, do you admit that a king has judicial power over any subject deserving punishment ? " ² Saccaka : " Yes, and republics too. They have both the power and the right. " (Then comes a leap over the point in the argument. Gotama goes on past it to say :) " You say, you are your body, your mind. Now have you, *as* body, *as* mind, the power to make either do what you will ? " Saccaka is silenced. (The king has admitted he is *merely a subject*.) Thrice is the question put, and is unanswered.

¹ The Comm. reads *rūp'attā*, bodily self, etc., and so on. This curious compound is, I believe, unknown, while *rūpatta* . . . *viññānatta* occur in the Khandha discussion, 'Sīha,' Samyutta, iii, 86 f. Lord Chalmers follows the Comm. ; I confess I cannot make sense of this reading.

² We do not find in Pāli literature any judge except the king, nor, I believe, any word for one.

(Then comes a gallery-appeal.) "Answer me, or your head will be split into seven." Over Saccaka appears a Yakkha, thunderbolt in hand. Saccaka trembles and recants: "No, sir, when I say, I and body, I and mind, are one and the same, I as such have no power over them." (Abruptly a stock formula is brought in. Then:—) "If both be liable to ill, can either be called self?" If both be ill and you be both, can you judge of and dispose of ill? "Why, you are seeking timber in banana-pith!" The crushed Saccaka is rallied by Licchavi jeering. "O come, come" he protests, "I'm not talking with *you*." Humbly he asks for guidance. He is taught about each khandha, in terms *which befit only the first, the body*. This subject being abruptly left, the Sutta ends majestically on a note of release, enlightenment and nirvana. Abjectly he takes leave, to prepare for hospitality to the Order on the morrow.

Compared with many Majjhima Suttas, this one is unquestionably made picturesque, dramatic, attractive. But it is at the cost of being, as to teaching, no more than a thing of scraps, with a solitary gem in the midst. Saccaka's metaphysical feeler is (rightly) ignored. But the incisive simile of the royal judge is left unapplied with the clearness that was needed—an application that, we may feel sure, was originally given, in so far as we have just here—which I do doubt—a true memory. The talk is instead swung over to the question of the self as being divine. And the striking saying, that what is ill cannot judge of, or get rid of itself is drowned in a damning simile and jeers.

Doctrinally, a good deal too much has been attempted in little, with the result, that the hearers, while doubtless entertained, have lost the point in the teaching, and the editors have gone far to slur it over. If only the simile had been used (and clearly applied) in the Second "sermon"—as perhaps it really was—what a history of error might have been averted!

Let me try to give the simile more clearly put and applied.

"You admit, that the head of a State, being *ex officio* judge, and as such superior to his subjects, has power to dispose of their persons. But if the head were to become merely a subject, he would no longer have this power. Even so, if you, the self, say, I am just body, just mind, that is, a tool, a subject of the self, you have therein and thereby no longer any of that power over your body and mind, which in life (to a limited degree) you know you have. *Ergo*, you are either claiming what you have not, or *you* are in a way, not just body and mind, but *more than these*. (You are not therefore non-existent, but you are taking a wrong view of yourself.)"

So do I venture to interpret this all-too elliptically edited reasoning. The protest against body or mind being considered as either being the self, or as having him, or as in him, or as containing him are often repeated in the Suttas, and came to be labelled as the "view of the man's group".¹ But nowhere have I found, save here, the *caveat*, which in the Second Utterance is more tersely stated, repeated and enforced—but not duly applied. And I lay it down with the suspicion, that the editors, themselves drawing near to the belief, that after all the self was no more than body and mind, wanted to get quickly past the simile. It was a tradition too lively to be quashed, too awkward to be fully stated.

¹ *Sakkāyaḍḍhi*. Mr. Woodward renders *sakkāya* "person-pack". *Kindred Sayings*, iii, 134.

Assyrian Prescriptions for Diseases of the Feet

By R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON

THE following are translations from the cuneiform texts of the seventh century B.C. (from Ashurbanipal's library at Nineveh) which deal with diseases of the feet and legs. The tablets are published in my *Assyrian Medical Texts*, and the translations are given here with various duplicates from elsewhere. Some have already been put before scholars by Ebeling (*Archiv f. Gesch. d. Medizin*, xiii, xiv, and *Keilschrifttexte Medicinischen Inhalts*), but since his publication of them several "joins" have been made, so that, with the text-hitherto untranslated and with the new knowledge subsequently acquired, a fresh edition will not be out of place. The connection of these medical texts dealing with diseases of the feet with those given in the series *SA.GAL.LA* (CT. xxiii, 1 ff.) will be obvious.

No. 191.¹ *AM.* 68, 1 (*Rm.* ii, 147; K. 2494; K. 3279). (From their appearance K. 3279, K. 6555 (*AM.* 70, 7) K. 9105 (*AM.* 70, 5), and K. 9164 (*AM.* 69, 7) are all pieces of the same tablet, but have been translated separately under Nos. 192-4. *Rm.* ii, 147, was translated by *E.* xiv, 41, with text in *KMI.* 7)

Obverse

2. . . . tops (juice) of apple, tops (juice) of medlar, tops (juice) of . . . , tops (juice) of *šargubbu*,² tops (juice) of *supalu*

¹ Abbreviations as in *JRAS.* 1929, 801, to which add: *BBR.*, Zimmern, *Ritualtafeln*; *D.*, A. Deimel, *Sumerisches Lexicon*; *DAG.*, my Dictionary of Assyrian Chemistry and Geology; *DKAWW.*, *Denkschr. d. Akad. d. Wissensch. in Wien*; *Kü.*, Küchler, *Beitr. z. Kenntnis d. Ass.-Bab. Medizin*; *LZ.*, E. Ebeling, *Liebeszauber im alten Orient* (*MDAG.* 1); *MDAG.*, *Mitteil. d. Altor. Gesellschaft*; *MVAG.*, *Mitteil. d. Vorderas. Gesellschaft*; *P.*, P. W. Squire, *Companion to the British Pharmacopœia*, 18th ed.; *R.*, H. C. Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Ins. of W. Asia*; *RA.*, *Revue d'Assyriologie*; *ZA.*, *Zeits. f. Assyriologie*.

² *GIŠ.BU*, *AH.* 139. It would appear to be a tree, but one not in common use.

(manna),¹ tops (juice) of . . . , tops (juice) of willow, tops (juice) of liquorice, tops (juice) of fen[nel], . . . , tops (juice) of **Solanum*, tops (juice) of laurel, tops (juice) of . . . , tops (juice) of bitter almond,² tops (juice) of nettle, tops (juice) of *GIŠ.ŠAR*, . . . , tops (juice) of cypress, tops (juice) of colocynth, [these] aromatics . . . in milk, beer, and water of barley thou shalt bind on; these drugs . . . thereon . . . in flour thou shalt knead (?), put thereon, boil, (and) continually [apply].

10. If ditto, *Artemisia*, *balsam, **Sagapenum*, cedar, cypress, **Acorus calamus*, **Ammi* (?), . . . , *suadu* in rose-water and beer . . . thou shalt boil; bathe [him] therewith . . .

14. (*Dup. of AM. 65, 1, 5.*) If a man's feet are bent and cannot straighten themselves³ . . . tamarisk, daisy, **Acorus calamus*, [the small (?)] date-palm, **opopanax*, (?), tops (juice) of laurel (var. adds tops (juice) of fig), tops (juice) of medlar, tops (juice) of apricots, . . . , tops (juice) of *lemon, tops (juice) of nettle, tops (juice) of . . . , tops (juice) of almond,⁴ tops (juice) of bitter almond, tops (juice) of . . . , tops (juice) of the tree *aš-pu-um*, tops (juice) of pomegranate, tops (juice) of all orchard trees thou shalt take, tops (juice) of cyp[ress], tops (juice) of caper, tops (juice) of thorn, colocynth . . .

(*AM. 68, 2, K. 2494, here*):—

1. . . . for his recovery tops (juice) of *Vitex*, fir-turpentine, pine-turpentine, . . . [helle]bore (?), manna,⁵ thou shalt

¹ *išuŠE.RÚ.A.* Since *išušu-še* is prescribed in l. 4, liquorice cannot be intended for this word.

² *išuŠir-du*, see n. 4.

³ [*Ku-u*]n-nu-na(so *E.*)-ma la i-tar-[ra-šu]. Cf. it (?) -ta-na-ak-na-na-šú, *AM. 70, 3, 3.* The dup. gives [*i*] -ta-ra-aš.

⁴ *išuŠi-ik-di*, Heb. *šōkēdh*, in contrast to the next, [*išus*]i-ir-di, Syr. *šār'dhā*, bitter almond. According to a tablet copied by Herr Pick which, through Professor Langdon, by the courtesy of Professor Ehelolf I am permitted to quote, *ūlubanu* is equal to *ūbuṣnu šihrātipl* "small pistachio" and *ūšikēdu malku* "sweet almond".

⁵ See my forthcoming article in *AJSL*. 1937, s.v. *ḫudratu*.

pound, sift, knead in beer; again dry, pound, [strain] . . . on a skin of "the back" thou shalt spread, bind on him; thou shalt bray *styra^x, pound with honey, oil, and beer . . . the drug (?) thou shalt not pour away on the ground¹; all these aromatics in beer . . . honey and refined oil therein thou shalt pound, pour into his anus, and he shall recover.

6. . . . urine, oil, and *kurunnu*-beer thou shalt heat over the fire, . . . thou shalt put, *tu-up-ri*² thou shalt add thereto . . . put it on him, and he shall recover.

9. . . . Seed of Vitex, *TU.LAL*-plant, roses . . . in a bath thou shalt filter,³ cow's (?) . . .⁴; this shalt thou do, and he shall recover.

12. If . . . has [*mun*]-ga (?) (paralysis) . . . pine-turpentine
 . . .

Reverse (AM. 68, 1)

1. . . . *kanšam*-plant,⁵ these drugs together thou shalt [bray (?)] . . ., in *sabû*-beer (and) water of the husks (?)⁶ of barley . . ., which has not seen the sun, all tops (juices) to . . . thou shalt roast in an oven, take out, and continuously bathe [him therewith], and he shall recover.

5.⁷ If the flesh of the muscle of a man's legs has been

¹ . . . *Šam-ma ana KI* (= *irsitu*) *la tu-na-tak*, but not certain.

² The text on the tablet is as I have copied it.

³ Cf. *AM.* 52, 8, 5.

⁴ *HI. LIT.*

⁵ *isuKAN.HU.SI.* Cf. *AM.* 89, 1, 6 (one of thirty-two to be drunk), and possibly *Liebeszauber*, 53, to be drunk with others in a virility charm (*isuKAN.[HU.SI]*).

⁶ See *RA.* 1929, 51, n. 1. Presumably it does not mean "*sabû*-beer of the water of husks of barley"?

⁷ Similar to *AM.* 70, 3, 7.

strained (bruised)¹ so that he cannot walk, for his recovery flour of kernel of [barley], gazelle-dung . . . in rose-water thou shalt knead (?), on a skin "of the back"² thou shalt spread, bind on him, and he shall recover.

8. If the muscle of a man's legs has been strained (bruised) so that he cannot walk, to ease the muscle of his legs, *sahlê*,³ tops (juice) of liquorice . . . as a mash thou shalt mash, bind [on him and the] . . . shall be assuaged, and his legs lightened".⁴

12. [If the muscle of a man's] legs has been strained (bruised) so that he cannot walk, . . . , tops (juice) of liquorice, tops (juice) of **Anacyclus Pyrethrum*, gazelle-dung thou shalt pound, mash in beer-yeast in rose-water in a small copper pan, spread on a cloth, bind on.

16. If a man's legs have been strained (bruised) so that he cannot walk . . . [to] assuage [his legs], flour of kernel of barley, tops (juice) of liquo[rice], . . . in old beer as a mash thou shalt ma[sh], . . . , anoint him, bind on him, and his legs will be assu[aged].

20. To assuage [him], flour of roast corn, dung [of gazelle] . . . in equal parts . . . in beer thou shalt mash [and apply].

22. If a man's legs . . . , daisy, . . . tops (juice) of

¹ *Šā-gu-ma* (cf. *ša-ag-gu-ma*, l. 8, *šāg-gu-ma*, l. 12, and *šā-ga-ma*, l. 16). *It-ta-na-aš-ga-gu*, of hands and feet, *AM.* 106, 2, 12. Cf. Scheil, *RA.* 1917, 87, *MUD-su* ("his heel") *šagig*, where Scheil compares *šiggatu*, making the meaning "bruise"; Holma compared the Arab. *šajajun* "scalp-wound, broken head", from *šajja* "broke". The Assyrian treatment here for the affection indicated by *šagāgu*, as well as that for *šiggatu* (see *RA.* 1930, 132 ff.), suggests a strain, bruise, or blain. See *E.* xiii, 131, n. 2.

² *AM.* 70, 3, 9, simply "skin".

³ I am doubtful about the translation *Lolium* for *sahlê*.

⁴ *Ikallil* applied to ears hard of hearing, *JRAS.* 1931, 9 (*AM.* 35, 2 + 34, 5 + 36, 1).

medlar, . . . tops (juice) of . . . , . . . , tops (juice) of . . . , . . . , tops (juice) of . . . , . . . , tops (juice) of . . .

No. 192. *AM.* 70, 7 (K. 6555 + 6656, published by *E.* xiv, 46, with text *KMI.* 5, probably part of K. 3279, one of the tablets composing the preceding text, No. 191): dup. of K. 8918 (*AM.* 69, 2, as pointed out by *E.* xiv, 46) and part dup. of *KAR.* 191 (as pointed out by *E.* xiv, 46, with text *KMI.* 6).

Obverse, Col. I

2. . . . his shins . . .

3. (Restored from *KAR.* 191, 16.) If a man's feet, his shins, his weight, "prick"¹ him, (root of)² liquorice (?), *Vitex*, fennel, mustard, opium, seed of daisy,² sumach, seed of *Ricinus*, seed of laurel, saffron (*v. gloss*, mustard), *Artemisia*, *balsam, **Sagapenum*,³ thou shalt dry, pound, [mix] in milk (and) beer, spread [on] a cloth, bind on; after these bandages . . . [lu]pins (?) in beer he shall drink, with oil he shall be anointed.

9. (Dup. of *KAR.* 191, 1, and *AM.* 69, 2, 2.) If a man's legs are so affected that he cannot come nor stand, and his hands and feet⁴ tremble,⁵ that man [has occupied (?)] the position⁶ of a *rabiṣu*-demon. To heal his [hands and] feet,

¹ *Usaḥḥalašu.* For *DUGUD* as the weight of the body on the feet cf. No. 194, 8.

² Omitted on *KAR.*

³ *KAR.* ends rather differently after **Sagapenum*: "these drugs thou shalt pound, strain, mash in beer in a small copper pan; strew (*tilliḫ*, *RA.* 1934, 21) wheaten flour thereon, spread on a skin, warm it, bind on him, and he shall recover. [In] the performance of this (. . . *šipir anné*) he shall drink mustard, **Calendula*, *tarḫu*-plant in beer, with oil he shall be anointed."

⁴ "And his hands and feet" omitted on *AM.* 70, 7.

⁵ [*I-ra*]-*ba*, *i-ra*-*ub*.

⁶ *KI.GUB*, varying with *man-za-az* (*KAR.* 191 and *AM.* 69, 2).

thou shalt set¹ an *agubbû*-vessel (of water), let it stand under the stars; tamarisk, daisy,² the small palm, **Conium maculatum*, cedar oil, sweet oil, honey, *himetu*-ghee, thou shalt put therein, and surround it with "scattered meal"³; in the

¹ *Taḥabbu*. The full phrase is *karpatu A.GUB.BA ta-ḥab-bu ina UL tuš-ziz* (or *-bat*), varying with *karpatu A.GUB.BA tukân (an)*. *Taḥabbu* has a final *-u* to indicate a relative clause, the subject of the main clause being indefinite: "thou shalt set a bowl, which thou shalt cover over, under the stars," the idea of covering being (as is paralleled in the note on *zisurrâ* below) to keep the evil influence of the *rabišu* away from the drugs. For this indefinite use of the simple final *-u* without *ša*, cf. (1) *Gilg. Ep.* (text, p. 73), *šuttu attulu* "a dream (which) I saw"; (2) *ib.*, *akalam iškunu* "bread (which) she set"; (3) *ib.*, *awat taḥadd* "a word (by which) thou shalt rejoice", and other passages quoted, *ib.*, to which may be added (4) my *Prisms of Esarh.*, ii, 29, *māta ana ilu Aššurki ihlū uma'ruinni idāši* "it was I whom they made to control (any) land (which) sinned against Assyria"; (5) *ib.*, iv, 81, *kima kanē meḥē išuppu* "like reeds (which) the storm(s) bend(s)"; (6) cf. No. 202, i, 18 ff.: *murša ina zumri-ia ibaššû(û)*. It will be noticed in the present example that the variant with *tukân(am)* has no *ina UL tušziz* following, and therefore no relative clause is indicated.

² *KAR.* adds (or gives as variant) "tragacanth".

³ *Zisurrâ*. This is used here as a survival of magic, owing to the belief that a *rabišu* ("lurker")-demon is the initial cause of the disease. The ointment with which the patient's legs are to be rubbed is to be left to steep "under the stars" in the cool of the night, the mixture containing various oils, honey, and ghee, as a menstruum for the tannin of the tamarisk, the daisy (whether it be bellis, anthemis, millefoil, or elecampane, *AH.* 70), and the hemlock (if I am right in my identification in *AH.*), all of which might well be used externally; for the "young palm" used medicinally, cf. G. Watt, *Commercial Prod. of India*, 884, where the date-palm is said to yield a gum used medicinally in the Panjab, and the fresh spathe a strong, but agreeable, perfume by distillation. Sir David Prain was so kind as to obtain the following for me from the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew, and I am indebted to him and to his informant, Mr. H. C. Sampson, C.I.E.:—

"Popenoe in his book *Date Growing in the Old and New Worlds* has a chapter on the Arab uses of the date and the following are appropriate quotations:—

" 'This is related by Abd al-Rizzaq al-Jazairi, [*The Relation of Enigmas* (seventeenth or eighteenth centuries A.D.), tr. by Dr. Lucien Leclerc, Paris, 1874], who adds comfortingly that "the sap of palm leaves is a sure remedy for nervousness, kidney trouble, and putrid wounds; it calms the effervescence of the blood and is a tonic for the stomach.

" "The spathe of the palm (usually the male) is sometimes cut before it has opened and ground up to make bread, while the male blossoms, when fully formed, but before the spathe has opened, are a delicacy in all parts of the Orient, either raw or as a salad with lemon juice. They are supposed to have an aphrodisiacal quality." "

morning, in the sunlight, thou shalt rub his legs, and he shall recover.¹

13 (Dup. of *AM.* 69, 2, 7). If ditto, liquorice, *lemon, willow, *Vitex*, oleander (?),² rosemary,³ **Arnoglosson*, fennel, seed of caper,³ mustard, *Solanum*, *Ricinus*, linseed, *ely[ul]la*-plant, . . . thou shalt dry, pound, sift, in river-water in an oven thou shalt heat, continuously thou shalt bathe him (therewith), and [he shall recover].

7 (Dup. of *AM.* 69, 2, 10). . . . **Ferula communis*, *Acorus Calamus*, fir-turpentine, seed of the plant *su-un-* . . . , *suadu*,

To continue with the Assyrian procedure. The vessel in which these drugs are steeped is to be surrounded with *zisurrá* (*KU.SUR.RA*-(a) *te-šir*), a magic circle of meal (see *Semitic Magic*, lvii ff. and 123).

A simple parallel (in this case with *šimu*, *ZID*, "flour") is found in a ritual for pulling up the *úHUL.TI.GIL.LA*, the *Citrullus Colocynthis*, Schr., for magical purposes against a headache: "The wild gourd which springeth up by itself in the desert, when the sun entereth his dwelling, cover thy head with a cloth, and cover the wild gourd, and surround (it) with flour (*ká-ma*, *ZID*); in the morning before sunrise root it out from its place, and take its root" (see my *Devils*, ii, 67, ll. 32). This, protected for the night by the cloth and the magic circle against the headache (demon) which "roameth over the desert" (l. 1), is to be bound on the sick man's head and neck with the hair of a virgin kid "that the headache which is in the body of the man may be removed" by being absorbed in the sphere of the gourd which is peculiarly a product of the desert. From what may be inferred from this magical text, "headache" (a very probable affection due to the desert sun) lives in the desert, where it roams by day, but returns at night to its "house", the spherical, head-shaped, poisonous gourd.

Zisurrá is also used in the case of a patient suffering from *asakku*. An "atonement"-ritual is performed for him with the heart (or stomach) of a kid, which is supposed to absorb the evil influence and is then thrown into the street. Then, in order to prevent the return of the evil spirit, the patient is surrounded (*esir*) with a magic circle of *zisurrá*-meal (ib., 35). Other references will be found in ib., 121, 28; *BBR.* No. 54, 9. The latter ritual (like Haupt, *Akk. Sum. Keils. Texte*, No. 11, xx) includes gypsum in the magic circle, which suggests that the potency of its protection is due to the whiteness of the gypsum and flour, as against the evil symbolized by black, e.g. of bitumen (see *DACG.* xxxix, and 42).

¹ "And he shall recover" omitted on *AM.* 70, 7, 12.

² Most of these drugs have the addition of "tops (juice)" in *AM.* 70, 7.

³ For these two identifications (**má-ereš-má-ra*, **pirhi*) see my forthcoming article in *AJSL.* 1937.

together thou shalt pound, sift, in milk, date-treacle (?)¹ . . . while still steaming [thou shalt apply].

Col. II

3. If a man's feet . . . the plant *kamkadu*, . . . gypsum of the River,² sulphur, . . . vinegar³ of beer in an oven thou shalt roast . . .

7. If a man's feet hold poison . . . his feet being out of control,⁴ tops (juice) of tamarisk . . . thou shalt pound together, in water of barley in an oven thou shalt roast⁵ . . . up to seven times his . . . , thou shalt . . .⁶ (?), [and he shall recover ?]

11. If a man's feet have . . . , he [being unable] to walk . . . thou shalt pound . . . male mandrake . . .

No. 193. *AM.* 70, 5 (*K.* 9105, probably part of the above)

4. If the muscle of a man's heel . . . , red oxide of iron,⁷ pounded chalk (?)⁸ . . . The Charm *ka-ra-ra-tu*⁹ . . . [thou shalt recite], his right side the sun, his left . . .

8 (*Dup. KAR.* 191, *obv.* 7, translated *E.* xiv, 45). If a man's feet are "bound"¹⁰ upon him, thou shalt bray *LAL*¹¹-plant,

¹ *Dašpu*.

² *Ba-ba-za I.TI*, the peculiar gypsum of the Euphrates (*DACG.* 43).

³ *Tāba (HI.GA)-a-ti šikari*. For *tābātu* as "vinegar" see *PRSM.* 1924, 21. Vinegar is used "as a cooling lotion in bruises and sprains", *P.* 9. It is unlikely that this is *hi-ga-a-ti* (for *hi-ka*) as in *hi-ka ša šikari*, *CT.* xxiii, 46, 29; *hi-ik šikari*, *KAR.* 159, 9.

⁴ *BAL.BAL.MEŠ-šú*; cf. *AM.* 70, 3, 3, No. 201.

⁵ I omitted the sign for *BE* regrettably in my copy.

⁶ *Ta-sa-dir*.

⁷ *aGUG*; see *DACG.* 124.

⁸ *aKak-ku-[us]*; see *DACG.* 180.

⁹ See *l.* 2; *KAR.* 185, ii, 9; *AM.* 69, 9, 7 (No. 195); and *AM.* 58, 7, 4 (No. 204).

¹⁰ *It-te-nin-ši(l)-la-šú*, here of feet. The *i*, *l* is in *AM.* 106, 2, 23: "If a man is stricken in the throat, and the upper part of his eyes hurts him, blood (so add to the text) being brought into his mouth, his hands and feet (legs) *is-la*." *i*, 3 is also in *CT.* xxxvii, 39, 12: "If (a man's) *libbip* like his fingers *it-te-nin-ši-la*." *KAR.* 80, 4, *e-te-ni-ši-la* . . . For *ii*, *l*, cf. *ka-ti-šú uš-ši-lu*, *Shurpu* vii, 24, the ideogram being *LAL*; *ii R.* 27, c-d, 43, *ŠU*.

Ricinus, . . . into water thou shalt put, (in the night) ¹ under the stars thou shalt let it stand; (therewith) ² with water of emmer-corn ³ [his feet] thou shalt rub, anoint with oil; black sulphur, yellow sulphur, . . . thou shalt add, bind on his feet, and the charm thus thou shalt recite: The Charm ⁴: "Below may it be loosed, [and] above may it be loosed, and above and below may it be loosed." Recital of the Charm. Charm: "*E-nuru(m)*; may it be destroyed, ditto may it be assuaged ⁵; (above) may it be destroyed. Recital of the Charm." ⁶ These charms, ⁷ three each over his feet thou shalt recite, and he shall recover. ⁸

16. [If a man's feet] are "bound" upon him, up (and) down (?) he cannot (?) . . . , . . . [in] an oven thou shalt roast, take out, r[ub] his feet (therewith) . . .

No. 194. *AM.* 69, 7 (*K.* 9164, perhaps part of *K.* 3279.
Translated by *E.* xiv, 44)

3. . . . Pine-turpentine, fir-turpentine, sumach, these four drugs thou shalt bray, put in mixed beer ⁹; thou shalt warm (them), roast in an oven, take out, rub his feet; thou shalt bray these drugs, put them in oil, warm (them), anoint his feet, and he shall recover.

8. If a man's feet have inflammation, so that he cannot

GIR.LAL.E = *ka-ti-ii u šepā-ii uz-zu-la-ti*. The meaning given in *MA.* is "bound", connected with Heb. *āṣal* and Arab. *waṣala*. *E.* translates *gelähmt*. (For *itteninsil* see *RA.* 1929, 54.)

¹¹ On *ūLAL* as a red dye (?), see *DACG.* 30.

¹ Additional in *KAR.*

² Additional in *AM.*

³ Hrozný, *Getreide*, 55.

⁴ *KAR.* adds *E-nuru*.

⁵ Variant in *KAR.*: "may it be destroyed."

⁶ *AM.* omits.

⁷ *KAR.*: "these two charms," omitting "three".

⁸ *AM.* has additionally "with a bronze . . . over his feet . . ."

⁹ I am indebted to Mr. C. J. Gadd for improving my reading to *RAT* (?) *ma* (?) *hi-iḫ šikari*. *E.* reads *ta* (?) *zak* (?) *ana hi-iḫ šikari*.

bear his weight¹ walking, for his recovery thou shalt bray tops (juice) of liquorice, tops (juice) of caper (?) (or *Vitex* (?)), *sahlê*, sumach . . .

No. 195. *AM.* 69, 9 (S. 1333)

2. If a man's left . . . (and) his loins pain [him] . . . The toes of his feet (and) his muscles pain [him] . . .

4. [If] . . . of his heel walking (?) . . ., the sinew of the he[el] (*MUD*) of a gazelle which . . ., three cuttings² of laurel [thou shalt make]³ . . . thou shalt put, anoint him with oil; thus [shalt thou say]:

7. Charm (see No. 193, *AM.* 70, 5, 2, and note to l. 6).

No. 196. *AM.* 69, 1 (K. 9156)

6. If ditto, the plant . . . oleander (?), **Galbanum* (?), . . . the small palm . . . these twenty-two drugs . . .

10. If a man's flesh . . . and are troubled . . .

12. For his recovery fir-turpentine . . . in oil thou shalt anoint him . . .

14. If ditto, *Cannabis* . . .

15. If ditto, skin of a *kimti* (?) . . .

16. If ditto, sucker (shoot) of poppy . . .

17. If ditto, fir-turpentine, pine-turpentine, **Galbanum*,

¹ Cf. No. 192, 3 ff. If the translation of *DUGUD*-šú na-šú-a a-tál-lu-ka la i-li-' be "he cannot bear his weight walking", it is an unusually complicated sentence.

² *Hirši*; cf. *OT.* xxiii, 11, 30 (*E.* xiii, 141) "vii *hirši* ša iṣuerti ešteniš(niš) iṣad-sumi iṣati tukap(b)p(b)ap(b) thread on red wool, tie seven knots". *E. Zweige* (?).

³ [*Ta-har-ṣ*]a-aṣ; cf. *AM.* 70, 3, 5 (No. 201).

. . . tops (juice) of *Celtis australis*, tops (juice) of *lamme*¹
together thou shalt pound, strain, in wine (?) . . .

19. If ditto, glue, bone . . .

20. If ditto, seed of liquorice, seed of *Vitex* . . . thou
shalt put in river-water, his stomach . . .

22. If a man's hands and feet are . . .²

No. 197. *AM.* 69, 4 (*Rm.* 538, translated by *E.* xiv, 451).

6. If ditto, in water of *Vitex* (?), . . ., **Ammi*, *Salicornia*-
alkali, thou shalt bray . . .

8. If ditto, his hands and his feet are swollen³ . . .

.
No. 198. *AM.* 69, 5 (K. 14770)

1. If a man's feet are full of cuts (fissures),⁴ [thou shalt
rub on] the blood of the kidney of an ox in cedar (?)⁵-oil.

2. . . .⁶ male mandrake while it is yet green . . .

.
No. 199. *AM.* 69, 8 (K. 6056)

Obverse

8. If ditto, dung of a male sheep . . .

¹ *AH.* 185, closely allied to the *Celtis*, or the fir.

² *An-ḫa tab-ba* . . ., or perhaps similar to *UD.DA.TAB.BA* (= "the
heat of the day").

³ *E.* "entzündet". It may be either *iššaraḫū* or *innapaḫū*; see *PRSM.*
1924, 4.

⁴ *Kiṣṣatu*.

⁵ *NI.GIŠ eri-in* (?) (i.e. *ši*). The signs are as I have written them.

⁶ *GIG BI + IS*. It is uncertain whether *BI + IS* belongs to
*iš-ḫuNAM.TAR.*GIRA* or not.

9. If ditto, a sucker (shoot) of the dwarf oak (?) (*GİŠ.GIL*)
 . . . on a cloth thou shalt spread.

(The remainder is dup. of *AM.* 56, r. 5 ff., which text now follows):

No. 200. *AM.* 56, 1 (K. 8248)

Obverse

1. (Similar to *AM.* 21, 2, No. 63, *PRSM.* 1926, 55, and *AM.* 22, 2, No. 64, *ib.* 56.) . . . his breast and his shoulders hurt [him], . . . hurt him, his scrotum either right or left . . . he exhibits blood; that man is sick of "congestion of sick anus". [For his recovery] . . . pine-turpentine, *suadu*, **Acorus Calamus*, **Ferula communis*, box (?), . . ., *šupuhru*-cedar,¹ *Vitex*, *mint, mustard, . . ., *Asa foetida*, **Ammi*, dates, husks (?) of barley,² *bi-ni-it-ku* (?), grapes, . . . The compound³ in an oven thou shalt roast, pour it into (his) anus.

8. (Somewhat similar to *Speleers*, *Recueil*, 318, r. 39.) [If a man] is sick of anus-trouble, and his anus pricks him, his stomach is bound,⁴ his . . . *utassal*⁵ . . . in *kurunnu*-beer thou shalt boil, let cool, pour into his anus.

10. [If a man] is sick of anus-trouble, and his anus pricks him, pine-turpentine, fir-turpentine, . . . **opopanax*, the husks (?) of barley, in oil and beer into his anus [thou shalt pour].

(12 ff., *RA.* 1929, 73.)

¹ See *RA.* 1930, 127.

² For the sign of the *Legend of the Worm*, *CT.* xvii, 50, 25, with its Assyrian variant *AM.* 25, 1, 8. The bran of barley (*parré dha-s'arê*) is prescribed in Syriac (*SM.* i, 400, l. 8) in both a potion and a poultice, just as we find this in a poultice in Assyrian (*AM.* 32, 5, 10; *KAR.* 182, 34).

³ *Taḫitu*, *RA.* 1929, 52.

⁴ See No. 193, 8 ff.

⁵ *Speleers*, *û-ta-šal*.

Reverse

2. . . . pine-turpentine, . . . **Ammi*, saffron, eight (?) drugs in beer and . . . thou shalt boil . . . steaming hot, oil and honey thereon thou shalt put, pour into his anus . . . , milk and date-treacle (?), pour into his anus, and he shall recover.

5 (*Dup. AM. 69, 8, 11*). To soften (?)¹ stubborn "middles", the husks (?) of barley, linseed, *suadu* . . . , **Ferula communis*, **Acorus Calamus*, myrrh, alum² in oil and beer thou shalt boil, pour into his anus.

7 (*Dup. AM. 69, 8, 13, and similar to AM. 94, 2, 9*). If ditto,³ myrrh, roses, *Asa foetida*, fir-turpentine, *Salicornia*-alkali, chamomile, [**Amm*]*i*, saffron in beer and milk thou shalt bray; *puhru*⁴ thou shalt dry, add oil thereon, [pour it into his anus]; thereafter thou shalt pour sweet milk into his anus.

10 (*Dup. AM. 69, 8, 15*). To soften (?) the muscle of the "middle", linseed, *suadu*, **Acorus Calamus*, . . . (?), roses, wheaten bread cooked in ashes in oil and beer thou shalt boil, [pour into his anus], and he shall recover.

13 (*Dup. AM. 69, 8, 17*). If ditto, fir-turpentine, pine-turpentine, *Ferula communis*, *suadu*, dates . . . these [drugs] in beer thou shalt boil, pour into his anus.

¹ *Šumma a-na kablāti āš-īa-a-te* (v. ti) *lu-ub-bu-ka* (cf. l. 10, *Ana SA kablāti lu-ub-bu-ka* (v. ki). Although *labāku* has been hitherto taken to mean "to mix" (cf. *Kū*, s.v., and *PRSM.* 1926, 31), it is possible that the Arabic *labāka* "soften", rather than *labaka* "mix" is the proper cognate, in spite of the *k* and *ḳ*. The word is used in *HARpl-šū ilabbiku* (*AM.* 55, 1, 3; cf. 86, 3, 8), so that "mix" here is again out of the question. It will depend on the exact meaning of *HARpl*, which include part of the internal organs. If "soften" is its meaning when used in relation to parts of the body, it may well be applied to the drugs with which it occurs, instead of "mix".

² *Šikkati*, Zimmern, *Shurpu*, 60; *DACG.* 176.

³ *AM.* 69, 8, omits.

⁴ See *JRAS.* 1931, 20.

No. 201. *AM.* 70, 3 (*K.* 10255: *part translated by E.* xiv, 43,
with text, *KMI.* 8)

Col. I

1. . . . bitumen, gypsum of the river, yellow sulphur,¹
. . . [together thou shalt boil],² fumigate his feet, [and he
shall recover].

3. [If a man's legs (?) give way under him,³ his two (?)
thighs (?)⁴ being out of control,⁵ that man is suffering from
arim[tu ?],⁶ . . . For his recovery thou shalt cut up⁷ together
(pieces) of tamarisk, daisy, *Cannabis*, mustard . . . , put them
in *hiku* of beer, roast in an oven, bathe his [legs ?] therewith
and he shall recover.

7. (*Similar to AM.* 68, 1, r. 5, No. 191.)

Col. II (omitted by *E.* in translation, except one l., xiii, 131)

4. If the soles of a man's [feet] . . . give way under him³
. . . **Conium maculatum*, the small palm, . . . , lupins,
**Calendula*, **Chrysanthemum segetum* . . .

8. If the soles of a man's feet . . .

9. If a man's feet . . .

10. If a man's feet [hold] blood . . . , therein thou shalt
put . . .

¹ See *DACG.* 38 ff.

² [*Ta-ba*]-šal ?

³ *It (?)*-ta-na-ak-na-na-šú and *ik-ta-na-an-na* . . .

⁴ *Šá-pu-la-šú*, dual (?), Holma, *Körp.*, 161.

⁵ *BAL.BAL-šú*; cf. No. 192, note to col. ii, 7.

⁶ *E.* reads *ša-ri-im* . . . , but after re-examination I think that *a* is more probable than *ša*, although there is certainly a doubt.

⁷ *Taḥarraš*; cf. *AM.* 13, 1, r. 1 (*PRSM.* 1926, 41); *AM.* 69, 9, 5 (No. 195).

No. 202. *AM.* 73, 1 (K. 67 + 2592, translated by *E.* xiv, 26, with text in *KMI.* 1) + *AM.* 32, 2 (K. 1714) + *AM.* 15, 3 (K. 8809, text in *KMI.* 9) + *AM.* 100, 3 (K. 9565) + *AM.* 18, 5 (79-7-8, 163, text in *KMI.* 11). Duplicate of *KAR.* 192 (pointed out and translated by *E.* xiv, 26)

(The following evidently refers to a man whose leg or foot has been affected by his chance treading in a libation, or some unclean liquid thrown away, and so, by breach of a tabu, he has fallen sick. A text relating to a similar accident is in my *Devils*, ii, 136 (*CT.* xvii, 41).)

Col. I

1. (*Here is AM.* 32, 2) . . . [in] a pure place [where ?] a libation ¹ . . . or a shrine (?) ² of a god (where) he has trodden.

3. . . . [before] the sun ³ upon the bitumen let him stand . . . thy *kispu*-offering ⁴ he has touched, his sin . . . , the *kispu*-offering he shall bring.⁵

6. . . . **Solanum*, *Cannabis* . . . [in] *himetu*-ghee thou shalt anoint, bind on.

8. . . . his . . . and tamarisk . . . thou shalt present (?), a pure place . . .

11. (*Here is joined AM.* 100, 3) . . . *Cannabis*, . . . , daisy, [these ?] three (?) [drugs ?] on a cloth (?) [thou shalt spread ?].

13. [If a man] is sick of a swelling,⁶ and . . . [he has trodden

¹ *Rimku*, something poured away.

² *SUK.DINGIR*; cf. *SUK.KU* = *parakku*, *D.* 522, 28.

³ Cf. *AM.* 13, 4, 4, and 90, 1, iii, 18, for this restoration (*AJSL.* 1930, 24).

⁴ *KI.SI(G).GA*, *kasap kispi* (*D.* 461, 108, *b*), the offering for the dead.

⁵ *Ikassip*.

⁶ *Kabarta*. Hunger, *MVAG.* 1909, 3, 131, "Wade, Unterschenkel"; *E.* xiii, 131, "etwas wie Anschwellung" as a possibility; Reiner Müller (*Arch. f. Gesch. d. Med.*, xviii, 1926, 189), *Mycetoma pedis*. I think that with *E.*'s suggestion it may be referred to the root *k-b-r* "to be big". In a

in a] pure [place ?] . . . [into an *agubbû*-vessel ?] (which) thou shalt cover over¹ thou shalt pour water. [When] thou coverest [it, thou shalt recite the charm "O E]a, king of the Deep, this man [doeth ho]mage before thee . . ." [An *agubbû*-vessel] (which) thou shalt cover thou shalt [set] before the Goat-star, [thou shalt put therein cham]omile (?), [pine-turpentine ?], fir-turpentine, hellebore, turmeric . . . Thou shalt mash [them] in a small copper pan [and apply ?].

18. [If a man is] sick of a swelling because he has trodden in a libation . . . (?), thou shalt [put] well-water [into a vessel ?] which thou shalt cover ; into this water thou shalt put . . . -plant, (and) set it under the stars ; in the morning as the sun rises thou shalt take (it) down (from the roof) ; before the Sun-god thou shalt place an altar, a censer of pine-turpentine thou shalt put ; the . . . as of a seer thou shalt draw, and one *lahan*-vessel with water, one *lahan*-vessel with beer thou shalt fill, and in front of the altar set (them) ; thus shalt thou make him recite² : "[In some li]bation, known or unknown, he has trodden³ ; now before thee is the means of healing set⁴ ; (any) sickness (which) is in my body may the Wise, the Libation-Priest, the Incantation-Priest of the gods, Marduk, remove." Three times shall he say it and (then) pour out the water and the beer.

23. If ditto, *kamkadu*-plant, sumach, tamarisk, daisy, *lidruša*-plant, **Conium maculatum*, a river-cricket, thou shalt dry, pound, mix in fine-ground flour, mash in a small

metaphorical use it occurs in Scheil, *RA.* 1930, 147 : *kabartim ša la šumšu* "exaltation d'un homme de rien" in an omen-text. Besides the numerous instances in the present text, cf. *AM.* 77, 1 + *AM.* 28, 7 (*AJSL.* 1930, 2) : "[If a man] is struck a blow on the face and its surrounding (flesh) poisons him, the result (being) a [swe]lling (?) ([*ka-b*]ar-ti)." Cf. I. (52) (*AM.* 73, 1, 15 ; *KAR.* 192, 1, 8), "his feet are swollen" (*kabbaru*).

¹ *Taḥabbu*. See note to No. 192, I. 9 ff.

² Text re-examined : *tušadbabšu*.

³ Cf. my *Devils*, ii, 137.

⁴ *šá-kín e-ṭi-rum*.

copper pan with *himetu*-ghee and beer, spread it on a cloth, bind on.

25. If a man is sick of a swelling because he has trodden in a ruined ¹ shrine, he shall go in the sunlight to where the ruined shrine is situated, and he shall put a censer of pine-turpentine where that shrine (was); he shall accumulate (together) the juice of the (fruit of the) orchard, put seven large loaves (and) seven small loaves over against the juice of the orchard in the sun; he shall fill one *laḥan*-vessel with water, one *laḥan*-vessel with beer, and set (them) opposite the juice of the orchard. (As) he makes the preparation thou shalt make him say thus: "[I have trodden] in a known or unknown shrine, the dwelling of the great gods; on that day where evil . . ." (*Here is AM. 15, 3*) before the sun he shall recover (?) . . .

30. If ditto, *Ricinus*, the plant *buṣanu*, pine-turpentine, fir-turpentine, cypress of the cemetery, mucilage (?) of sesame, thou shalt dry, pound, [mix] with fine-ground flour, mash in a small copper pan with *himetu*-ghee and beer, spread (?) on a cloth (?) ²; the sick place with *himetu*-ghee thou shalt anoint; [bind (the poultice) on him and he shall recover].

32. . . . seed of rue (?), thistle-seed, date-stone, carob-"stone", poppy-"stone", (the hard opium), . . . dried³ *ḥu* (?) -*ši-in-ta*, therein thou shalt pour, bind on, and not take off for three days.

¹ *BĀR.SI.GA*, also Zimmern, *BBR.*, No. 48, 3, where the directions are for the ministrant to go up to the city, and on the third day [ascend] the the roof of a *BĀR.SI.GA*. In our present text it is obvious from ll. 16, 18 (26, 28) that *SI.GA* is merely a descriptive adjective. *SI* = *šakummu* "silent", and since the *BĀR.SI.GA* may be situated in a city, have a roof, and be the dwelling of the great gods, it is probably a "silent" shrine, a disused temple.

² *Ina KU* (?) *te* (for *te-ṭir-ri*); cf. ll. (55) ff. note.

³ For *bašīlta* in this sense cf. *CT.* xvii, 50, 11, where it is applied to figs, obviously dried and not boiled.

(34.) ¹ [If ditto, because] he has trodden in some pure [wate]r (?), "before the god to *an*, ditto," ² on the bank of the river thou ³ shalt collect "greens"; [one *lahan*]-vessel with water, one *lahan*-vessel with beer thou shalt fill, and put them facing the "greens"; thou shalt place four loaves of bread in (the bend of) his right knee, [four loaves of bread in (the bend of) his left knee, twelve] loaves of bread in the crook of his right elbow, ⁴ twelve loaves of bread in the crook of his left elbow, making him crouch like cattle ⁵; [thou shalt make him say "O . . .], O Ea, summon me to my judgment, that I may enter into your righteous ⁶ judgment." . . . [As] he says [this], he shall bow himself, pour away the water and the beer, hold the censer in his left hand, seven times (*here is AM. 73, 1*) to [. . .] he shall dip (it), and as he dips (it) he shall say "May Ea give release".

¹ If "pure water" be right, the man's leg shows that he must have trodden in it, and thus offended Ea, the god of water. During the purificatory ritual he is to crouch like an ox by the side of a river, the "greens" (*Ú.GIŠ.ŠAR*) completing the simile as fodder, and I can only suggest that to the Assyrian mind cattle standing knee-deep in running water apparently do not offend the god Ea, and for that reason, by a form of sympathetic magic, the man under the tabu assumes the pose of an ox.

² I venture to suggest this as the explanation of a difficult passage, instructing the physician to repeat part of the prescription in ll. 25 ff. Otherwise it must be translated "unto Ea the god ditto", somewhat unintelligibly. There is no room, judging by the join of K. 67, *AM. 73, 1*, for the restoration of many characters at the beginning of each of the lines of this prescription, and yet, from l. 11, "he shall take the censer in his left hand," it is clear that some reference must have been made to this "censer" (so briefly indicated) in the preceding lines. On the other hand, certain obvious alterations must be made in the quotation from l. 25 if it is to fit, and I suggest that it should run: "In the sun, where the *pure water* was situated he shall go, and where that *pure water* (was) he shall put a censer of pine-turpentine" (i.e. from *ina pân ūšamaš* to *ŠĀ-an*). *Kunu*, however, in l. 10 is in the plural, and there may be another god missing at the beginning of the line. Against this is Ea only in the final line of the prescription.

³ "Thou" here.

⁴ *Kišir ammat imitti-šu*.

⁵ Lit. "like the god Sumukan".

⁶ *Ina dini-kunu mišaruta*.

(40.) If ditto, the plant . . .,¹ **Anacyclus Pyrethrum*, **Arnoglosson*, ²*ZA.BA.LAM*,² daisy, tops (juice) of liquorice, pine-turpentine, fir-turpentine, cypress of the cemetery, *Artemisia*, *balsam, **Sagapenum*, mucilage (?) of sesame, thou shalt dry, pound, mix with fine-ground flour, [in] a small copper pan with oil and beer thou shalt mash, spread on a cloth, bind on.

(43.) [If a man] is sick of a painful swelling, and the colour ³ of his flesh has become white (and) black, that sickness is a tabu: *kamkadu*-plant, sumach, *Crataegus Azarolus*, **Anacyclus Pyrethrum*, *mint (?), thou shalt pound, in *kurunnu*-beer in a small copper pan thou shalt mash, spread on a cloth, let cool, bind on.

(45.) [If ditto], half a *ka* of pine-turpentine, half a *ka* of fir-turpentine, half a *ka* of *sahlê*, half a *ka* of barley-flour, half a *ka* of *Lathyrus*-flour, half a *ka* of fenugreek-flour, [half a *ka*] of liquorice-seed, half a *ka* of mucilage (?) of sesame, [ten] *kisal* of gum of **Galbanum*, ten *kisal* of dates, thou shalt bray, in beer in a small copper pan thou shalt mash; while it is hot thou shalt spread (it) on a cloth, bind it on the front (?) of his feet and on his neck-muscle, and not take off for three days.

(48.) (Here is KAR. 192, 1, in this prescription slightly different.) [If] a man is sick of a painful swelling, and the colour of his flesh has become white (and) red (?), his sickness exuding ⁴; tops (juice) of oleander (?), tops (juice) of medlar, tops (juice) of fig, tops (juice) of apple, tops (juice) of tamarisk, tops (juice) of **Conium maculatum*, tops (juice) of the small

¹ Either *šiš* [ba-nam] "Vitis", *LÚ* [a-nu], or *šmurru* "myrrh".

² *ZA.BA.LAM*; if *šuZA.BA.LAM*, it will be *Juniperus excelsa*, but if *šupalu*, it will be manna. See my article s.v. *šupalu* in *AJSL*, 1937.

³ *Ši-mat*, from *šindu*; see *E.* xiv, 27, l. (8).

⁴ *Ir-te-ši*.

palm, [tops (juice)] of nettles¹ into water thou shalt put, roast in an oven, bathe² his feet (therewith).

(50.) If ditto, *Artemisia*, *balsam, **Sagapenum*, *kamkadu*-plant, *Salicornia*-alkali, *Cannabis* together thou shalt pound, in barley-dust, barley-flour thou shalt mix, in beer in a small copper pan with milk thou shalt mash, on a cloth thou shalt spread, bind on.

(52.) If a man is sick of a painful swelling, and his heels are swollen, the muscles of his legs swelled, and he cannot walk; for his recovery gypsum (= sulphate of lime), *saḥlē*, *Salicornia*-alkali, dung³ thou shalt bray, in milk in a small copper pan thou shalt mash; while it is hot thou shalt spread it on a cloth, bind on, and not take off for three days.

(55.) If a man is sick of a painful swelling, and the muscle of his heel is full of "wind", to drive (it) out thou shalt bray pine-turpentine, fir-turpentine, gypsum, roses, mustard, roast corn, in fine-ground flour thou shalt mix,⁴ in beer in a small copper pan thou shalt mash, on a cloth thou shalt spread,⁵ bind on, and the "wind" shall go forth.

(57.) If a man is sick of a painful swelling, and his feet are full of blood, the rind of pomegranate (and) gazelle-dung thou

¹ From *KAR.* 192, 2.

² *Tar-ḥaṣ-ma*, but *KAR.* *tar-ḥat* (!)-*ma* (note also col. ii, 8).

³ *Putri* (see *RA.* 1930, 132); *E.* xiv, 27 (11) "Kot", without explanation. In *ii R.* 38, *g-h*, 31 (quoted *MA.* 856) it is preceded by *kabut imeri*, which from *MA.* 901 appears to represent 'Ú.*ANŠU*, i.e. "dung of an ass". The quotations in *MA.* 901 rather go to show that animals were left in the charge of persons especially for the gathering of their dung, doubtless for fuel or manure. If *putru* is "dung", it may be the same as the Syr. *perā* "dung". Cf. *AM.* 51, 4, 5, and 98, 3, 14, the latter passage including *putru* between "dung of gazelle" and "dung of doves".

⁴ Note the variant in *KAR.*: "in water thou shalt bray . . . , mix."

⁵ *Te*, as in *ll.* 30 ff.

shalt bray, with rose-water in a small copper pan thou shalt mash, bind on.

(59.) If a man is sick of a painful swelling, tops (juice) of poppy (and) fat of poppy thou shalt bray, in fine-ground flour thou shalt mix, in beer in a small copper pan thou shalt mash, bind on.

(61.) *Artemisia*, *balsam, sumach,¹ **Arnoglosson*, **Anacyclus Pyrethrum* thou shalt bray, in fat thou shalt mix, bind on and for one day not take off; although (?) his flesh be recovered, keep it bound on.

(63.) If ditto,² thou shalt bray fir-turpentine and pine-turpentine, in pigs' fat (and) barley-flour thou shalt mix, in beer in a small copper pan thou shalt mash, bind on.³ (*Here is AM. 18, 5.*)⁴

If ditto, thou shalt dry *Cannabis*, pound, mix in fine-ground flour, in rose-water in a small copper pan thou shalt mash, bind on, (and do) not take off for one day.

If ditto, *Hyoscyamus* thou shalt dry, pound, mix in barley-dust, mash as a mash, bind on.

If ditto, a falcon (v. a *SAG.DÚ*-fish)⁵ thou shalt dry, pound, in rose-water mash, bind on.

(66.) If a man is sick of a painful swelling, and the colour of his flesh is diffused (disturbed), *kamkadu*-plant, "raven's-foot"-plant, *TU.LAL*-plant thou shalt dry, pound, mash as a mash, bind on.

(68.) If a man is sick of a painful swelling, and the muscle

¹ *Ka-man-du*, or perhaps read *ŠIM suadu*.

² *AM.* evidently repeated the formula as in l. (59).

³ The text in *AM.* does not add the horizontal division-lines herein.

⁴ As *E. xiv, 28*, points out, *KAM.ZID.DA* varies with *ra-bi-ki* in these two texts, two lines lower.

⁵ See also *KAR. 192, ii, 43* (l. 43 of col. ii of this tablet).

of his foot is strained (bruised),¹ tops (juice) of green liquorice,² *Artemisia*, *balsam, **Sagapenum* thou shalt bray, in [fine-ground] flour thou shalt mix, in rose-water thou shalt mash, bind on, and not take off for one day.

(70.) If a man is sick of a painful ³ swelling, so that he cannot walk, **Arnoglosson* (and) tops (juice) of tamarisk thou shalt dry, pound, in barley-flour thou shalt mix, mash in rose-water, bind on.

¹ See No. 191, r. 5, note.

² Placed at end of recipe in *KAR*.

³ Not in *KAR*.

(To be continued.)

Formulation of Pratityasamutpāda

By B. C. LAW

THE *Ariyapariyesana-Sutta* in the *Majjhima-Nikāya* specifically mentions these two as the main points of Buddhism: (1) *Paṭiccasamuppāda* and (2) *Nibbāna*. The first point is the basic idea of Buddhism as a system of thought, and the second, the goal of Buddhism as a religion. The former is introduced as *idappaccayatā*, "causal relations." The latter is introduced as *sabbasaṅkhāra-samatho sabbūpadhi-paṭinissaggo taṇhākkhaya virāgo nirodho*, "the stilling of all plastic forces or the renunciation of all worldly ties, the extirpation of craving, passionlessness, peace."¹ The Sutta does not, however, offer any formula to interconnect the two.²

The formula of *Paṭiccasamuppāda* is met with in other texts, both in literature and in inscriptions, in some, to account only for *dukkha-samudaya*, in some, for *dukkha-nirodha*, and in some, for both. In some, are found the bare formula (*desanā*), and the formula with an exegesis (*vibhaṅga*). If it is presented in a form only to account for *dukkha-samudaya*, the formulation is called *anuloma* (in the genetic order)³; if it is presented in a form only to account for *dukkha-nirodha*, the formulation is called *paṭiloma* (in the order of cessation)⁴; and if it is presented in a form to account for both, the formulation is called *anuloma-paṭiloma* (in both the order of genesis and of cessation).⁵ 'Positive' and 'negative' are certainly not correct English interpretations of *anuloma* and *paṭiloma*.⁶

¹ Chalmer's *Further Dialogues of the Buddha*, i, p. 118.

² *Majjhima*, i, pp. 167-8.

³ *Udāna*, i, 1.

⁴ *Udāna*, i, 2.

⁵ *Udāna*, i, 3; *Vinaya Mahāvagga*, i, 1.

⁶ Dr. N. P. Chakravarti speaks freely of "the positive and the negative arrangements of the propositions of the Theory of Causes" (*E.J.*, xxi, part v, p. 195).

This is not again always the meaning of the two terms *anuloma* and *paṭiloma* as applied to the formula of *Paṭiccasamuppāda*. There may be *anuloma* and *paṭiloma* presentation in what is termed either *anuloma-paṭiccasamuppāda* or *paṭiloma* in the text of the *Udāna*. As to the *anuloma-paṭiccasamuppāda* alone, there may be four different modes of presentation of the formula to suit the occasion and the needs of the hearer or person to whom the *desanā* is addressed: (1) *anuloma* (in the usual order, from beginning to end, the causal links being introduced in the form of a chain of thought from *avijjā* to *upāyāsā*)¹; (2) *paṭiloma* (in the inverse or reverse order, from end to beginning, step by step)²; (3) *majjhānuloma* (in the usual order, from middle to end, step by step); and (4) *majjha-paṭiloma* (in the reverse order, from middle to beginning, step by step).³ The third series opens with *vedanā* and ends in *upāyāsā*,⁴ while the fourth one opens with *āhāra* and ends in *avijjā*.⁵

The basic formula of *Paṭiccasamuppāda* as met with in some of the texts of the Pāli Canon, explaining *idappaccayatā* (causal relations), is as follows:—

(1) In *anuloma-desanā*—

*Imasmim sati idaṃ hoti, imass'uppādā idaṃ uppajjati.*⁶

“That having been, this comes to be, from the rise of that, this arises.”

(2) In *paṭiloma-desanā*—

*Imasmim asati idaṃ na hoti, imassa nirodhā idaṃ nirujjhati.*⁷

“That having not been, this does not come to be, from the cessation of that this ceases to be.”

¹ *Majjhima*, i, p. 261.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 261 ff.

³ *Visuddhimagga*, ii, pp. 523–4; *Sammohavinodanā*, pp. 131–2.

⁴ *Majjhima*, i, pp. 266 ff.; *Samyutta*, iii, p. 14.

⁵ *Samyutta*, ii, pp. 11 ff.

⁶ *Udāna*, i, 1; *Majjhima*, i, pp. 262–3.

⁷ *Ibid.*, i, 2.

(3) In *anuloma-paṭiloma-desanā*—

One has just a co-ordination of the above two formulas.¹

The basic formula is presented in the *Udāna*, in each of the three above modes, together with the corresponding illustrative appendage, introduced with the usual phrase *yadidaṃ*. But there are texts in which the formula alone is offered without the appendage.² Similarly there are texts in which the appendage itself, *avijjā-paccayā saṅkhārā*, etc., appears as the formal expression of the Buddhist doctrine of *Paṭiccasamuppāda*.³

One may notice an important point of difference between the *Mahātanhāsaṅkhaya-Sutta* in the *Majjhima-Nikāya*, on one hand, and the three *Bodhi-suttas* in the *Udāna*, on the other. In the former, both the *Nidāna* formulas, one accounting for *dukkha-samudaya* and the other for *dukkha-nirodha*, are appended only to one basic formula in its *anuloma* mode,⁴ while in the latter, a correspondence is maintained between *anuloma* and *anuloma*, and between *paṭiloma* and *paṭiloma*. The want of such correspondence in the *Majjhima* text may be either due to some lacuna or due to the fact that in an earlier formulation just the *anuloma* mode was adopted. Buddhaghosa has nothing to say in his commentary on this point.⁵

It is conceivable that in some instances the doctrine was formulated mainly with a view to accounting for the *samudaya*, *pabhava*, or *ācaya* aspect of *dukkha*, leaving the *nirodha* aspect out of account. The existence of such instances in the growing corpus of the texts of the Pāli Canon gave rise to an interpretation maintaining that *Paṭiccasamuppāda* was as much a reality (*asaṅkhata*, unconditioned) as *nibbāna*—a philosophical view which has been mooted for criticism

¹ *Udāna*, i, 3.

² *Majjhima*, ii, p. 32.

³ *Saṃyutta*, ii, pp. 1-2; *Vinaya*, *Mahāvagga*, i, 1.

⁴ *Majjhima*, i, pp. 262-3.

⁵ *Papañcasūdanī*, ii, p. 308.

in the *Kathāvatthu*.¹ The text cited by the Paravādin² is, of course, no other than that which is embodied in the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*³ as a *Paccaya-Sutta*, and which Buddhaghosa quotes under the title of *Paṭiccasamuppāda-paṭiccasamuppanna-dhamma-desanā-Sutta*.⁴

Turning to the inscriptions, one must note that the Kurram Casket inscription (to be dated *circa* A.D. 100) presents a text of the *Sarvāstivāda* sect in which the *Nidāna* formula explains only the *samudaya* aspect of *dukkha*, while both the *samudaya* and *nirodha* aspects are brought out in the text of the *Pratītyasamutpāda-Sūtra* on the Gopalpur bricks and the Kasia copper-plate (*circa* A.D. 450–475).⁵ Now, in the two brick inscriptions from Nālandā, edited by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti,⁶ one has an interesting Sanskrit text containing both the *ādi* (*desanā*) as well as the *Vibhaṅga* of *Pratītyasamutpāda*. The work made out from the two inscriptions agrees with the *Pratītyasamutpāda-vyākhyā* by Vasubandhu (*circa* fourth or fifth century A.D.), the fragments of which have been published by Dr. Tucci.⁷ It is also found to be the same text as one translated by Yuan Chwang in A.D. 661.

Neither Dr. Chakravarti nor Dr. P. C. Bagchi,⁸ whose note on the *Pratītyasamutpāda-Sūtra* has been appended to the Nālandā text, has succeeded in tracing a Pāli counterpart of the work in the extant Canon.

¹ P.T.S. edition, p. 319.

² *Kathāvatthu* p. 321.

³ ii, pp. 25 foll.

⁴ *Visuddhimagga*, ii, p. 518.

⁵ *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. xxi, part v, p. 195.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 193 foll.

⁷ *JRAS.*, 1930, pp. 613 foll.

⁸ Dr. Bagchi has rather gone out of his way to assume that "the formation of the Pāli *Nikāyas* had not then (i.e. up till the fourth or fifth century A.D.) been completed, as the *Saṃyutta* text of *Desanā* and *Vibhaṅga* not only embodies all the elements of the texts (Kurram, Kasia, Nālandā, etc.) just analysed (viz. *Pratītya*°, *Nirodha*, and *Vibhaṅga*) but its *Vibhaṅga* is much more developed than in the Sanskrit text".

The Nālandā text is really a *Pratītyasamutpāda-Vibhaṅga-Sūtra*, which is substantially the same as the *Suttanta-bhājanīya* portion of the *Paccayākāra*¹ or *Paṭiccasamutpāda Vibhaṅga*² in the *Vibhaṅga*, the second book of the *Abhidhamma-Piṭaka*. The *Suttanta-bhājanīya* section of the said *Vibhaṅga* presupposes a *Paṭiccasamutpādavibhaṅgasutta*, which is not traced in the books of the *Sutta-Piṭaka* as it has come down to us. The *Vibhaṅga-Suttas* answering to the *Suttanta-bhājanīyas* in the *Abhidhamma* text, e.g. *Dhātu*, *Āyatana*, *Sacca*, and *Satipaṭṭhāna*, are to be found in the *Majjhima-Nikāya*, particularly in the *Vagga* called *Vibhaṅgaragga*. As a rule, the *Suttanta-bhājanīyas* in the *Abhidhamma* text do away with the introduction and other unnecessary details in the suttas concerned, and chisel them so as to suit the purpose of an *Abhidhamma* treatise. Precisely such is the case with the *Suttanta-bhājanīya* of the *Paṭiccasamutpāda-vibhaṅga*. There are slight differences, here and there, between the Nālandā text and the Pāli. The definition of *avidyā*, for instance, combines two definitions in the *Abhidhamma* text, viz. that of *moha*³ and that of *avijjā*.⁴ Thus the discovery of such a Pāli counterpart as this sets at rest the question of chronological bearing of the Nālandā text on the Pāli Nikāyas and the Canon as a whole. But the existence of texts presenting only the *anuloma-desanā* of the law of causal genesis, with or without the *vibhaṅga*, was not without its effects. It led some of the Buddhist schools to treat *Paṭiccasamutpāda* as *asankhata* or "unconditioned", notably the Mahīśāsakas and Pūrvaśailas.⁵ As Buddhaghosa informs us, it led some among the Buddhist teachers to interpret *Paṭiccasamutpāda* as a theory of *uppāda* (genesis, evolution) other than that which was contemplated by the Sāṃkhya doctrine

¹ The P.T.S. edition has this title.

² Buddhaghosa definitely adopts this title; see *Sammohavinodanī*, p. 130.

³ *Vibhaṅga*, p. 362.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

⁵ *Kathāvatthu*, vi, 2—see commentary and *Points of Controversy*, p. 186.

of *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti*.¹ The Pāli scholiast has advanced four arguments in refuting this, the first two of which are really important.

- (1) That there is no such sutta to lend support to this view.
- (2) That the view goes against the purport of the authoritative texts, e.g. those stating that when the Buddha had revolved the law of causal genesis in his mind for the first time, he did it in both *anuloma* and *paṭiloma* modes, embracing the *samudaya* and *nirodha* aspect of *Dukkha*, and those (the *Kaccāna-sutta*, for instance) presenting the law in the very same two modes with a view to meeting the two extreme positions of *atthi* and *n'atthi*, *sassata* and *uccheda*.²

¹ *Visuddhimagga*, ii, pp. 518-19; *Keci pana paṭiccasammā ca tittiya-parikappita-pakati-purisādikāraṇa-nirapekkho uppādo paṭiccasamuppādo 'ti evaṃ uppādamattaṃ Paṭiccasamuppādo 'ti vadanti. Taṃ na yujjati. Kasmā ?* (1) *Suttābhāvato*, (2) *suttavirodhato*, (3) *gambhīranayāsambhavato*, (4) *saddabhedato ca*.

² *Ibid.*, p. 519.

Punch-marked Silver Coins

Their Standard of Weight, Age, and Minting

By E. H. C. WALSH

1. STANDARD OF WEIGHT

IN this *Journal* for January, 1937, Mr. A. F. Hemmy, from an exhaustive examination of the weights of silver punch-marked coins, "570 in the British Museum, 196 in Calcutta, and a single hoard of 108 coins (of which 103 are included) found near Patna, and now in the museum of that place; in all, 869 coins," shows that (excluding a small number of the coins, 4 per cent only, which Mr. Hemmy considers have a different standard), the standard of weight of these coins is 52 grains, which multiplied by 4 is 208, and that the standard is therefore one-fourth of the revised principal unit of the Indus (Mohenjo-Daro) system of weights, viz. $13\cdot625 \text{ gm.} = 210\cdot2 \text{ gr.}$

The publication of Mr. Hemmy's exhaustive examination is to be welcomed, as it makes generally known what must be already known to those who have systematically examined punch-marked silver coins, that their standard is in the neighbourhood of 52 grains.

Mr. Hemmy points out that the standard of 52 grains is approximately a quarter of the revised principal unit of weight of the Indus system, and that the punch-marked coins are therefore of the Indus standard. This conclusion is also supported by the fact that many of the symbols on the Mohenjo-Daro seals also occur on the punch-marked coins.

The present writer examined the "single hoard of 108 coins found near Patna and now in the museum of that place", which are included in Mr. Hemmy's results, and wrote in 1919, referring to the theoretical standard weights of $58\cdot56$ grains based on the standard of 32 *ratīs* as laid down by Manu: "The theoretical weight of $58\cdot56$ grains is, however, rarely

attained in the known specimens. The weight of those of the present coins that are complete and less worn vary from 53·4 to 52 grains; and the weights of the coins [viz. the silver punch-marked coins] in the India Museum Catalogue follow practically the same variation as in the present coins.”¹

Those coins are of the older, large-thin type.

Similarly, in the case of another hoard of fifty-eight coins found at Gorho Ghat in the Bhagalpur District of Bihar, fifty-one coins weigh under 50 grains; nine between 50 and 51 grains; and only two weigh between 52 and 53 grains.² These coins are of the later, smaller, and thicker type.

The writer has since examined two hoards of silver punch-marked coins which were found at Taxila. (1) A hoard of 1,171 silver coins found in the Bhir Mound at Taxila in 1924. Of these thirty-three were the long-bar “single type” coins of which one weighs 169·5 grains, three weigh 172·3 grains, two weigh 173 grains, and the rest vary from 174·9 to 177·5 grains, two coins weigh over 178 grains and one coin 179·4 grains. These coins correspond to coins Nos. 1-9 on pages 1 and 2 of the British Museum Catalogue.

Mr. Allan notes³ that “these weights are just those of the ‘Persic Staters’ of the Achaeminid governors in Lycia, Cyprus, etc., and this is further evidence for dating these coins not earlier than the fourth century. If the coins are actually the issues of Achaeminid governors they would belong to the first half of the century. If struck after the extreme N.W. had passed from Persia they must be of the second half and probably later than, say, 330 B.C., when Darius III still had Indians in his army.” In the case of these Taxila coins they would be of the first half of the century.

¹ “An Examination of a Find of Punch-marked Coins in Patna City, with Reference to the Subject of Punch-marked Coins generally,” by E. H. C. Walsh, *JBORS.*, 1919, pp. 1-72; p. 24.

² “An Examination of Fifty-eight Silver Punch-marked Coins Found at Gorho Ghat,” by E. H. C. Walsh, *JBORS.*, 1919, pp. 463-494.

³ *British Museum Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, by J. Allan, p. clxi.

Seventy-nine coins are of a minute type, unknown up to that time, which weigh from 2.3 to 2.76 grains, with one coin of 2.83 grains. There are four coins of this type in the British Museum, Class 9, which were obtained subsequently.¹

The remaining 1,059 coins are the large-thin type of punch-marked coins. In the hoard there were three Greek gold coins fresh from the mint, two of Alexander the Great and one of Philip Aridaens, besides a well-worn siglos of the Persian Empire.² All these coins conform to the 53 gr. standard. Only forty-four coins reach the weight of 54 grains. These coins are all of the earlier, large-thin type.

(2) The other hoard, found at Taxila in 1912, contained 167 punch-marked coins and also contained a gold coin of Diodolus.³ These coins are of the later, smaller-thicker type. Excluding five coins, which are of another area, the weights of which are 47.0 grains, 48.0 grains, 50 grains, 50.5 grains, and 52.3 grains respectively, the remaining 162 coins are all local coins of Taxila, as is shown by their bearing varieties of the "Taxila Mark" on the reverse. These latter coins are heavier than is usual.

Taking the mean grain, namely 50.51 to 51.50 grains being counted as 51 grains, their weights are as given below :—

Weight . .	45	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59
Specimens .	1	4	1	3	15	27	34	18	25	18	6	5	3	2

Representing these weights by co-ordinates, we get the diagram for the local Taxila coins (Fig. 2, p. 296).

The difficulty has always been to reconcile the weight of the *karṣāpaṇa*, *dharāṇa*, or *purāṇa* at 32 *ratis*, as given in the *Manu-smṛti* (viii, 132 ff.) and *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* (i, 361 ff.), with the actual weights of these coins. This is due to the fact that Cunningham determined "the full weight" of the *rati* as 1.83 grains, which makes the weight of the *purāṇa* 58.56 grains.

¹ Ibid., pp. 286-7, pl. xlv, 18, 19.

² *Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1924-5*, p. 48.

³ Ibid., 1912-13, p. 42.

Cunningham, however, admits that no coins attain this theoretical weight. He writes: "During my career I have examined more than 2,000 of these silver pieces. The twenty best specimens in my collection averaged just 55 grains, the heaviest only reaching 56·5 grains. But by far the greater number of these punch-marked coins are so very much worn that the averages obtained by Sir Walter Elliot, 47·10; by Mr. Thomas, 47·69; and by myself, 47·82, from upwards of 800 coins, show how very long they must have been in circulation."¹

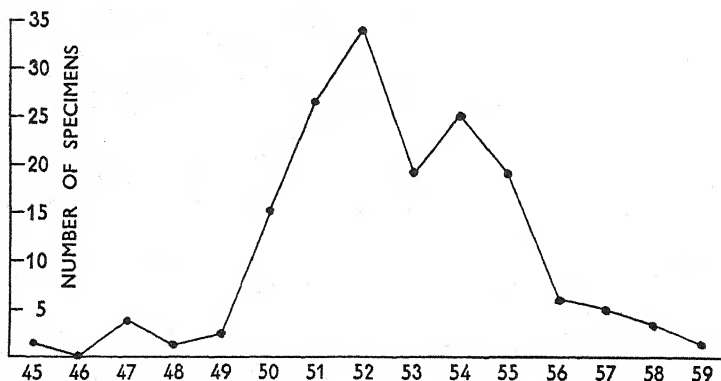


FIG. 2. Weight.

The writer has also examined the weights of over 2,000 of these coins. The difference in the weight is not only due to wear, but that the above theoretical weight is fixed too high. Owing to the Indian practice of continuous hoarding, many coins in the hoards have been hoarded when new and have had little or no circulation and are practically in mint-condition. Such coins seldom exceed 54 grains, and do not approach to the theoretical standard.

The *rati* seed (the seed of the *guñjā*, or *Abrus precatorius*, the wild liquorice) grows in a pod and, therefore, varies in size, the seeds nearer the extremities of the pod being smaller than

¹ *Coins of Ancient India*, by Sir Alexander Cunningham, p. 44.

those in the centre. The weight of the *rati* therefore depends on the particular seed selected as a weight. The writer obtained a number of these seeds from the pods, which after several years drying, gave the following results. After excluding all small seeds, 400 average seeds weighed 673 grains, giving an average weight of 1.68 grains. Picking out the fifty largest seeds, they weighed 93 grains, giving an average weight of 1.86 grains, which corresponds with Cunningham's "full weight". The writer also obtained thirty-two seeds from various Indian goldsmiths in different places, which were actually in use by them at the time as weights. These thirty-two seeds weighed 58.6 grains, giving an average weight of 1.86 grains, which also agrees with Cunningham's "full weight". It is, therefore, clear that at the present time only the largest seeds are used as weights, and Cunningham's "full weight" is correct, and, on present practice, the theoretical and actual weight of these coins cannot be reconciled.

The standard weight of the *rati* has also been considered more recently by Mr. S. H. Hodivala in connection with the metrology of the coins of the Mughal emperors,¹ and by Mr. H. Nelson Wright and Mr. H. R. Neville in connection with that of the early Sultans of Delhi.² Mr. Hodivala (pp. 107-114), after considering the evidence of contemporary and subsequent writers in reference to the weight of the *Tank* and the *Tolā*, concludes that, in Mughal coinage, the weight of the goldsmith's *rati* was 1.92 grains. Fryer, who was in India in the service of the East India Company, between A.D. 1672 and 1681, states that the *tolā* was equal to 96 goldsmith's *ratis*, which makes the *rati* 1.93 grains. Sir Thomas Roe (A.D. 1616) gives the weight of the *tolā* as 192 grains, which would make the weight of the goldsmith's *rati* 2 grains.

¹ *Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics*, by S. H. Hodivala, Occasional Memoirs of the Numismatic Society of India, No. ii, 1923.

² "Some Observations on the Metrology of the Early Sultans of Delhi," by H. Nelson Wright and H. R. Neville, *JASB.*, vol. xx, 1924, Numismatic Supplement xxxviii, and *The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi*, by H. Nelson Wright, 1936, pp. 391-402.

Mr. Nelson Wright and Mr. Neville come to the conclusion ¹ that, as regards the coinage of the early Sultans of Delhi, the weight of the *rati* was 1·8 grains.

From this it will be seen that the standard weight of the *rati* has varied at different times. As Mr. Hodivala notes : “ The tola was founded on the *rati*, and the *rati* on rice-grains. No two *ratis* or rice-grains are, at any time or in any place, exactly alike in weight, and they were, besides, subject to capricious alterations by governmental decree.” ²

As regards the difference between the actual weight of the *puranas* and the weight laid down for them in the *Manu-smṛiti*, it is possible that, if those coins were actually following the ancient Indus standard, it was attempted to link them up with the system of weights of the period of the *Manu-Smṛiti* by assigning to them the nearest approximate weight in that system.

Mr. Hemmy found that the number of coins weighing 45, 44, 43, 42, 41, and 40 grains respectively decrease in a less relative proportion than those from 51 to 45 grains. From this fact Mr. Hemmy concludes (p. 11) that : “ There is therefore a subsidiary standard of weight slightly below 45. The number of coins pertaining to the two standards will be proportional to the areas of the respective curves. The coins of the Indus standard are in large majority, the others form only about 4 per cent of the total,” and, as 45 is one-third of 135, that “ It may therefore be concluded that the standard of 45 gr. is derived from a Daric of 135 gr. and is further confirmation that such was present in Babylonia ”. This conclusion of the existence of a separate standard of 45 grains needs further examination, and it will be seen that it cannot be accepted on the evidence.

A coin cannot only be considered as a piece of metal of a certain weight, the coin itself must be considered. In Mr. Allan's *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India in*

¹ *Num. Chron.*, cit., p. 37.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 233.

the British Museum it will be seen that there are thirty-five punch-marked silver coins of the weights 45 to 40 grains. They occur in twenty of the twenty-three different classes and groups of these coins. They are of the same shape and size as the other coins of their class and group and bear identically the same group of marks as on the other coins of the 52 gr. standard in those groups, showing them to be from the same mint. In some cases, too, they have the same group of marks on the reverse as certain of those other coins, showing that they were in circulation together with them at the same place and at the same time. They are identical with the other coins in size and appearance, as will be seen from the Plates. They only differ from the other coins in being of less weight, a fact which could only have been ascertained by weighing the coin in each case.

The provenance of the coins is only known in three cases, viz. Bodhgaya (p. 27, coin 24), Ayodhya (p. 49, coin 40), and Hinganghat, in Berar (p. 56, coin 5). Of the other coins, seven are from Cunningham's collection and thirteen from Theobalds. Both these collectors obtained many of their coins from money-changers and others, throughout Northern India. The coins are, therefore, of many localities. It cannot be supposed that mints throughout India were issuing concurrently two separate standards of coins, identical in size and appearance, and differing only slightly in weight, which would have to be ascertained by weighment in each case, the one to an Indus standard, and the other to a Persian standard founded on the Daric.

There is, however, one small coin, of a distinct kind, which weighs 44 grains and may well be of a different Persian standard. This is shown as Class 8, p. 286, and plate xlvii, 17. There are not sufficient marks on it to attribute its locality.

Mr. Hemmy also concludes that the same Daric standard of about 44 grains exists in the case of the single-type silver coins. He says (p. 12): "The number of specimens is insufficient for the application of the statistical method to the problem but


fortunately the evidence is unmistakable. There is a group of twenty-four from North-West India and nine from South-West India (Konkan Find). The distribution is as follows :—

Weight . . .	45	44	43	42	41	40	39	38 gr.
No. of specimens								
N.W. I . . .	0	10	4	2	2	1	2	3
Konkan . . .	1	3	2	0	0	0	1	0

In both cases a standard of about 44 gr. is clearly present.”

It does not appear to what coins Mr. Hemmy is referring. In Mr. Allan's *British Museum Catalogue* there is one single-type coin of 43·5 grains and one of 38·5 grains (p. 2, Nos. 10, 11). The weights of the “North India” coins (pp. 4–7) vary from 22 to 27·3 grains. The weights of the nine coins of “Konkan Find Type” (p. 9) vary from 14·4 to 14·8 grains and one coin of 12·9 grains.

A separate standard of about 42 grains did, however, exist in certain known localities. But in that locality it was the only standard. A hoard of 1,014 punch-marked silver coins were found in 1912 at Paila in the Kheri District in the United Provinces. These coins were subsequently examined by the writer, and were forwarded by him to the Lucknow Museum in 1928, where they now are. They are of the old large-thin type. They differ from other punch-marked coins in not bearing the usual six-armed symbol, composed of three arrow-heads alternately with three other objects, which occurs on practically all other punch-marked coins, but in its

place a symbol . They also do not bear the mark of the sun, but in its place a taurine in a shield. These two marks are on all the coins. They also only bear four marks, not five, as on other punch-marked coins.

There is one coin of this class in the British Museum Catalogue, Coin No. 7 on page 59. The first Mark as shown on this coin, resembling a snake, is incorrect. It is as shown by Mr. Allan on page lxi.

The writer has not at present to hand the weights of all

these coins, but the weights which he has of 436 of the coins are as follows :—

Weight	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44
No. of specimens . .	2	3	3	7	55	89	120	120	31	6

Showing the above result by co-ordinates, the weights as abscissæ, and the number of specimens as ordinates, we get the following diagram (Fig. 3).

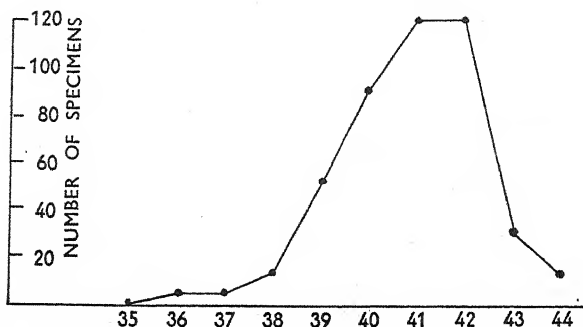


FIG. 3. Weight in Grains.

Which shows an actual standard of 42 grains.

Mr. Durga Prasad¹ describes thirteen other coins of the Paila class, which are in the Lucknow Museum. Like the Paila coins, they are of the old large-thin type, and their weights vary from 40 to 43.8 grains, their average being 42 grains. Their provenance is not known, but is within the United Provinces. He also obtained twenty similar coins from Lucknow, and twenty-five at Mathura, which, together with the Paila coins, make a total of 1,072 coins of this class. Although twenty-five coins were obtained at Mathura, which is in the country of the Saurasenis, their provenance is not known, and the fact that 1,014 of these coins were found at Paila in the District of Kheri, which is north of Lucknow, on the borders of Nepal, and others were obtained at Lucknow,

¹ "Classification and Significance of the Symbols on the Silver Punch-marked Coins of Ancient India," by Durga Prasad, *JASB.*, vol. xxx, 1934, Numismatic Supplement, xlv, pp. 5-59 and 32 Plates, p. 9, and Pl. I-III.

points to these being the coins of the ancient kingdom of Kosala (corresponding to the modern Oudh), which was ultimately conquered and incorporated in the Mauryan Empire. This was far outside the area of early Persian influence, and there appears to be no reason to attribute their weight to a Persian standard.

Mr. Durga Prasad considers them to be of an old Indian standard of 24 *ratis*. He writes (pp. 10-11): "Colebrooke in his article on *Indian Weights and Measures*, published in the *Transactions* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1801, page 95, has said that Gopāla Bhaṭṭa an early author mentions that from the ancient astronomical books it is found that a Dharāṇa was of 24 Raktikās, and he has given a table of weight as follows :—

"2 Yavas (barleys) = 1 Guñjā. 3 Guñjās = 1 Balla. 8 Balla = 1 Dharāṇa. As 2 barleys are equal to 1 Guñjā or Raktikās, 1 Dharāṇa contains 24 Raktikās or Rattis. It is clear from this that either at some period or locality silver coins of 24 Raktikās standard weight were current. It may be that at some period before Manu the Dharāṇas were of 24 Raktikās, though in his time they were of 32 Rattis. The term Purāṇa used by Manu may refer to these lighter coins of earlier period; Sir A. Cunningham in his *Coins of Ancient India* on page 47, writes: 'The Kārshāpaṇa was also called Dharāṇa probably meaning a handful of 16 copper Paṇas, from Dhri "to hold".' But a more common name was Purāṇa, or "the old", which could only have been imposed upon it after the Greek occupation of the Punjab, which is about the middle of the second century B.C., but on page 20 he said: 'In the Hindu books they are called Purāṇa, or Old, a title which vouches for their antiquity. They are also noticed by Manu and Pāṇiṇi, both *anterior* to Alexander.' The above two different statements of Cunningham are contradictory; if he places Manu before Alexander in the last quarter of the fourth century B.C., his explanation of the name Purāṇa as used by Manu, after the Greek occupation of the Punjab,

in comparison of their coinage, falls short. The author thinks that the word *Purāṇa* was used by Manu as he knew the earlier coins of his time which were of a different fabrication and type—thin and broad, or of a lighter standard weight, just as we do nowadays call the later Moghal coins as *Purāṇā Rupiā*.”

As, however, these coins of the lighter 24 *ratti* standard have not been found generally distributed, but only in a particular area, and as the coins of the nominal 32 *ratti* standard, viz. of 53 grains, would appear to be a survival of the early Indus standard of weights, there is no reason to suppose that all punch-marked coins were at an earlier date of 24 *ratti* standard, but rather that this was a separate standard of a particular area, viz. the ancient kingdom of Kosālā.

Mr. Durga Prasad also describes¹ ten smaller coins of an average weight of 25 grains. These are half-*dharaṇas* of the usual 32 *rati* standard. Some of them are of the thin type, but most are of the later small-thick type. They are, therefore of later date than the Paila coins. They were obtained at Lucknow. If they are coins of that area they would appear to be subsequent to the conquest and absorption of the kingdom of Kosālā into the Mauryan Empire, after which the standard of the coinage would be the usual 32 *rati* standard of that empire.

THE EARLIEST DATE OF THE PUNCH-MARKED COINS

As regards the earliest date of the punch-marked silver coins, Mr. Hemmy says (p. 3): “The consensus of opinion now does not put them so early, but assigns them probably to the Mauryan Empire, which lasted from 323 till 185 B.C., or at the earliest to the time of Nanda (c. 372 B.C.), King of Magadha, who anteceded that empire.” The writer is not aware of such a consensus, but that these coins were considerably anterior to the time of Nanda is conclusively shown by the Find of the 1059 coins, of the old large-thin type, found at Taxila in 1924, already referred to. Amongst the hoard were two gold

¹ Op. cit., p. 13, and plate viii.

coins of Alexander the Great and one of Philip Aridaëns, "fresh from the mint". Philip Aridaëns died in 317 B.C. The date of the deposit of the hoard was therefore about that date, which also agrees with the date, independently fixed, of the strata in which the vessel containing the hoard was found. Contained in the hoard are sixty-one very old coins which had been called in when they were so old that the marks on them had been completely worn out, leaving only traces, they had then been restruck on the older reverse with a fresh series of marks over the worn-out reverse Marks and re-issued ; and the original obverse had been over stamped by the subsequent reverse marks. The second issue also bears signs of long wear. The length of time from the original issue of these coins until the date of their deposit in the hoard appears to be some hundreds of years. Putting the time at 200 years, though it may well be longer, they carry the date of these coins back to 517 B.C. There are also several other very old and worn coins in the hoard. Also many new coins in mint condition.

Mr. Hemmy concludes (p. 26) that "The uniformity of distribution of weight in punch-marked coins, both silver and copper, shows that those conforming to the Indus standard must have come from a single mint. Their widespread provenance indicates the Mauryan Empire, and the uniformity of weight indicates capable and strict administration. This points to Asoka."

This conclusion cannot be accepted. As already shown, the punch-marked silver coins go back to at least 517 B.C. It is generally accepted that certain authorities, such as *Gaṇas*, *Janapadas*, and *Negāmās* were authorized to mint and issue coins for their respective jurisdictions and areas. The number of such mints throughout India must have been very great. There is not space to refer here to the evidence and to the numerous authorities on which this generally accepted conclusion is based.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

NOTES ON MODERN PERSIAN MORPHOLOGY



Since the appearance of Paul Horn's "Neupersische Schriftsprache" in the *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, i, b (Strasbourg, 1898), relatively few studies have been made of Modern Persian morphology, so that little more can be recorded on this theme than R. Gauthiot's "De la réduction de la flexion nominale en iranien" and "Du pluriel persan en *-hā*" (*MSLP*, xx [1916], 61-70, 71-6), E. Benveniste's "Les Diminutifs en *-ō*" (*Dr. Modi Memorial Volume*, Bombay, 1930, pp. 556-8), and C. Bartholomae's "Zum Casus obliquus singularis" in his *Zur Kenntnis der mitteliranischen Mundarten*, v (Heidelberg, 1923), 18-43, and his discussion of the "conditional *-ē, -ī*" (*ibid.*, i [1916], 47-51).

There are, however, five morphological phenomena which may briefly be discussed, since as yet they seem to lack clarification—one concerning the noun, and the others the verb.

(1) In the noun, the particle *mar* is frequently used before the dative or accusative, and may even serve to emphasize the subject—the latter apparently only early in Modern Persian and in conjunction with the pronouns *ān, ēn, ō*. The origin of the word, not found in Old or Middle Iranian, and seemingly confined to Standard Modern Persian, though occurring in an early Syriac-New Persian translation of the Psalms (H. H. Schaefer, in *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, xv [1936], 570, note 2), is ambiguous. It is at least phonologically explicable, however, as a derivative of an Indo-European base **merē-*, **morē-*, or **smerē-*, **smorē-*. From **merē-*, **morē-* are derived Greek μέρος (neuter) "portion", μόρος (masculine) "lot, destiny", μοῖρα "portion, fate", μείρομαι "receive as my portion", Latin mereo "deserve"; from **smerē-*, **smorē-*, Sanskrit smar-, Avesta mar- (also hišmar-) "remember", Modern Persian šumurdan "count", Greek

μάρτυς, μάρτυρος "witness", μέριμνα "solicitude", Latin *memor* "mindful", Gothic *maúrnan* "μεριμνᾶν" (English *mourn*), Serbo-Croatian *mâr* "anxiety" (Walde-Pokorny, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen*, Berlin, 1927-1932, ii, 689-690; E. Berneker, *Slavisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg, 1908 sqq., ii, 22; F. Solmsen, *Beiträge zur griechischen Wortforschung*, i, Strasbourg, 1909, pp. 39-41, connects **me/orě-* and **sme/orě-*, a procedure not without semantic difficulty). From the not too abundant evidence, one may suggest that the Modern Persian *mar* has developed from the base **me/orě-* rather than from **sme/orě-*; that its primary meaning was "portion, bit"; that it was used first with the dative, and was later extended to the accusative; and that finally, coming to be felt as a mere intensive particle, it was employed even with the nominative of demonstrative pronouns as an "empty" word. In any event, the connection of *mar* with Sanskrit *mātra* "element, quantity, measure", proposed by F. Rückert (ZDMG, viii [1854], 262), is quite improbable (cf. Horn, *Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie*, Strasbourg, 1893, no. 971). Such a sentence as *mar ān kuštah-rā huftah pindāštand* "they considered that slain man sleeping" (accusative) may conceivably have meant, in origin, "(tanquam) partem illius hominis occisi causa, (eum) dormientem putabant"; and, similarly, *mar ō-rā ba-farzand bar muždah dāād* "she gave him (dative) good news regarding the child" = "(tanquam) partem illius causa, de infante nuncium bonum dedit"; and *mar ēn das't va-gulrang dar zēri man* "this right hand and rosy (steed; nominatives) beneath me" = "(tanquam) pars, haec dextra et (equus) roseus sub me."

(2) The particle *bi(h)-*, perfectivizing the aspect of a verb (e.g. *pursam* "I am asking": *bi-pursam* "I shall (or may) ask"; *pursīdam* "I was asking": *bi-pursīdam* "I asked" = French *je demandais*: *je demandai*), is still connected by H. S. Nyberg (*Hilfsbuch des Pahlavi*, ii, Uppsala, 1931,

pp. 34-5; cf. J. Darmesteter, *Études iraniennes*, i, Paris, 1883, pp. 213-14) with an hypothetical Old Persian **bāti* "outside" (cf. Sanskrit *ba-his* "outside", Old Church Slavic *bez*, Lithuanian *bè* "without"), apparently because of its Pahlavi masque  Aramaic  "outside". As Salemann (*Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, i, a, Strasbourg, 1901, p. 311) had already noted, it seems, for semantic reasons, to be cognate, rather, with the Avesta intensive particle *bōit* < **bā-it* (cf. Avesta *ēōit* = Sanskrit *cét*, *nōit* = *nét*, *frōit* = *prét*, and C. Salemann, *Manichäische Studien*, i, Petrograd, 1908, p. 58). This Avesta *bā*, Old Persian **bā*, is clearly derived from the Indo-European particle **bhē/ō* seen in Armenian *ba(y)*, Old Church Slavic *bo*, Lithuanian *bā*, Lettish *ba*, Gothic *-ba(i)* (for the grade **bhō*); and with Greek *φῆ*, Lithuanian *bé*, Old Prussian *bhe* (for the grade **bhē*); cf. also Lithuanian *be-vargstū* "I am continually wretched", Old Lettish *lāidi-ba* "let it continue to be". This view is essentially the one which I advanced in *JAOS*, xxxiii (1913), 293-4; and I still venture to think it the most plausible (cf. also Walde-Pokorny, ii, 136; E. Kieckers, *Handbuch der vergleichenden gotischen Grammatik*, Munich, 1928, p. 284; J. Endzelin, *Lettische Grammatik*, Heidelberg, 1923, pp. 541-2; R. Trautmann, *Baltisch-slavisches Wörterbuch*, Göttingen, 1923, p. 22; Berneker, i, 36, 65; K. Brugmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*², ii, iii, Strasbourg, 1916, pp. 997-8).

(3) The verbal prefix *(ha)mē-*, *(ha)mī-*, which gives the verb durative aspect (*[ha]mī-pursam* "I am asking", *[ha]mī-pursidam* "I was asking"), was derived by F. Müller (*WZKM*, v[1891], 64-5) from **hamā-it*, and by Darmesteter (i, 71, 215; cf. H. Jensen, *Neupersische Grammatik*, Heidelberg, 1931, p. 137) from Avesta *hamatha*. It is, however, convincingly connected by Bartholomae (*Zum sasanidischen Recht*, iii, Heidelberg, 1920, p. 27), because of Turfān Pahlavi *hamēv*, with the group of Latin *aevom*, Greek *αἰ(φ)ών*, Gothic *aivs* "time" (for the group cf. Walde-Pokorny, i, 6-7; and for

the phonology, the Modern Persian indefinite particle *-ī*, e.g. *mardum-ī* "a man" < Old Persian *aiva-*, Avesta *aēva-*, Greek *οἱ(F)οs* "one"). A still more exact correspondence would seem to exist in Greek *αἰεί*, Cyprian *αιFει* (locative); less probably in Gothic *aiw*, Anglo-Saxon *á, ó*, English *ay*, German *je* (accusative); so that (*ha*)*mē-*, (*ha*)*mī-* would appear to imply an original **hama-aivaīy*.

(4) The post-verbal particle *-ā*, found only in the second and third persons singular, apparently without modifying the meaning of the verb, was considered by Horn (*GirPh.* i, b, 152) to be a vocative particle. It seems rather, however, to be cognate with the Indo-European intensive particle **ē/ō* found in Sanskrit *ā*, Greek *ᾱ*, *ἐπει-ῆ*, *ὄτι-ῆ*, *τί-η*, Lakonian and Tarentine *εγωω-η*, Latin *ē-castor*, Old High German *ihh-ā*, *nein-ā*, *jah-ā* (cf. Brugmann, pp. 983-4; Walde-Pokorny, i, 99; H. Hirt, *Indogermanische Grammatik*, iii, Heidelberg, 1927, p. 11; B. Delbrück, *Altindische Syntax*, Halle, 1888, pp. 478-9; Brugmann-Thumb, *Griechische Grammatik*⁴, Munich, 1913, p. 618; E. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, Paris, 1916, p. 313; Walde-Hoffman, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg, 1930 sqq., pp. 389-390; J. Schatz, *Althochdeutsche Grammatik*, Göttingen, 1927, p. 267), and possibly even in Gothic *pat-a*, *pan-a* (but cf. Kieckers, p. 140; Hirt, *Handbuch des Urgermanischen*, ii, Heidelberg, 1932, p. 81). For the post-position cf. *-u* in Gothic *binda-u*, Avromānī preterite *-wā* = Persian *vā-* "re-" (Benedictsen-Christensen, *Les Dialects d'Awromān et de Pāwā*, Copenhagen, 1921, p. 31); and possibly *-r* in the Armenian second singular imperfect *berēir*, third singular *berēr*, second singular prohibitive *mī berer*, if this be cognate with Greek *ῥα*, Lithuanian *īr* (A. Meillet, *Esquisse d'une grammaire comparée de l'arménien classique*, Vienna, 1903, pp. 89, 95; cf. A. W. M. Odé, *Die uitgangen met R van het deponens en het passivum in de indoeuropeesche talen*, Haarlem, 1924, pp. 28-31; Boisacq, pp. 72, 831; Walde-Pokorny, i, 77; Brugmann, p. 986).

(5) The formative *-ī* of the Modern Persian “participium necessitatis”, e.g. *burdanī* “ferendus”, derived by Jensen (p. 148) from Middle Persian *-īk* < Old Persian **-yaka-* “relating to” (cf. Modern Persian *ābī* “watery”: *āb* “water”), seems, rather, to represent an Indo-European **-īō-*, as in **bhṛtonīō-*; cf. the (rare) Sanskrit type *karaṇīya-* “faciendus” (W. D. Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*², Boston, U.S.A., 1889, § 962; L. Renou, *Grammaire sanscrite*, Paris, 1930, pp. 204-5; B. Lindner, *Altindische Nominalbildung*, Jena, 1878, p. 128; Brugmann, II, i, Strasbourg, 1906, p. 195).

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311.

BOGDO

The pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang, when forced by the imperious invitation of the Kao-ch'ang king to depart from Turfan in the direction of the king's city, did so with reluctance, because, according to the translation of Stanislas Julien (*Vie de Hiouen-Tsang*, p. 32), “he had intended to visit the *stūpa* of the Khan (of the Turks)”. Beal's improved rendering (*Life of Hiuen-Tsiang*, p. 24) reads: “The Master of the Law had purposed in his mind to take (*the road leading*) past the Mausoleum (*Feou-tu*, *Stūpa*) of the Khan”; and this interpretation is endorsed by Chavannes (*Documents sur les Tou-kiue Occidentaux*, pp. 109, 175, 193, 305), who shows that Khagan-*stūpa* (‘K’o-han-feou-t’ou’, 可汗浮圖) was a town a little south-west from Guchen, in fact the town known later as Pei-t’ing and Beshbaliq: he explains the great change in the route of Hiuen-Tsang, who had proposed to continue his westward journey from Turfan by the old line north of the Tien-shan. He would have begun by following an established route over the mountains direct to Pei-t’ing. From the *Chiu T’ang-shu* Chavannes cites (p. 305) a reference (year A.D. 791) to “the valley of the *stūpa*, which belonged to the Uigurs”,

and he says that the situation assigned to the valley identifies it with the Khagan-stūpa of the Turks. Prior to Chavannes Dr. Bushell had, in a passage (*JRAS.*, 1880, pp. 505, 533, n. 60) to which Chavannes refers, transliterated the Chinese phrase according to his system as "Huiho Fut'ou ch'uan", the Uigur Fut'ou river(-valley); and he had pointed out that in the valley was a city "T'ing-chou, afterwards changed to Pei-t'ing". T'ing-chou is properly, as Chavannes renders it, "l'arrondissement de T'ing."

So far, indeed, we do not seem to have real evidence of a city named *Khagan-stūpa*, since the phrases may mean "city of the Khagan-stūpa valley". But, waiving that, we may point out that the expression *Khagan-stūpa* is absurd. The word *feou-t'ou*, *fou-t'u*, means not a tomb, but a Buddhist *stūpa* or *torāṇa*, and no Khagan would have been commemorated by such. If we should understand "a stūpa of (= built by order of) the Khagan", who will believe that by A.D. 629 any Turk Khagan had built a Buddhist *stūpa*? Chavannes' original understanding (op. cit., p. 12) of Khagan-buddha, since *feou-t'ou* does occur as a transcription of *Buddha*, serves, despite its subsequent retraction, to indicate the most natural interpretation of the two syllables following *Khagan* as a proper name. A further observation is that the term *Khagan* was no essential part of the designation, since in "Huiho Fut'ou ch'uan" it is absent. What we are sure of is a "Feou-t'ou", "Fut'ou" river-valley.

Further, however, we know that according to the "Former Han" Annals (c. A.D. 100¹, trans. Wylie in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. xi, p. 106, and De Groot, *Die Hunnen der vorchristlichen Zeit*, vol. ii, pp. 166-7) that the capital of the old kingdom of "Posterior Chü-shih" (Ku-shi), by name Yu-lai, lay in the "Foo-t'ou", Bu-tō (務塗) valley; and the same information, with the same Chinese characters, recurs in the "Later Han" Annals (c. A.D. 450)², cited by Chavannes (*T'oung-pao*, 1905, p. 558), with the transcription *Wu-t'ou*. De Groot also mentions a *Bu-tō* river.

¹ Source, c. B.C. 30.

² Source, c. A.D. 120.

There seems to be no reason for doubting that the capital of "Posterior Chü-shih" occupied the same site, with the same river and valley, when it was called Yu-lai, as when it bore the name Pei-t'ing. Naturally it was on the direct route from Turfan, the capital of "Anterior Chü-shih", the character of which route, with river and valley, may be seen in Sir Aurel Stein's account (*Innermost Asia*, pp. 560-5) of his journey over the Pa-no-p'a pass. In these circumstances it is difficult not to admit that the *Feou-t'ou*, *Fut'ou* of T'ang times is simply a new way of rendering an old local name represented by the *Foo-t'oo*, *Bu-tö*, *Wu-t'ou* of the Han annalists. How was that name pronounced? The answer seems to be *Bug*(or *Wug*)-*do*. The syllable 圖 *t'u*, Japanese *to*, for which Karlgren (No. 719) posits an archaic pronunciation, *d'uo*, will not be questioned, because we have the sign in the transcription of [*Šud*]dho[dana], as well as in [*nigha*]ñtu (i.e. *ñdu*), [*Bud*]dha[rakṣa], and [*Šata*]dru (Julien, *Méthode*, and Rosenberg, *Introduction to the Study of Buddhism*, p. 95). The earlier sign (塗) also—not traced in transliterations—is credited by Karlgren (No. 1133) with the same archaic value, *d'uo*, modern *t'u*, Japanese *to*, *zu* (Rosenberg, p. 100). The sign 務 (modern *wu*, Japanese *mu*, the *Foo*, and *Bu* of Wylie and De Groot) was, according to Karlgren (No. 1286), archaic *m̐u* with evidence of an original final *-g*. The form with *m*, which the Japanese presents in a number of similar words, creates no difficulty in regard to a Han value *bu* or *wu*; but it seems further that the form with a final *g*, *bug* or *wug*, must also be admitted. Transliterations of the character seen not to be available; but preservation of final *-g* after *o* and *u* (as well as *e* and *i*) is abundantly attested even for T'ang times in Central Asia by transcriptions in Tibetan characters (*JRAS.*, 1926, pp. 516 sqq., 1927, pp. 294 sqq.), and also in Brāhmī (*ZDMG.*, 1937, pp. 32-47), and must be regarded as having been normal; we have also borrowed words such as Tibetan *bug-sug* "lucerne", from Chinese **buk-suk*, modern *mu-su* (Laufer, *T'oung-pao*, 1916, pp. 500-1).

For the character 浮, Chinese *wu*, Japanese *mu* (Rosenberg, p. 64) a value *bu* is evidenced in the transcription of *Bu[ddha]*, [*ad*]bhu[ta], [*Vīśva*]bhu, bhu[ma-deva].

Since thus the indications point to a pronunciation *bugdo*, *wug-do*, in Han times and even later, it cannot be an accident that the route from Turfan to Pei-t'ing passed through the Bogdo mountains, the Bogdo-ulā of Mongol and modern times. That the title *Bogdo* (*Bogda*, in Tibetan also *Pog-ta*) was far anterior to the Mongol period, we have already (*JRAS.*, 1931, pp. 831-2) inferred from its use, which we ascribed to Juan-juan (or Hephthalite or Turk ?) influence, in titles of certain Khotan kings of the early seventh century A.D. Its signification, "holy," or the like, will have been religious in some grade. Though it existed in Han times, it may yet have been of Turkish origin, since linguistically the Hiung-nu, who by the end of the "Former Han" period constituted a large part of the population of "Posterior Chü-shih", were Turkish. But the name may be rather of local Turkestan origin, since there is no small likelihood that it reappears in the *Vuġto*, *Vukto* (also *Vuġato*), not infrequent as proper name of persons (officials) in the Shan-shan kingdom during the third-fourth century A.D. (see *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, edited by the Abbé Boyer, É. Senart, and E. J. Rapson, index). Intercourse between Shan-shan and the Hiung-nu is well attested, from the second century B.C., by the Han histories; it can be traced also in the borrowing of the official designation *tseay-keu* (Wylie, op. cit., vol. x, p. 24), *tsu-ku* (De Groot, op. cit., p. 54), which must be upon the model of the *tseay-keus*, *tsu-kus*, and great ditto, of the dominant Hiung-nu kingdom (Wylie, vol. iii, pp. 410, 420, 451; De Groot, vol. i, p. 56).

It now remains to say a word concerning the title *Khagan* prefixed in later centuries to the name *Bogdo*. That the addition belongs to the Turk (or Juan-juan) period the term itself proves, and no doubt it implies a mythology. But it seems possible that it was first applied to the great mountain itself, as personified, since the other great massif of the Tien-shan is similarly *Khan Tengri* or *Tengri-Khan*. The Tibetans,

for a perhaps interesting reason, make their great mountains feminine, *Jo-mo*, "Queen" or "Lady".

It is probably more than curious to note that the name, *Pei-t'ing*, of the capital of "Posterior Chü-shih" in post-Turk times is itself similar to *Bogdo*. The Central Asian pronunciation represented by the Chinese signs 北庭 was certainly *Bug-te* (or *de* or *t'e* or *tī*, etc.). For, not to mention Brāhmī *pu* for *pei*, we actually have in Tibetan transcription *pug*, *hpug*, and *hphug*, as equivalents of the sign. The Central Asian disregard of the *-ng* in *t'ing* is part of a large matter (see Professor Pelliot in *J. As.*, x, xix (1912), pp. 538 sqq.); in the case of this word *t'ing* the Japanese, which so often agrees with the Central Asian, has *tei* (Rosenberg, p. 100). Thus the name of the town was *Bug-te* (or *de*, etc.), and *Pei-t'ing* was for Central Asia as non-existent as *Kao-ch'ang* (*Kau-cocā*), and *Hiuen-tsang* (*Huin-tso*; see Fräulein A. von Gabain in *S.P.A.W.*, 1935, p. 153). It would be strange, if *Bug-de(te)*, the town of the *Bug-do* valley, were etymologically independent. Was it, with its meaning "north court", merely an instance of the frequent Chinese "Hobson-Jobson"izing of native names?

It was in connection with the Epic of "Bogda Gesser Khan" that the title *Bogdo* was adduced in *JRAS.*, 1931, loc. cit., on which occasion, considering also the dynastic name *Gesser* = *Ge-sar* = *Kəysar* (pp. 835-6), we sought to connect the story with the Guchen-Turfan region. The epic itself, apart from the old title *Bogdo*, has, at least in the Mongol version translated by I. J. Schmidt, a Turkish savour, as may be felt on comparison with the Orkhon inscriptions. If that impression is justified and if *Ge-sar* and his history, or the germs of it, were transported to Tibet from the Guchen-Turfan region, the occasion must have been the same as we have suggested (*Tibetan Texts*, p. 296, n. 2) for the importation of the divinity *Dpe-har* from the same region, namely the capture of *Pei-t'ing* in A.D. 790.

AN ARABIC USAGE

The point I wish to make is rather elementary, but I feel justified in bringing it forward because I have noticed that translators sometimes go astray.

The usage in question has to do with such a phrase as "the night of Wednesday". On several occasions I have noticed that this is liable to be translated as "Wednesday night", which is certainly wrong. The correct translation should be "Tuesday night". This is due to the fact that the day is counted from sunset, and therefore the night which is connected with a particular day is the one which precedes it.

To illustrate the point, an instance may be quoted where the meaning cannot be doubted. The following occurs in the travels of Ibn Jubair.¹ He tells how he stayed in Ḥarrān on a Monday and Tuesday and left on the night of Wednesday (i.e. Tuesday night). In the morning he arrived at Tall 'Abda, where he stayed till sunset. He then travelled all night and arrived at the Euphrates in the early morning. Having crossed to a fortress called Najm, he stayed there during Thursday. This passage makes it clear that "the night of Wednesday" must be Tuesday night, not Wednesday night, for if that were so, his arrival at Najm would have been on Friday, not Thursday.

On another occasion ² he tells of his arrival in Qinnasrīn on a Thursday, and how, after a short stay, he moved on to a village called Tall Tājir, where he spent "the night of Friday" (i.e. that same night, Thursday night).

It is important that this usage should be understood. In dealing with historical works, a failure to understand it will lead to events being dated a day after their occurrence; and in dealing with works on devotional or magical practices, the wrong night will be given for certain rites.

In connection with this subject, a remark might be added

¹ *Selections from Arabic Geographical Literature* (Semitic Study Series), p. 40 f.

² *Ibid.*, p. 48.

on the use of *al-laila*, which is sometimes to be translated as "last night" instead of "to-night". Al-Bukhārī gives a tradition¹ which tells how a man went out to give alms, and gave them to an immoral woman. In the morning the people said: "He gave alms *al-laila* (last night) to an immoral woman."²

331.

JAMES ROBSON.

ARABIC NUMERALS

As we all know, in Arabic numbering the units come before the tens, with which they are united by the conjunction *wa*. In my long reading of early classical literature I do not remember having come across any exception to this rule, nor does any grammarian whom I have consulted make mention of such an exception. This is especially true of prose writers. A poet, forced by the requirements of his metre, has occasionally reversed the order, but the numerous poetical licences required by an Arab poet have never been considered as pertaining to the genius of the language. On the contrary, many such licences clearly contravene this genius.

In the headings of a Kūfī Qur'ān in my collection of Islamic Arabic manuscripts, numbered Mingana Arab. Isl. 1563, the above principle is contradicted, as the units are there placed after the tens. So on fol. 15*b*, *Sūrah* 16 is headed³: النحل مائة وخمسون وثمان مائة; while on fol. 28*b*, *Sūrah* 28 has the heading: القصص ثمانون وثمان مائة; and on fol. 39*b*, *Sūrah* 68 is headed: ن والقلم خمسون واثنتان. This Kūfī Qur'ān, like most of the other Kūfī Qur'āns, unfortunately bears no date, and is incomplete, but on palæographical grounds it may

¹ *Zakāt*, 14.² Cf. a similar Hebrew usage in 1 Sam. xv, 16.³ The diacritical points are mine, as they are naturally missing in the MS.

be ascribed to the end of the eighth century, or to about A.D. 770-820. It contains all the characteristics of an early vellum manuscript of the Qur'ān emanating from that period.

Is it possible to suppose that the method of writing the Arabic numbers was not very strict in early times? Is not the difficulty better explained by supposing that the copyist of the manuscript was a newly converted Persian or Syrian Christian who, influenced by his mother-tongue, inadvertently placed the numerals in the reverse order to that required by the Arabic language? At that early period Arabic had not yet gained a strong hold in Persian-speaking Iranshahr, and in the Syriac-speaking parts of Syria.

334.

A. MINGANA.

A COMPENDIOUS URDU DICTIONARY

Students of Urdu may be glad to have their attention drawn to a new Urdu dictionary which is the largest yet published in the language. Some years ago the *Nūr ul Luġāt* appeared, which at the time was the most comprehensive dictionary in Urdu. It was compiled by Nūr ul Ḥasan Nayyir. Now we have this great work by 'Abd ul Majīd which is nearly half as large again. To indicate its size and scope he calls it *Jāmi' ul Luġāt*.

It reflects great credit on the erudition and devotion of its compiler. We cannot help wondering how he secured time to collect the material and see it through the press, especially as he complains that while a big English dictionary is the product of the labours of a hundred co-operators, an Urdu dictionary has to be produced by one man. This one extends to four volumes of quarto size ($12\frac{1}{2}$ by $9\frac{1}{2}$), in all 2,700 pages; each page has three columns of 33 lines.

One would think it should not be impossible to secure the co-operation of several scholars for the production of a

dictionary in India. The *Hindī Shabd Sāgar*, which is comparable in size to the *Jāmi' ul Lugāt* (4,000 pp. of 42 lines each), was compiled by a chief editor with five sub-editors.

Three reasons may be adduced for the great size of this dictionary. Firstly an effort has been made to include the Arabic and Persian words loved by certain maulvis, and the Sanskrit words dear to certain pandits. Secondly a large number of proverbial and idiomatic expressions have been given a place. Thirdly the work has been made something of an encyclopædia by the inclusion of notices of Urdu poets and other men deemed important, accounts of countries, cities and mountains, and even details of the ancient religions of Persia and India.

The compiler's success in his first edition makes one hope that a second will soon be called for. If he is already working on it, or even on a supplement to this one, perhaps he will consider one or two suggestions. He has laid us under a debt of gratitude by his proverbs and idioms ; he would add to this gratitude if he gave some necessary grammatical information : if, for example, along with every compound verb he gave the construction, i.e. showed how the verb is used. Let us take the verbs *ta'rīf karnā*, "to praise" ; *talāsh karnā* "to search" ; *tākīd karnā* "to urge". Three types of construction are possible, as we can see from the following : *uskī ta'rīf kī* ; *usko talāsh kīyā* ; *usko tākīd kī*. Usually only one is correct for any given verb, and the others are wrong. Not a single Urdu dictionary tells us which construction to use. If, therefore, a student finds the verb *tākīd karnā*, he asks himself "Am I to say *unko tākīd kīyā*, *unkī tākīd kī*, or *unko tākīd kī* ?" and no answer is given.

The same holds of peculiar or difficult plurals : e.g. what is the plural of *barra* "lamb" (when fem.), *khāla* "aunt" ; *mazbah* "altar", *vālida* "mother", *khālifa* and *rājā* ? Again, what is the oblique plural of *gāe* "cow", *gāo* "village", *pāo* "foot", *maḥal* "palace", *maḥalla* "section of a town", and of the other nouns just mentioned ?

If Khāja 'Abd ul Majīd were in his next edition to give us

details of this kind he would at a bound place his dictionary ahead of every other Urdu dictionary in existence, and could fairly claim that it was unique.

In the meantime we beg him to accept our thanks for a splendid piece of work. He may well feel proud of the result of his years of labour.

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T. GRAHAME BAILEY.



REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Near East

THE WILDERNESS OF ZIN. By C. LEONARD WOOLLEY and T. E. LAWRENCE. Palestine Exploration Fund, 1915. $10\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$, pp. 161, pls. xl, figs. 58. London: J. Cape, 1936. 18s.

This record of six weeks' work in the desert region south of Beersheba and the Dead Sea appeared as the annual of the Palestine Exploration Fund for 1914 to 1915, the two young archæologists, T. E. Lawrence and C. L. Woolley, having made their investigations during January and February, 1914. It is now reprinted because, as Sir Frederick Kenyon says in his introduction, it seems to deserve a wider publicity, "in view of the subsequent careers of its two authors, and of the literary merit which adds charm to the description of a country of no little Biblical and historical interest."

It has already formed a valuable contribution to the knowledge of this area, and been of great assistance in further work there, as well as correcting certain views put forward by earlier travellers. To the wider public it is now hoped to reach, much of the archæological detail may lack interest. Mr. Leonard Woolley had not yet become the past master he now is in the art of presenting archæological data in a form which fascinates the general reader. But the whole is lightened by the vividness of the descriptions and by the incisive historical comments on the strategy of a previous age:—comments which give a glimpse of the Lawrence who was shortly to become famous in the forwarding of a very different enterprise. He was to profit later not only by the exploration of some of the country in which his war-time operations took place (for he crossed to Ma'an during this expedition), but also by the understanding of desert warfare which he was acquiring. He criticizes the Byzantine defences,

scattered fortresses which were "peculiarly inadequate against nomad raiders", excellent no doubt as a line of defence on the maps in Constantinople, but "only a bureaucratic pedant could have imposed on a desert so incongruous a system, which seems rather to complete a system than to meet a local need".

The main function of this barren stretch of country has always been as a highway between Syria and Egypt. The different routes are discussed, the central road used by Abraham is explored, and the vexed question of Kadesh Barnea is examined. The authors disagree with Professor Huntington's view that a considerable change in climate has taken place in this region. The Byzantine civilization which flourished and disappeared was on an artificial basis and does not necessarily involve accepting a theory of a period of easier climatic conditions.

There are a large number of excellent photographs of the country described, as well as plans of sites, etc., and maps. Notes on inscriptions are contributed by Mr. M. N. Tod, Dr. A. Cowley, and Professor Margoliouth.

A. 638.

C. WADDY.

Far East

SIAMESE WHITE. By MAURICE COLLIS. Three appendices and index. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 302, 13 ills. and maps. London: Faber and Faber, 1936. 15s.

Mr. Collis's book deals with the astonishing adventures of an Englishman named Samuel White who sailed for Madras in 1675 in the services of the East India Company, and the principal scenes are laid at Mergui, a port on the West Coast of the Malay Peninsula (Lat. $12^{\circ}5'$ N., Long. $98^{\circ}75'$ E.) now in Burmese territory but in the seventeenth century an important centre of trade in the kingdom of Siam.

The story told by Mr. Collis, who as an Indian Civil Servant was resident for some years in Mergui, is chiefly based on two original sources, namely "the Davenport Papers" recently

discovered in the India Office Library and "Records of the Relations between Siam and Foreign Countries in the Seventeenth Century" copied from papers also preserved at the India Office and published in five volumes by the National Library at Bangkok between the years 1915 and 1921.

Soon after White's arrival in Madras, where he was employed as a pilot, he received an invitation to go and stay with his brother George, who had been for years living at Madras as a free merchant (or "interloper") but who, at the time of Samuel's arrival, was paying a visit to Ayudhya, the capital of Siam. Samuel White accepted his brother's invitation, little knowing that thereby he was to change the whole course of his career in the East.

It would occupy too much space even to outline Samuel White's subsequent adventures, but the upshot of his visit was that he was permitted by the East India Company to accept the post of Port Officer at Mergui offered him by the Siamese Government, who were anxious to counteract the influence of the Mahommedan merchants, at that time all powerful in matters of trade in Siam. Once he had installed himself, Samuel White showed himself in his true colours, betraying both his old masters and his new. He at once began to cheat the King of Siam, whose personal agent he was, in the sale of certain products, of which the King maintained a monopoly; and it was not long before he had raised a fleet of ships which preyed on both the Company's and certain Indian princes' vessels trading in the Bay of Bengal. In short he became nothing less than a pirate chief, until finally orders were sent from England to recall all the English subjects serving the King of Siam and, particularly, to send a ship of war to Mergui to seize White and bring him back to Madras, there to answer charges of treason and piracy. Davenport's account of how White hoodwinked the captain of *H.M.S. Curtana* and finally escaped to England with his ill-gotten gains early in 1688 must be left for the reader to discover.

Mr. Collis tells his tale in admirable fashion, and his account of the Court of Siam, of the embassies to and from France, and of White's dealings with Constantine Phaulkon, the Greek adventurer, who had made himself the most powerful Minister in Siam, make fascinating reading for all who are interested in Eastern history.

This is not the place to trace the attempt of Phaulkon and Louis XIV to turn Siam into a colonial possession of France, but I agree entirely with Mr. Collis in his contention that the mandarinat at Ayudhya realized in time the danger to their country, and that the Revolution of Siam in 1688 was no mere Palace intrigue, but had an important bearing on the subsequent history of the East.

One point may be noticed. A traveller to-day from Madras to the capital of Siam would scarcely go by ship via the Straits of Malacca (p. 19) unless he had plenty of time on his hands. He would probably disembark at Penang and take the bi-weekly International Express, reaching Bangkok within twenty-four hours and thereby saving at least five days travelling and a tiresome change at Singapore.

A. 643.

R. LE MAY.

L'ÉVOLUTION DU STŪPA EN ASIE. By GISBERT COMBAZ.

Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques publiés par l'Institut Belge des Hautes Études Chinoises. 10 × 6½. Vol. I, pp. 143, figs. 71, 1933. Vol. II, pp. 52, figs. 14, 1935. Louvain : Marcel Islas.

In the above treatise the Belgian scholar, Gisbert Combaz, presents a very clear and sober account of the historical development of that most typical monument—the *stūpa*—first in India proper, next in Ceylon, Java, Further India, and the Far East. Derived apparently from a simple tumulus, it fulfils a fourfold purpose—funerary, reliquary, commemorative, and votive. According to sacred tradition the first Buddhist *stūpas* were erected immediately after the Great Nirvāṇa, but of the eight original *śarīra-stūpas* none

has been recovered. There seems, indeed, no reason to doubt that the primary purpose of the Buddhist *stūpa* was to preserve the sacred relics of the Master and of his chief disciples. Objects supposed to have been used by the Buddha, such as his alms-bowl, robe, and staff, were equally worshipped, but from the account of Fa-hien (transl. Legge, pp. 35 and 38-9) it would seem that they were not buried in a *stūpa*.

The author discusses the various architectural members of which the *stūpa* consists, the solid dome being the most essential. He dwells at some length on the superstructure (*harmikā*), the early development of which is difficult to trace, as this part of the monument has disappeared in nearly all the ancient structural *stūpas* of India. In this connection we may call attention to the massive stone railing of Mauryan date which was found under the central temple of Sārnāth but which in all probability once stood on the top of the adjoining *stūpa* which has been ascribed to Aśoka. If this supposition is correct, such a square railing must have been the origin of the mysterious *harmikā*.

The author (p. 209) refers to the practice of enclosing the relic-monument within a temple. Rock-cut examples are universally known, but structural *cetiya* have come to light not only at Sanchi and Taxila, but also at Nāgārjunikonda, Rāmatīrtham, and Śānkaram (both in the Vizagapatam district), in Southern India, and as far north as Kashmir (Harwan). In fact, such "apsidal" temples must have been in use all over India during the early centuries of the Christian era. Two complete specimens still exist at Ter and Chezarla (Guntur district).

The railings (*vedikā*) and gateways (*torāṇa*), those important adjuncts of the early *stūpas*, receive adequate treatment, and mention is made of the detached monolithic pillars often found at the side of those monuments. What is the origin of the term *lātī* by which these columns are designated by the author in imitation of earlier writers? It is pointed out that the surface of the *stūpa* used to be covered with a thick layer

of *chūnā*, which must once have been decorated with painted ornaments. Some decorative motifs employed in the case of the Mahāthūpa of Anurādhapura are mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa*.

In dealing with the gigantic *dagobas* preserved in the ancient capital of Ceylon just mentioned and in the later medieval capital Polonnaruwa, the author rightly emphasizes the early type maintained by these imposing structures. In some cases, however, modern restorations carried out in a bad taste and without expert knowledge have had a disastrous effect in effacing the characteristic features of these monuments. It is well known that some of the Ceylonese *stūpas* are surrounded by rows of pillars which, according to the author, once carried Buddhist emblems in metal. Notwithstanding the difference of height, it seems more likely that they served the purpose of supporting a wooden roof or superstructure of some kind. It is a curious feature which the *stūpas* of Ceylon share with those of the Kistna valley that the cylindrical portion on which the dome rests is provided with four rectangular projections. The meaning of these extensions, called *wāhal-kaḍa* in Sinhalese, still remains to be explained, as well as the significance of the five pillars (*āyakakhambha*) which they support in the case of the *stūpas* of the Kistna valley.

It would carry us too far to follow the author in tracing the manifold transitions which the ancient relic-monument has undergone during its migrations in Further India and the Far East. It goes without saying that the Barabudur, the great monument of Java in which the *stūpa* attains its supreme development, is discussed at great length. We note in this connection that the Chandi Mendut is essentially a temple, enshrining three statues of colossal size. The *stūpa* of Muara Takus on the Kampar Kanan River in the island of Sumatra would have deserved more than a passing notice.

THE COULING-CHALFANT COLLECTION OF INSCRIBED ORACLE BONE. Drawn by FRANK H. CHALFANT. Edited by ROSWELL S. BRITTON. $11\frac{7}{8} \times 9\frac{7}{8}$, pp. iii + 132. Shanghai: The Commercial Press, Ltd. Preface dated 4th November, 1935.

This modest blue volume, so flexible to handle, so stiff, so very stiff, to grasp, will prove beyond the most generalized of general readers. But to a small group of students, mainly Chinese or Japanese, it should at once be valuable and become in the end invaluable. Such students can hardly withhold gratitude, first to the late Mr. Frank Chalfant, whose untiring industry and scrupulous draughtmanship are displayed in these 132 pages of sketch-plates. And then to Mr. Roswell S. Britton, to whose initiative and energy is due the breaking of an over-long repose of more than twenty years, and the publication in its present form of a selection of these beautifully drawn plates.

Thus have been made accessible to the limited but now increasing body of specialist students the collections in this genre, in the Royal Scottish Museum (760 pieces), in the Carnegie Museum, Pittsburg (438 pieces), in the British Museum (485 pieces), and in the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago (4 pieces), in all 1,687 inscribed specimens. A new and notable material for study of archaic Chinese writing.

A. 599.

L. C. HOPKINS.

Middle East

EXCAVATIONS AT KISH: Oxford Field Museum Expedition, vol. iv (1925-1920). By C. L. WATELIN, with epigraphical notes by S. LANGDON. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 10\frac{3}{4}$, pp. vii + 72, pls. 45. Paris: Geuthner, 1934. 120 frs.

The lamented archaeologist gives an account of the strata (Stone Age to Neo-Babylonian) of his deep excavation north-west of the larger ziggurat at Hursagkalamma or eastern Kish.

The lower levels are of great interest. The earliest trace of human occupation is marked by microlithic implements found with ash beds: here for the first time microlithic industry has been found *in situ*. Immediately above lies a layer characterized by Jemdet Nasr ware. Then, after an almost sterile layer, the remains of the first buildings that survive, with interesting drains or water-troughs. In this stratum is evidence of a series of inundations, and Watelin was inclined to equate the first (not the last and greatest, which has hitherto attracted more attention) with the deluge of tradition.

Mr. Penniman contributes a clear account of the human remains from the graves contemporary with the above buildings. The types represented are found to be Eurafrican and Armenoid. The absence of the Mediterranean type is thought to be accidental.

A. 629.

E. BURROWS.

CATALOGUE OF THE MINGANA COLLECTION OF MANUSCRIPTS.

Vol. i, Syriac and Garshūni Manuscripts; vol. ii, Christian Arabic and Additional Syriac Manuscripts. By A. MINGANA. $12\frac{1}{2} \times 10$, pp. vi + 628 and vi + 208 respectively. Cambridge: Heffer, 1933 and 1936.

This great catalogue represents a harvest gathered in the years 1925-1933, on various journeys to Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia, and Egypt, made possible by the generosity of Mr. Edward Cadbury. No scholar in Europe to-day is in a position comparable to that of Dr. Mingana for tracing and acquiring manuscripts in those countries, where the peoples and their vernaculars are familiar to him from youth up. The knowledge, tact, and labour involved in collecting such a quantity of material—606 manuscripts in the first volume, with a supplement of 14, and 120 in the second—must have been immense, and author, printer (the Aberdeen Press), and

publisher are to be congratulated upon the appearance of such a monumental work. All branches of Syriac literature are represented and all its principal authors. But not only are most of the early writers to be found here, but an unusual number of more modern works were brought home, illustrating the recent history of the Syrian churches to an extent surely not covered by any other collection. We may here note that a further interesting addition to his treasures was announced by Dr. Mingana in *The Times*, November 6th, 1936.

One general criticism will be made at once by any user of the Catalogue: the first and principal volume is devoid of all arrangement of the material. It is true that mixed manuscripts, such as many of these are, make classification difficult; but that obstacle has confronted scholars before now and has been, to some degree at any rate, overcome. A full index of names is our sole guide through nearly 600 pages in vol. i; in the Arabic volume a division according to subjects is adopted. Besides the indexes, lists are given, in vol. i of 127 precisely dated manuscripts and of 400 more, to which the author's wide experience emboldens him to assign approximate dates. About one-third of the total are ascribed to the eighteenth century; beyond these are several written—often, of course, copied—in the nineteenth. In vol. ii a parallel list contains eighty numbers, about half of them assigned to the eighteenth century.

Vol. i also contains a large proportion of Karshūni texts, emanating both from East and West Syrian communities; here and there among them works obviously of Egyptian origin. Only on certain of these and on the Egyptian element in vol. ii can I venture any observations; with the main body of the work, the Syriac texts, I am not competent to deal. One would have been glad to know which of these MSS. were acquired in Egypt, which elsewhere.

Vol. i, No. 5A. One of several copies of the story of the Flight into Egypt and sojourn at ẖoskām. Both the Syriac

and Arabic versions were first published by M. Guidi in 1917 and 1921 (*Rendic. Accad. Linc.*).

No. 14. John, "the Prophet of the Thebaid." This voluminous, but still unknown author cannot, if he wrote in Greek, be identified with John of Lycopolis, although he appears to be so entitled now and then; for the latter clearly knew no Greek (v. *Lausiac History*, Butler, ii, 102). Is it not more probable that he wrote in Coptic, indeed not improbable that the Coptic fragments attributed to an unidentified "John" (Rylands *Coptic Catal.*, No. 65) may eventually be traced in one or other of his works?

No. 21F and 177B. This is the *Garden of Delight*, or *Garden of Monks*, a collection of Egyptian monastic tales, some of them not unworthy of the "Thousand and One Nights". It was described in *Studies . . . F. Ll. Griffith*, 137. The monastery named in § G is the well-known هانطون "Ἐνατον, outside Alexandria. The narrator's name here is Victor (so too in No. 352L and elsewhere).

No. 21N, the Life of Macarius by Sarapion, whereof the Coptic original (or rather, the Bohairic adaptation of the Sa'idic original) was published by Amélineau.

No. 32B, one of many copies of the principal work of the monophysite controversialist, Peter of Malig.

No. 95. Of the History of the Council by Severus of Ashmunain there are six copies here, often joined with the last named.

No. 127G, the magical Prayer of the Virgin in Parthia, for the Coptic original of which see *PSBA.*, xix, 210, and Kropp, *Zaubertexte*, ii, 127.

„ „ H, K, the homily of Cyriac of Behnesā on the Virgin at the Tomb, perhaps composed originally in Arabic.

No. 138M, the story of Hilaria, Zeno's daughter. Found in seven copies in this collection. Several MSS. of the highly popular Coptic original are extant; complete in P. Morgan, No. xli.

No. 80E. It would be interesting to learn more of these "Sayings of the Philosophers", said to be translated from the Coptic. Perhaps from the collection of anecdotes partly published by Till (*Mémoires de la Mission Française*, lxvii, 165).

No. 225Q. This is the dying prophecy of Pesenthius of Keft, published by A. Périer (*Rev. Or. Chr.*, xix).

No. 232B. The similar prophecy of Samuel of Kalamōn, published by J. Ziadeh (*loc. cit.*, xx). It is strange to find these pieces current outside Egypt.

No. 240B, the Babylonian Captivity (cf. vol. ii, No. 20), translated, many years ago, from an Arabic MS. (now Brit. Mus. Or. 3599) by Amélineau (*Contes*, ii). The Coptic text, of which the Arabic is (as Dr. Mingana has surmised) a translation, may be read complete in P. Morgan MS. no. xxxi, while remnants of a Fayyūmic version are preserved on papyrus in Brit. Mus., Dept. of Eg. and Ass. Antiq., no. 10578.

No. 446ee is the Encomium of Severus of Nestarāwah, published in 1877 by Bargès.

No. 453A, the Book of Spiritual Medicine, was compiled by Michael, bishop of Malig (v. G. Graf, *Catalogue*, no. 390, Wright, *Ethiopic Catal.*, cxxxvii).

No. 481A, composed (or compiled by) a Copt, in Dr. Mingana's opinion. Among the patristic excerpts are several from Alexandrian patriarchs; also one from the mysterious "Pope of Rome", مطولوحن, recurring in no. 344 as مطوليجوس and in vol. ii, no. 41 (14) as مطولينغن. Mai long ago (*SVNC*. iv, no. 121) proposed *Vitalianus*. Has the mystery been solved?

No. 532, the story of Marina "the Eunuch", presumably originated in Egypt; at any rate the Coptic version locates it there. That of Mark of Tarmaḵ (Marcus Atheniensis) is placed in the desert west of Egypt.

Vol. ii, No. 10. This Arabic version of Athanasius's *Exposi-*

tion of the Psalms is doubtless made from the Coptic: cf. Brit. Mus. *Coptic Catal.*, No. 172. The MS. is of interest as having been written for Raphael Tuki, the well-known Coptic scholar, and by an already familiar scribe (v. Brit. Mus., *loc. cit.*, No. 724).

No. 18, Theophilus and the Virgin; differing from the Syriac version. Cf. M. Guidi's text.

No. 22 is the actual MS. used by G. Horner for his edition of *The Consecration of Church and Altar*, 1902. At that time it belonged to Bishop J. Wordsworth.

No. 41 is the same patriotic encyclopedia as No. 481 of vol. i, but more extensive. In §§ 27, 32 ارطستیکا represents 'Εορταστική "Festal Letter". Those of Benjamin should be of interest (v. Jülicher in the Harnack *Festgabe*, 125).

No. 76. Dr. Mingana dates this MS. in the tenth century and calls its material "Egyptian vellum". It is a translation of the so-called *Alphabetical Apophthegmata* (Migne, *PG.*, lxxv). It would be interesting to compare it with the Arabic published by Dr. Sobhy in Evelyn White's *New Texts*, p. 234 ff.

A. 698.

W. E. CRUM.

UR EXCAVATION. VOL. II: THE ROYAL CEMETERY.¹

A report on the Predynastic and Sargonid Graves excavated between 1926 and 1931. By C. L. WOOLLEY. Publications of the Joint Expedition of the British Museum and the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania to Mesopotamia. 13 × 10½. Text: pp. xx + 604; pls. 4; figs. 81. Plates: pls. 274. New York: Trustees of the two Museums, 1934.

It is somewhat late in the day for an appraisal of Sir Leonard Woolley's work at Ur. The volume under review was

¹ Publications of the Joint Expedition of the British Museum and of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania to Mesopotamia: Ur Excavations. Volume ii, *The Royal Cemeteries*, by C. L. Woolley (London and Philadelphia, 1934.)

published two years ago ; the discoveries themselves date back to 1927, and the educated public throughout the world is aware of their importance. But while a synopsis would serve no useful purpose, it is instructive to consider his main results in retrospect. For our view of the " Royal Cemetery " has changed very considerably since the time when each spring brought numbers of British and foreign archæologists to a temporary exhibition of the season's discoveries arranged at the British Museum.

Let it be clear from the outset that the change of view does not imply diminished appreciation. But instead of an isolated group of objects, the contents of the tombs now appear as part and parcel of a cultural phase which the whole of Mesopotamia passed through early in the third millennium B.C. ; and which is, at present, more fully known to us than many which preceded and follow it. The better understanding is the outcome of much co-ordinated research ; but that it proved possible to equip and maintain several expeditions in Iraq through a number of years is to some degree due to the sensational interest aroused by Sir Leonard's discoveries. Nor should it be forgotten that the solid network of archæological equations which now connects sites as far apart as Mari on the Middle Euphrates, Tepe Gawra near Mosul, Khafaje, Tell Agrab, Tell Asmar, and Kish near Baghdad, and Warka and Telloh in the extreme south, could only be drawn so closely because so many of its threads led to Ur. The richness of the cemetery at Ur presented an exceptionally wide range of features for comparison, so that unrelated discoveries could often be co-ordinated by reference to that site. We must count the many-sidedness of the results as one of the most valuable features of the work at Ur, and one for which full credit is due to the excavator. Fortune no doubt served Sir Leonard well ; but a perusal of these volumes will convince even those who did follow his work at close range of how much would have been lost but for the alertness, resourcefulness, and skill of the leader of the " Joint Expedition ". Treasures

like the Standard, the goat-shaped supports for offerings,¹ harps, and gaming-boards were no more than unconnected fragments among decayed débris at the moment of their discovery, which might well have been also the moment of their final annihilation. The same precision of technique which salvaged these objects recovered the record of ritual interment and sacrifice from the stratification of the débris in the tomb shafts, and a host of similarly significant details.

When we extend our retrospect from the record of the work to its interpretation we face a less monumental achievement. Let us leave aside matters of less account, and consider the two problems, which the novelty of the discoveries has placed from the first in the foreground of controversy; what is the age of these graves, and who were buried in them?

Chronological argument naturally occupies much space in this volume, but it is curiously unsatisfactory. Occasionally it is even forgotten that terms of years are meaningless in dealing with events preceding the accession of Sargon, since we only know objectively a succession of cultural stages, and each translation of these into years is a purely subjective expression of opinion within confines drawn with ever narrowing limits as research advances. Thus statements to the effect that one scholar dates certain tablets about 3750 B.C. (p. 15) or that another assigns certain remains to 4000 B.C. (p. 224) are futile. It is almost certain that they would not quote such figures in the light of the latest information. But it would still be interesting to know how these scholars correlate other remains with those under discussion. Worse is the wearying frequency of assertions that a great length of time must have elapsed before rubbish could be dumped near graves, or types of tomb-equipment changed, or that certain walls "must be credited with a lifetime of several human generations". Of all these things we know absolutely nothing. We know that the mentality of the ancients differed

¹ For its interpretation see the seal, Weber, *Altorientalische Siegelbilder*, 430.

from our own, and that their building material was exceedingly susceptible to the influence of the weather. We also know that certain periods, hardly represented at one site, may have left elsewhere substantial remains. Thus the magnificent temples of the Uruk Period find no parallel outside Warka, though contemporary levels can be identified. The First Early Dynastic Period, a mere age of transition at most sites, was recently found to be represented by a dozen floor-levels and four successive "Archaic Shrines" at Tell Asmar. It is therefore unsound to base even a relative chronology on the information obtained at one site alone.

Now the stratigraphical observations at Ur, detailed in themselves and very fully recorded, refer to conditions in the soil which are, by reason of their very nature, unsuited to supply a chronological framework. In the case of successive buildings we are, in more senses than one, on firm ground; for each floor-level must have corresponded to a real situation in which the building and its surroundings formed a complex in practical use. But at Ur we have to deal with graves, dug at various depths and from varying levels into a mass of dumped rubbish, sloping in several directions, spread unevenly and of varying consistency and colouring. Moreover, rubbish-dumping went on while the graves were dug.¹ It is therefore not surprising that the actual observations of the excavator only give a rough determination of the age of the main cemetery as pre-Sargonic. Sir Leonard, it is true, believes that he can be more definite. He has referred on several occasions to a "grey layer" or "barren stratum" separating these earlier graves from those of Sargonic date. In 1929-30, he found at the edge of his large excavation a layer which he believes to be continuous with those which were removed in earlier campaigns, and which contained sealings of rulers of the First Dynasty of Ur. He therefore states that the whole of the earlier cemetery was sealed by this deposit, and that no shaft of a pre-Sargonic tomb was ever dug through it.

¹ p. 16, and *Antiquaries Journal*, viii, 420.

I must confess that his own graphic descriptions of the irregularities of the site make me exceedingly sceptical as to the possibility of dogmatizing on this point but the reader must judge for himself.¹

In this same stratum some burnt burials were discovered which Sir Leonard therefore dates to the First Dynasty (pp. 31-2, 142-3). But some of the burnt burials belong to the early phase of the cemetery, so that their evidence would support the view that the early cemetery as a whole is contemporaneous with the First Dynasty. In any case their contents are too poor to be of much help. Of more value is the small series of fifteen tombs, inappropriately, and on no evidence, labelled "Second Dynasty" (pp. 30-31, 181-203). They clearly form a transitional stage between the tomb-equipment of the very homogeneous "Early Cemetery" and that of the equally homogeneous Sargonid graves. It is important to establish their age with some precision, since that would be a date *ad quem* for the Early Cemetery. There is no date implied in, but also no justification for, the designation "Second Dynasty", which to us is nothing but an entry in a king-list—"a mere phantom without content in time, deeds, or persons" (Gadd). The bare fact of its existence is problematical, so that one cannot "imply that they (the graves) come at about the right period for that dynasty" (p. 214).

To determine the age of these graves we should remember that the appearance of new features is more significant than the survival of old traits. The new features in these fifteen graves are conclusive evidence that they belong to the Sargonid age; they include some of the weapons, all but one of the

¹ pp. 16-17, 215, 218-222. Also *Antiquaries Journal*, viii, 2-5, 419-420. It should also be remembered that the large tombs contained brick structures at various levels in their shafts, e.g. pp. 95 and 103, and that we have to reckon with superstructures of crude brick (*Antiquaries Journal*, viii, 4, 421-2), the decayed remains of which would be well-nigh indistinguishable from the brick-rubbish dumped in the "grey layer".

cylinder seals,¹ and some pottery types, such as 197-200, which at Tell Asmar and Khafaje are distinctive for the Akkadian houses, and never occur in the Early Dynastic strata.

The many links with Early Dynastic times show that the fifteen graves fall at the very beginning of the new age, in other words, in the long reign of Sargon of Akkad. This implies that planoconvex bricks were used or re-used at Ur occasionally under that ruler (p. 213)—an unexpected conclusion, but one which we are obliged to draw in view of the rest of the evidence.² The accession of Sargon naturally did not lead to a sudden break in material culture. A typically Early Dynastic poker-butted spear, inscribed with the name of Manishtusu, was found at Assur.³ That king's statue from Susa resembles Early Dynastic carvings in all but the inscription.⁴ At Susa also was found the well-known painted pot containing objects of copper and cylinder seals. The latter are all Early Dynastic and most of the copper objects resemble those from the Royal Tombs at Ur, but an axe with turned-over socket, such as is typical at Ur for the Sargonid graves, was found with the other objects. The seal impressions of Sargon's own servants display the new glyptic style to perfection⁵; but one from Ur (Pl. 212, No. 307), belonging to a servant of Sargon's daughter, shows a transitional style. It maintains the Early Dynastic frieze but shows the new influences in the modelling of the figures and in the dress of one of the protagonists.⁶ Thus the curiously mixed contents

¹ Pl. 211, No. 286 (U-17656) alone is Early Dynastic, and No. 295 (U-17904) is no doubt intrusive since it belongs to the Third Dynasty of Ur, during which period much of the soil was worked through.

² At Khafaje an Akkadian tablet was found in a house built of planoconvex bricks. See *Oriental Institute Communications*, No. 17, p. 68.

³ *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient Gesellschaft*, No. 73, p. 1.

⁴ Contenau, *Manuel*, p. 673.

⁵ Delaporte, *Catalogue des Cylindres Orientaux* (Louvre), pp. 11, 12.

⁶ The dating of cylinder seals will be discussed in two publications on that subject which are in preparation. See provisionally *Oriental Institute Communications*, No. 16, pp. 40-6.

of the fifteen graves under discussion are not difficult to understand; they prove, in fact, their early Sargonic date. It follows, then, that the Early Cemetery was in use down to, or within a short period of, Sargon's accession.

This same conclusion is reached when we consider the numerous discoveries at other sites which have been made of recent years, and which reduce the uncertainty, caused by the stratification at Ur, to a matter of minor importance. For easy reference we have combined these results in the form of a table. (See p. 337.)

We may summarize this evidence as follows:—

Underneath the rubbish into which the cemetery of Ur was dug there are some layers containing tablets and seal impressions. These tablets have just been published. They are placed between those from Jemdet Nasr and those from Fara.¹ The seal impressions, however, resemble some found in a search-trench at Warka, where their association with planoconvex bricks and certain types of pottery provides a clear link with the layers of the First Early Dynastic Period at Khafaje.²

The next period also antedates the earliest tombs of the Royal Cemetery, and was evidently occupied by the accumulation of rubbish in which the tombs were dug. For no objects were found which compare with those of the Square Temple at Tell Asmar or the Macehead of Mesilim or the pre-Urnanshe spear-point from Lagash, and the commonest type of seal impressions from Fara is only represented by a very few specimens at Ur. Even the beginning of the Third Early Dynastic period precedes the earliest "royal tombs". This earlier part of the E. D. III Period is represented by the

¹ E. Burrows, *Archaic Texts* (London, 1936) and A. Falkenstein, *Archaische Texte aus Uruk* (Berlin, 1936), p. 19.

² E. Heinrich, *Kleinfunde aus den Archaischen Tempelschichten in Uruk* (Berlin, 1936), pp. 10, 32. See also Fifth Preliminary Report of the Iraq Expedition, *Oriental Institute Communications*, No. 20 (Chicago, 1936).

PERIOD	ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS		Estimated Dates B.C.	Egypt
	at Ur	at other sites		
Sargonid Dynasty	Sargonid Graves	Town at Tell Asmar and Kish.		
Sargon's reign	"Second Dynasty" Graves		2528 ?	5th Dynasty
Third Early Dynastic Period	E. D. IIIb	Urnanse Dynasty at Lagash. First Dynasty of Ur (Al 'Ubaid temple) Kish A Cemetery. Single Shrine Temple at Tell Asmar Late Oval at Khafaje.	2700 ?	Sneferu (2684)
	E. D. IIIa	Ishtar temple at Mari. Ishtar temple at Assur (H-G). Palace at Kish (A). Single Shrine Temple at Tell Asmar. Middle Oval at Khafaje. Texts from Fara.	2800 ?	Zoser
Second Early Dynastic Period.	Accumulation of rubbish Building levels D-E	Square Temple at Tell Asmar. First Oval at Khafaje. Many seal-impressions from Fara.	2900 ?	
First Early Dynastic Period.	Building levels E-G S.I.S. 4/5 with archaic texts and seal impressions.	Archaic Shrines at Tell Asmar. Sin Temple IV-V at Khafaje. Cemetery Kish "Y". Warka, layer I in trench P/XIII. "Later Cemetery" at Al 'Ubaid.	3000 ?	1st Dynasty
JEMDET NASR PERIOD				LATE PRE-DYNASTIC PERIOD

main body of Early Dynastic objects from Khafaje, and by the Ishtar temples at Mari and Assur H-G. At Khafaje graves like those of the Royal Cemetery were definitely later than the layers in which the objects just referred to were found.¹ And it is symptomatic that two discoveries at Ur which are related to this earlier group of finds, namely the relief-fragment (Pl. 181b), and a multiple vase (U-8731 on plate 221), were not found in graves, but in the rubbish outside them. Moreover, our conclusion agrees with M. Thureau-Dangin's statement that the inscriptions on statues from Mari are more archaic than similar inscriptions at Ur and Al 'Ubaid.² On the other hand, the names of the Royal Cemetery, like those of the First Dynasty of Ur, are sometimes formed in a manner which the Sargonids use too (p. 318). Lastly we have found jewellery (resembling that from the Royal and Kish A-Cemeteries) at Tell Asmar in the earliest building of flat bricks, the so-called Akkadian Palace,³ underneath which, dug in from the highest floor-level of planoconvex bricks, there was a hoard of eighty copper objects which are practically identical with those from the earliest tombs at Ur.⁴

This simplified summary of the evidence at present available reduces the uncertainty as to the date of the Royal Cemetery to its proper proportion. It is certain that the whole pre-Sargonid section of the cemetery is to be placed in the latter half of the Third Early Dynastic Period, and attempts at a more precise dating are confined within the limits set by the foregoing comparisons. Since we are dealing here with a period immediately preceding historical times, we are able to touch upon the question of absolute chronology. The whole of the Royal Cemetery must be dated within the centuries preceding the accession of Sargon, and consequently

¹ *Revue d'Assyriologie*, vol. 31 (1934), pp. 173-189.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 137-143.

³ *Oriental Institute Communications*, No. 17, fig. 29.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 17, figs. 30-5; and *ibid.* No. 19, folding plate at back.

Sir Leonard's guess (frankly presented as such) of 3500-3200 B.C. for the Early Cemetery cannot even be a matter for discussion nowadays. I insist on this point with some warmth because the disagreement existing between scholars where Early Near Eastern chronology is concerned is even now generally overrated, and is bound to become yet more insignificant when the recent discoveries summarized above have been more generally studied.

One of the most valuable contributions of archaeology to general knowledge is precisely this, that it provides a correlation of those early stages of civilization in the main centres, for which no historical date, and therefore no absolute chronology, is available. It is relevant to our present argument to recall the interdependence of early Babylonian and early Egyptian chronology as a result of the numerous signs of intercourse between the two countries preceding and during the rise of the First Dynasty in Egypt.¹ Already there are indications that it will be possible to include the Aegean in this system of relative chronology, but in any case the many cross-datings result in a fabric sufficiently coherent to exclude the possibility of inserting several centuries at any one point. Moreover, we are apt to use "several centuries" too glibly. It should be remembered that they must comprise—once savagery has been left behind—a very considerable cultural change. The evidence concerning the periods just preceding dateable events in Egypt and Mesopotamia, especially the introduction of the calendar under Zoser about 2776 B.C.,² makes it impossible to place the First Egyptian Dynasty, and consequently the Jemdet Nasr Period in Mesopotamia, much before 3000 B.C.

To return to the Royal Cemetery at Ur, it is obviously desirable to subdivide the Third Early Dynastic Period more

¹ See the comprehensive article by Scharff in *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache* 71 (1935), pp. 89-106. Differences between our respective tables will be discussed elsewhere.

² See Scharf in *Orientalistische Literatur Zeitung*, 1923, 78 ff., and also his *Grundzüge der Ägyptische Vorgeschichte*, pp. 46-58.

precisely. But the remains from this age are all closely inter-related, as was to be expected. Gadd,¹ Landsberger,² and Moortgat³ have pointed out in well-considered studies the close affinities existing between the Urnanshe dynasty at Lagash, the remains of the First Dynasty at Ur and Al 'Ubaid,⁴ and the Royal Cemetery. Gadd's conclusion still holds good: "So far, then, it has remained doubtful to whom the oldest treasures of Ur must be ascribed, whether to the First Dynasty itself, or to some earlier unrecorded kings. The position in which they lay is somewhat in favour of the latter, historical probability and their intrinsic character weigh heavily for the former."

But apparently palæography gives a slight bias in favour of an earlier date for the Royal Cemetery. Its seal inscriptions display, as Father Burrows shows, sometimes the random arrangement of signs which occurs occasionally under Urnanshe, but no longer under Eannatum, nor does it occur in the inscriptions of the First Dynasty of Ur. On the other hand the latter uses the place-determinative *ki* quite regularly, while Urnanshe omits it, and so do some of the seals from the Royal Cemetery.

It would seem that our three groups overlap, but that the earliest graves of the cemetery antedate the First Dynasty of Ur a little, while the first king of that Dynasty, Mesannipadda, perhaps reigned a few decennia before Urnanshe. Actually we are drawing here distinctions of an order entirely different from those normally used in Mesopotamian

¹ Gadd, *History of Monuments of Ur* (London, 1929), 37 ff.

² In *Orientalistische Literatur Zeitung*, 1931, 115 ff.

³ Anton Moortgat: *Frühe Bildkunst in Sumer* (Mitteilungen der vordasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft, Band 40). Leipzig, 1935, pp. 6-23, 32.

⁴ The "Later Cemetery" at Al 'Ubaid which has been considered, reasonably enough, to be contemporaneous with the Temple of A-annipadda, is, in fact, much older. Its pottery is intimately linked with that of the graves of the First Early Dynastic Period at Khafaje. See Fifth Preliminary Report of the Iraq Expedition, *Oriental Institute Communications*, No. 20 (Chicago, 1936).

archæology. It is legitimate, seeing the richness of the latest remains of the Early Dynastic Period, that we should attempt to measure in years where hitherto we have been satisfied by approximations in centuries. But we should not exaggerate the importance of our success or failure to do so.

Historically there is much to be said for Mr. Gadd's attractive combination of Eannatum's claim to have conquered Ur and the havoc wrought at A-anni-padda's temple at Al 'Ubaid. Eannatum would then have defeated the last king of the First Dynasty of Ur, which would again place the beginning of that Dynasty three generations before Urnanshe.¹ If the Royal Cemetery contains, in fact, the tombs of rulers of Ur, that "Kalam-dug dynasty" (p. 318) would then have been the creator of the wealth and power which enabled Mesannipadda to establish his hegemony in the land and to obtain for his dynasty a place in the later king-lists.

But it is not certain that the graves contained interments of actual rulers of Ur at all. One seal (U-11825) seems to mention a ruler of Ur, but it belonged to a priestess and the text is, in any case, difficult to interpret (p. 316 with note 3). And the seal of Meskalamdug-lugal is doubly ambiguous, firstly because it does not name the realm of which Meskalamdug was king, and secondly because that same name recurs in connection with another man in the cemetery, who was, moreover, like Meskalamdug-lugal, buried high up in the shaft of a larger tomb. In other words, it seems that the burial of these two men was a feature of the ceremony which started with the excavation of the larger tombs, and that "Meskalamdug" was not a proper name at all, but the name of the part these individuals played in the gruesome dramas disclosed by Sir Leonard's work in the death-pits.²

¹ Gadd, *History and Monuments of Ur*, p. 71 f.

² I am aware that proper names of a similar form occur at Fara, but this excludes as little the possibility that "Meskalamdug" was the name of a *part*, as its possible translation "Hero of the Good Land (= Nether-world)" proves for certain that these men played the role of mock-king, as suggested here.

This drama has been explained as a ritual one.¹ It is not the place here to discuss the probability of this hypothesis, which cannot be proved at present, though occasionally new discoveries bring it fresh support.² We know that the death and resurrection, and also the marriage of the god who impersonated the generative force of nature, were enacted yearly throughout Mesopotamia, and it seems certainly worth considering whether some or all of the Royal Tombs do not represent interments of the actors in such a mystery-play, taken in deadly earnest in times of national emergency.

A variety of objects in the volume under review requires study with this problem in mind. As an example, I will refer to the limestone fragment of a relief (Pl. 181b), which Sir Leonard explains as an importation from the north and a monument of victory (p. 377). Now neither view is tenable. Fragments of similar plaques have not only been found at Tell Asmar, Tell Agrab, and Khafaje, but also at Fara and Susa.³ At Khafaje alone nine of these plaques are represented, and their details recur with such precision elsewhere that it is impossible to see in them memorials of historical, and therefore unique, events. We know, moreover, that such events were commemorated by another type of monument, of which Khafaje and Lagash (Stela of the Vultures) have supplied examples. The smaller square reliefs showing a banquet as the main subject and often an empty chariot in the lowest register, must refer to an event which came to pass in all these cities in the same manner and on more than one occasion. This would be the case, of course, with ritual

¹ Sidney Smith, "A Babylonian Fertility Cult," in this *Journal*, 1928, pp. 849 ff. Also Böhl in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. 39.

² See *Iraq*, i, p. 12, note 3. Sir Leonard Woolley's objections are vitiated by his not taking into account that the impersonator of the god need not be the king himself but the "Mock-king" whose existence in Mesopotamia is well testified by Berosus.

³ These will be discussed in the forthcoming publication of the Oriental Institute of Chicago University: *Sculpture of the Third Millennium from Tell Asmar and Khafaje*.

performances, and it is interesting that a commentary on the New Year's Festival found at Assur actually mentions an empty chariot as one of its features.¹ That a banquet formed the crowning ceremony at that feast is sufficiently clear from Gudea's inscriptions.

We cannot here elaborate the argument and discuss, for instance, the scenes on cylinders which are relevant in this connection. What precedes may suffice to show that we have by no means exhausted the information contained in the treasures from the Royal Cemetery and that, in fact, the richest tombs still retain the secret of their ultimate significance.

A. 184.

H. FRANKFORT.

THE HAREM. By N. M. PENZER. An account of the institution as it existed in the palace of the Turkish Sultans with a history of the Grand Seraglio from its foundation to the present day. 9½ × 7. pp. 277; ill. 43. London: G. G. Harrap, 1936. £1 1s.

Mr. Penzer is a true disciple of Burton, on whom he is indeed an authority: he shares Burton's enthusiasm for travel, Burton's love of the curious, and, let it be added, Burton's touch of the Rabelaisian. Mr. Penzer definitely does not write *virginibus puerisque*: but in any case there are others enough who do.

The Harem is a diverting book. As its sub-title indicates, it is quite severely limited in scope, and having once started on its excursion through the labyrinthine passages of the Grand Seraglio at Istanbul (which a careful plan by the author sets forth for all to follow), it never wearies of the quest until it brings us safely out at the other end. But during our tour of inspection we are treated to an uninterrupted and most learned discourse on the history and antiquities

¹ Langdon, *Epic of Creation*, p. 49, line 66. The cylinder seals studied in Iraq, i, 2 ff., prove beyond a doubt that many if not all ritual features mentioned in late texts go back to immemorial antiquity.

of the Sultan's *ḥarēm*, not from the lips of an underpaid dragoman who has gotten his learning from official guide-books and has an eye to a substantial baksheesh at the end of his labours, but from the racy pen of an author who is familiar with all that has been said or written on his subject.

The book is beautifully printed, and contains many reproductions of old plans and miniatures, as well as excellent photographs of special views taken by the author himself. In the place of a desolate palace, now falling into decay, where cobwebs hang yards thick, we watch through Mr. Penzer's magic glass the medieval *ḥarēm* spring again to life. We see the many hundred lovely women flitting to and fro on their multifarious businesses (and those that are the loveliest make their strenuous business of the very *raison d'être* of the institution to which they belong); we see the cooks, the stewards, the officers, the gatekeepers, the craftsmen, the soldiers, the ubiquitous eunuchs—and all this, we are reminded, for the pleasure of one man: and we do not wonder that that one man was often a lunatic. We watch the troubled pageant of Turkish imperial life, from its splendid and strenuous beginnings down to its last degradation and final extinction. "I may be allowed to say," writes the author, "without any boastful intent, that at this moment of writing I know of no person whatever who has seen more of the Seraglio than I have myself." All this topical knowledge, the results of patient and irrepressible investigation, is now at the disposal of whoever cares to read. A generation ago that knowledge would have cost you your life: to-day it costs you one guinea.

It may be permitted to regret that this excellent book has not substituted for one chapter which it contains another which it does not. Without wishing to be charged with excessive squeamishness we nevertheless remark that we could have sacrificed the physiological digression on the eunuch, albeit *sui generis*, namely as an emetic, that chapter attains a high standard. It would have been most invaluable

if the author had given us instead a short history of the *harēm* itself as an institution in Islām.

Mr. Penzer spells *harēm*, and gives his reasons for so doing on p. 15. It is astonishing to an Arabist to read that "the Turks softened the word [*harām*] into *harēm*". *Harīm* (to spell it correctly) is a sound Arabic word: among its several connotations, it is used anciently to describe that part of the house upon which the door is closed, as distinct from the *finā'* or courtyard in which the menfolk habitually sat. From this evolved the specialized signification of "women's quarters". As every visitor to Egypt knows, even tram-cars there have a special compartment labelled in Arabic and French, "*harīm* dames."

A. 761.

A. J. ARBERRY.

India

THE BRĀHŪĪ LANGUAGE. Part II. The Brahūī Problem; Part III. Etymological Vocabulary. By Sir DENYS BRAY. 9½ × 6, pp. ii + 313. Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1934. 13s. 6d.

The 'Politicals' of India have made many valuable contributions to our knowledge of peoples and languages with which they have come into contact. And recently, within a period of less than a year, we have had the publication of Colonel Lorimer's *Burushaski Grammar and Texts* and the conclusion of Sir Denys Bray's standard work on Brahui.

Both of these books deal with non-Aryan languages of the North-West Frontier of India, languages of slight practical importance, but for the linguist full of interesting information and tempting riddles which may, perhaps, one day be solved and throw new light upon ancient wanderings and cultural contacts. But, while the genealogy of Burushaski is still unknown, the Dravidian character of Brahui has long been recognized, the evidence being indisputable, if not overwhelming in bulk.

In the first part of the present volume Sir Denys gives a valuable survey of the linguistic position of Brahui and also,

with intimate knowledge of all facts, a vivid and most interesting account of the historical and social factors which have determined the survival and present condition of this linguistic relict. This chapter appeals not only to the specialist, but will be read and meditated upon with great profit by anyone interested in linguistics or in tribal sociology. There appears to be frequent discrepancy between linguistic and tribal classification, the tribes being highly complex and heterogeneous unities.¹ The result is an extensive bilingualism and cross-borrowing between the various languages spoken in the area, and Sir Denys' account gives a useful warning to armchair philologists who may easily be prone to simplify matters and to overlook the difficulties of finding words with a 'pure lineage' in such circumstances.

The larger part of the book consists of an excellent and copious vocabulary, amply illustrated by examples, the result of long and devoted work and quite invaluable to the student of Dravidian, I.A., or Ir. linguistics. Absolute exhaustiveness could not possibly be achieved by one single worker, but I have not been able to detect in other available sources any true Brahui word which has been overlooked by the author. But it is, of course, not always possible to decide whether a word of foreign origin ought to be considered good Brahui or not. So many people speak broken Brahui, and so many Balochi and Sindhi words are adopted into the language that we cannot draw any absolute line.

The Dravidian and I.A. parts of the vocabulary have been reviewed by Bloch² and Turner.³ As remarked by Turner, it may be possible in some cases, where the author has left the question open, to distinguish between borrowings from Lahnda and Sindhi, but just as often it seems to be impossible.

¹ Cf. the similar conditions prevailing among the Lur tribes of S. Persia (see Mann, *Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen*, ii, p. xvii).

² *BSL.*, 36, CR, 171 sqq.—Note (p. 173) Br. *mux* (not *murx*!) 'waist', compared with Gondi *margi* 'side'.

³ *BSOS.*, viii, 223 sqq.—Cf. ad *drôhur*, *dohada*- (p. 226) also Bal. *dô-gîn* 'pregnant'.

At any rate, ample material has been furnished for the reader's consideration, and there can be no doubt that the vocabulary deepens our insight into Brahui etymology to a very considerable extent. In order to illustrate the importance of the book from the Iranian point of view I shall give some examples.

A number of Br. words, most of them of Balochi origin, not known from our previous sources for this language are found in the *Beludžskie Skazki*, published by Zarubin in the Trudy Instituta Vostokovedenija Akademii Nauk SSSR, iv (1932). Thus, e.g. *dištar* 'bride(groom)'; *dasag* 'thread' (Br. *dask*, Prs. *dasa*); *duttuk* 'daughter' (Br. 'doll, pupil of the eye', cf.Ormuri *dūkə* 'girl, pupil of the eye'); *gisid* 'coral' (Prs. *bussud*); *omán* 'longing, desire' (Br. *hōmān*); *rēp-* 'to deceive'; *šlap-* 'to splash'; *kap* 'half' (cf. the semantic parallel in Germanic *half*).

Words of probable or possible Bal. origin, although not always known from that language, are also *ārētn* 'wild almond' (Prs. *arʃan*, *arʒan*; Bakhtiari *arzan* ?); *drōt* 'ceremonial kissing'; *gwānz* 'fathom' (*Bal. with *gw-* for *b-* from Prs. **bāz*, cf. *bāzū*, Psht. *wāzə* ?)¹; *gwar-soč* 'dyspepsia' (Bal. *sōč* 'burning', not Si. *soj* 'swelling'); *iz-γand* 'thyme', *iz-bōtk* 'aniseed' (Bal. *izbōxt* 'Ligustum ajowain') (< **ganda-* 'stench', **baudika-* 'fragrance' ?), *pād* 'shooting shelter'; *patkēnk* 'sprinkling of flour' (**pati-kanya* from *kan-* 'to throw' ?); *sāčing* 'to agree with' (Sogd. *s'č-*, etc.), etc.

Some of these words may, of course, equally well be of Middle Prs. origin. Cf. also, e.g.: *birēna* 'womb' (Prs. *birīna*); *čatr* 'two-year-old calf' (Prs. *čadr* 'four-year-old she-camel', from a compound with *čatur-*); *ǰō-hān* 'stack of corn' (also Bal., but with Prs. dial. *-h-* < *-δ-*); *xūrt* 'tiny, minute' (Prs. *xurd* < **hw-ṛta-* 'well-ground'); *mistāi* 'reward for bringing glad tidings' (< Prs. **mizdāi*, cf. *mizda*, etc., 'glad tidings')²; *mōda* 'lamentation' (Prs. *mōya*); *pōta*

¹ Cf. Bal. *Gwaharām*, n.pr., prob. from Prs. *Bahrām*.

² Note that Br. has preserved the ancient meaning of the word.—Is Bal. *mistāyari* 'congratulations'—also with *st* for *zd*—borrowed through Br.?

'weft-thread' (Prs. *pūd*); *rōča* 'fast' (Prs. *rōza*); *šōm* 'breaking up ground for cultivation' (Prs. *šūmāž*, etc., 'ploughed field', Bakhtiari *šōm*, *šuhm* 'ploughing', Kurd. *šōv*, Talish *šūm* 'plough-furrow' < **xšaudman*- 'crushing' ?); *šīr-gōna* 'Latonionis leobordia' ('milk-coloured' ?); *zēn-kōda* 'pommel of a saddle' (Prs. *zīn-kūda*, Bal. *kōč* < **kōtč*), etc.

More archaic forms than those recorded from Bal. are, e.g., *xat* 'olive' (Bal. *haθ*); *kuām* 'nest' (Bal. *khudām*, Prs. *kunām* < **ku-dāman*-? ?); *patk* 'Populus euphratica' (Bal. *puxt*, Prs. *pada*). Such forms may, however, still exist in S. Bal. dialects.

Very characteristic of Br., and illustrating the complexity of borrowings, are the numerous doublets of words of Ir. and I.A. origin. Examples are, e.g.: *dāmān* 'skirt of a hill': *dāmun* 'skirt'; *drust* 'all': *durust* 'recognized'; *gumbaz* 'dome': *gumbud* 'vault, heap'; *drōγ* 'lie': *drōh* 'fraud' (I.A.); *šādū* 'magic': *šātū* 'witch'; *xūrda* 'lamb': *xūrt* 'tiny': *nāling*, *nāring*, *narding* 'to groan'; *pand* 'journey' (I.A.): *pant* 'advise' (Bal.); *pahr(a)*, *pās* 'watch, measure of time': *pāra* 'watch, sentry-go'; *pūra* (I.A.): *purr* 'full'; *rēk* 'sand': *rēg-ravān* 'quicksand'; *rōta*: *rōtk* 'root'; *tang* 'girth': *tank* 'tight'; *tāp* 'snare': *tāv* 'twisted'.

The origin of *čamrī* 'dried apricots': Khovar *čambor* is unknown to me.

A. 526.

G. MORGENSTIERNE.

BUDDHIST CAVE TEMPLES OF INDIA. By Major R. S. WAUCHOPE. 10 × 7½, pp. ix + 121, pls. 50, map 1. Calcutta: Edinburgh Press. London: Luzac and Co., 1935. 12s. 6d.

Major Wauchope's aim has been to give in a single volume a brief, yet attractive, illustrated survey of all the groups of Buddhist caves in India, more detailed and technical accounts of which are to be found in various reports of the Archæological

Survey and other publications, access to which is often difficult. The fact that all the plates but one are from photographs taken by the author himself speaks for the remarkable energy and interest he has devoted to the task. The value of the illustrations is enhanced by the addition of several 'group' views, and by the apt selection of view points, thus presenting in many instances an aspect not hitherto familiar.

The book, as will be gathered from the preface, is intended primarily for the "not-too-serious general reader"; and to such it will certainly appeal. The more serious Orientalist, however, may take exception to more than the peculiarities of transliteration of Indian words: for instance, to the inclusion of the Udayagiri and Khandagiri caves in the Puri (not Cuttack) district, which have been definitely assigned to adherents of the Jaina faith, as also of the caves of Elephanta, where the sculptures, as Dr. Hirānanda Śāstrī tells us, are "exclusively Brahmanical in origin". The meanings of the word *garbha* do not include that of 'dome'; nor can a 'dagoba' be correctly described as an altar (p. 8); and the term *torana* seems to have been confounded with *harmikā* (ib.). The suggestion that the pattern of the *caitya* window "probably representing the early thatched roof of a Bengal village hut took the shape of a conventionalized leaf of the sacred *pīpal*" is not likely to find general acceptance: surely it is but a copy of an earlier wooden type, with ridge-pole and beam-ends protruding? Such criticisms must not, however, detract from the pleasure of perusing this well illustrated record of wide travel, and at times of climbing, by a man with a keen sense of the artistic.

A. 533.

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

A SHORT HISTORY OF INDIA. By W. H. MORELAND and Sir ATUL CHATTERJEE. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$. pp. x + 496, maps 8. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1936. 12s. 6d.

This is an extraordinarily good piece of work. The joint authors (a combination which could not have been bettered)

have produced a narrative which is masterly in its condensation, yet presents many fresh and suggestive points of view. They have given a welcome prominence to the cultural and economic aspects of the subject; and they have avoided the common error of going too much into detail when dealing with the period of British ascendancy, preferring (as they say in their preface) "to write the history, not of British rule in India, but of India under British rule". Another merit of the work is that full account has been taken of the results of the recent labours of Indian historians, especially as regards the earlier history of the country. Particular mention should be made of the series of eight carefully designed maps, which are of the greatest assistance in following the narrative.

It is much to be hoped that a cheaper edition will in due course place within the reach of Indian schools and colleges a work so admirably suited to their needs.

A. 740.

W. FOSTER.

BUDDHIST MEDITATION IN THE SOUTHERN SCHOOL: Theory and Practice for Westerners. By G. CONSTANT LOUNSBERY. With a foreword by W. Y. EVANS-WENTZ. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, pp. xviii + 163. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1935. 6s. net.

LA MÉDITATION BOUDDHIQUE. Étude de sa théorie, et de sa pratique selon l'École du Sud. Same author. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, pp. 180. Paris: Adrian-Maisonneuve, 1935. 20 frs.

The present work, as Dr. Evans-Wentz explains, is not merely expository or historical, but a presentation of the essential technique and methods of meditation in its Buddhistic form. It thus has a practical purpose, which from one point of view is beyond the province of this *Journal*, but at the same time the subject is an essential part of any investigation of Indian psychology and philosophy. It is many years since Rhys Davids pointed out that Buddhist meditation in the Southern school does not imply any notion

of hypnotic trance. It is not even called Yoga, still less does it consist in *cittavṛttinirodha*, nor, in spite of some common terms, can it be interpreted on the lines of the *Yoga-sūtra* or even the *Bhagavadgītā*. Miss Lounsbery's work is not a mere Western attempt to interpret the system, but an exposition of the methods as described in the Canon. It follows the scheme developed by Buddhaghosa and as understood by modern Buddhists. No doubt it is to a special type of religious expression that such practices appeal, but what they actually are and aim at is also a question for the historian of religion. To that question this book is an able and serious contribution. The present book is a revision of the French edition, much improved in form, and in expression quite independent of the earlier work.

A. 465 and A. 618.

E. J. THOMAS.

WISSENSCHAFTLICHE ERGEBNISSE DER NIEDERLÄNDISCHEN
EXPEDITIONEN IN DEN KARAKORUM UND DIE ANGREN-
ZENDEN GEBIETE IN DEN JAHREN 1922, 1925, UND
1929/30. Herausgegeben von Dr. PH. C. VISSER
und JENNY VISSER-HOOFT. 11 × 7. Vol. i, pp. xviii +
499. In Kommission bei F. A. Brockhaus, Leipzig, 1935.

By a series of three expeditions—to which they have since added a fourth in 1935—into the unknown and little-known recesses of the Karakoram, Dr. Visser and Mrs. Visser-Hooft have gained an ever-increasing reputation as intrepid and indefatigable explorers.

In 1922, accompanied by two Swiss guides, they examined a number of glaciers in the Nubra-Shyok region. In 1925, this time with the addition to the party of an Indian surveyor, Khan Sahib Afraz Gul, they explored the mountain gorges of Eastern Hunza. In 1929 and 1930 they returned again to the Nubra-Shyok region and eventually made their way northwards over the Aghil and K'un Lun ranges to Chinese Turkistan. After wintering in Kashgar they returned via

Khotan to continue their explorations in the mountain country west of the Shyok and south of the Saser Pass, so connecting up with the work of the preceding summer. This expedition had the benefit of the services of a zoologist, Mr. J. A. Sillem, and a geologist, Dr. R. Wyss, as well as of two Indian surveyors. Dr. Visser himself specializes in geography and meteorology and Mrs. Visser-Hooft in botany.

Dr. Visser has already given some account of his explorations in lectures and in a couple of works published in Dutch and German, and Mrs. Visser-Hooft has provided a lively account of their Hunza expedition in her book *Among the Karakorum Glaciers in 1925* (Edw. Arnold, London, 1926).

The present volume initiates the publication of the scientific results of these expeditions. It begins with a section by Dr. Visser, entitled "Geographie" (pp. 1-118), in which he gives a historical summary of exploration in the Karakoram, Aghil, Serikol, and K'un Lun, which will be a convenience to those not acquainted with the literature. This is followed by two chapters giving the details of his own explorations. The section is concluded by a chapter on the geographical classification of the mountains of Central Asia and their nomenclature. This last is an original contribution to a subject of prolonged controversy and will be of special interest to geographers.

A note follows on "Our Maps". These are presumably to be published later. In the present volume there are only three sketch-maps: one of the Karakash Valley, one showing diagrammatically the arrangement of the mountain ranges, to illustrate the author's views, the last giving the halting places of the 1929-1930 expedition on so small a scale as to provide something of an optical exercise.

In the second section of the work (pp. 121-153), under the title of "Ethnographie" Mrs. Visser-Hooft sets out to give an account of the peoples and the countries visited. To Hunza and Nagar are allotted 28 pp., while Ladakh and Chinese Turkistan are dealt with in 5, which gives a

fair indication of the exiguity of the material available. Highly mobile expeditions, such as those of the Visser, carried out over a wide area under the most strenuous physical conditions and largely remote from the habitations of man, are not favourable to ethnographical research, and Mrs. Visser-Hooft, as was natural, seems to have drawn her material chiefly from previous writers, and has repeated some of their rather doubtful assertions. A great deal of work will have to be done before anything definitive can be said about the origins and relationships of the various peoples inhabiting the districts lying round Gilgit. It is not very helpful forcibly to christen them all "Dards" and then to say that the Dards "doubtless at least in part belong to Iranian stock". Biddulph and Conway notwithstanding, I know no reason for asserting that the Burūsho of Hunza are Yashkūns, an appellation which they themselves repudiate. Yashkūns live side by side and intermingled with the Shīns (not "Shinas") in the Shina-speaking districts of Gilgit; whether the non-Shina-speaking inhabitants of Yasin, Hunza, and Nagar share a common ancestry with the Yashkūns, whom their Shin neighbours regard as an inferior people, has yet to be proved by something more than possibility or even probability.

In speaking of their religion, Mrs. Visser-Hooft says that the Nagarīs are Sunni Muhammadans. This is incorrect. They are Shi'as as were the Hunzūkuts until they became Maulais (Isma'ilis) three or four generations ago.

The appearance, manners, customs, and occupations of the people are next dealt with, partly from original observation, in a few pages; a compression which inevitably leads to questionable generalizations from isolated data and to eclecticism in the material presented.

Finally, a brief note on folk-lore is followed by a folk-tale recorded in Shīnshāl by Dr. Visser. Ladakh and Chinese Turkistan then follow with their five pages, and the sections end with a bibliography.

The rest of this volume (pp. 161-494) is occupied with

the enumeration and technical description of the zoological material collected by Mr. J. A. Sillem during the 1929-1930 expedition, to which are added a collection of Lepidoptera made by Mrs. Visser-Hooft in 1925. The examination of these collections was arranged for by Dr. J. B. Corporaal, Kustos of the Entomological Section of the Zoological Museum in Amsterdam, and was carried out by eighty-seven specialists representing seventeen nationalities (the figures are Dr. Corporaal's). Mr. Sillem's own special domain is birds, and it appears that he was originally intended to play ornithologist only to the expedition and was pressed to take over the whole field of zoology almost at the last moment. It would therefore seem to be no mean achievement to have succeeded in collecting, preparing, and packing in difficult circumstances the following specimens: about 500 birds, 70 eggs, 450 fish, 40 reptiles and amphibians, more than 2,000 insects, and 225 other invertebrates. The work was done in no perfunctory way. "His steadfast devotion and extremely scientific documenting and labelling," says Dr. Corporaal, "deserve the highest praise." It must be a satisfaction to him that his labours have been rewarded not only by praise but by the discovery of a very large number of new species. To the layman it is disappointing that when we get to the higher end of the scale new species cease to appear. There seems to be no new fish, amphibian, reptile or mammal, while among the 155 birds which Mr. Sillem himself has described and identified he appears to claim no new species. Of mammals, specimens of only five species were collected: a hare, a mouse-hare (*ochotona*), a mouse, a *pseudois nahoor* (whatever that is), and a Tibetan antelope.

The text is frequently enlivened by excellent illustrations of the critical parts of the more interesting of the lower animals. The fish, which by the way are described by two Indian scientists, Dr. Sunder Lal Hora and Dev Dev Mukerji, M.Sc., of the Zoological Survey of India, are allowed an excellent series of portraits and photographs of two of their

habitats. There are also eight photographs of the chief habitats of various birds.

In the geographical and ethnographical sections of the book the photographs of scenery and people have suffered by bad reproduction.

It is very much to be hoped that Dr. and Mrs. Visser will be able to complete this splendid record of scientific work in an equally impressive and important volume presenting the results obtained in the spheres of geology, botany, and meteorology. Meanwhile all must congratulate them on the success attending their three courageous and valuable expeditions and on their safe return from the dangers and hardships of their explorations.

A. 624.

D. L. R. LORIMER.

THE ĀGHERAṆḌA SĀMḤITĀ. A Treatise on Haṭha Yoga.
 Trans. by ŚRĪŚ CHANDRA VASU. T.P.H. Oriental Series.
 7½ × 5, pp. xviii + 132. Adyar, Madras : Philosophical
 Publishing House, 1933.

The publishers of the above Yoga text issued in the same year the text and translation of the *Haṭha-yoga-pradīpikā*, of which the *Gheraṇḍa-sāmhītā* is a more detailed and more systematic continuation. This supplement is welcome, not only because it describes more extensively the *mudrās*, the doctrine of the ten winds of the body, and the diet of a yogin, but above all because it (1, 6; 1, 8; and 7, 3, etc.) gives a remarkable variant of the name and thus of the meaning of the *Haṭha-yoga*. *Haṭha-yoga* has been commonly interpreted as *haṭhād* or *haṭhena yoga*, as 'violent', 'sudden' *yoga*, which, however, is not in accordance with the contents of the *Haṭha-yoga-pradīpikā*, where the *madhyama-mārga*, or temperance in asceticism and abstinence from other forcible forms of mortification is expressly taught. The *Gheraṇḍa-sāmhītā* uses as a synonym for body the term *ghaṭa* or 'vessel' (of the Ātman). Similarly, the Upaniṣads and

their commentators speak of the body as the *puram* of the Ātman. Thus, instead of *Haṭha-yoga* we should read *Ghaṭa-yoga*, which would mean nothing more than 'physical' *yoga*, as contrasted with psychological or spiritual *yoga* which follows and is built up on it. The term would therefore not imply extreme ascetism. This agrees both with the constantly repeated prescriptions of the *Haṭha-yoga-pradīpikā* and with those of the *Gheraṇḍa-saṃhitā*.

The explicit rules of the *Gheraṇḍa-saṃhitā* also cast valuable light on the general attitude of the *yoga*. The *Gh.S.* asserts that "there are as many *āsanas* as there are living beings in the world" (2, 1). Thus we find in the enumeration of the postures, suited to the human body, the advice to imitate the bearing of different animals (serpent, tortoise, peacock, cock, lion, etc.) or of single parts of the bodies of animals (e.g. *go-mukha*). In addition, the imitation of the position of a tree or of a corpse (a position of complete relaxation) is recommended. The Indian, living in natural surroundings, is gifted with an acute faculty of observation (cf. the names of animals and plants in the Indian languages which point to a keen sense of perception). From these indications and descriptions of the manifold *yoga-āsanas* we can draw further important conclusions. In the first place we find the fundamental attitude of the Hindu firmly held in the *yoga* as well as everywhere in Indian thought, the idea that man cannot be regarded as being isolated from all other living creatures; further, that man through his general biological development, especially through his upright carriage, has lost valuable physical properties. The *yoga* tries to restore these natural qualities by means of special exercises. With regard to this tendency of the *yoga* we might consider the physical ideas underlying Indian mythology and their pictorial expression in Indian art. There, too, the Divine is sought not only in the human shape but also in other forms of living beings. An exhaustive study of the *biological* basis underlying the representations of the *yoga-āsanas* and those of Indian

art (plastics, dance, etc.) will reveal a new line of comparison which might be added to the studies on *yoga* and art which H. Zimmer gives from another angle in his book, *Kunstform und Yoga*.

The *Gheraṇḍa-saṁhitā* is, moreover, a remarkable text on account of its short but apt characterization of the purpose of the seven (*sic*!) stages of *yoga* exercises. In it, as well as in the *Haṭha-yoga-pradīpikā*, the attainment of all psychic stages is dependent on the physical preparation—a demand for the *mens sana in corpore sano*, which is taught in all particulars. Thus an exercise which has generally been interpreted as merely psychological, the fixing of a small point of concentration, must first, according to the *Gh.S.*, have a physical, then a psychological effect. The first step is that through this practice the eye is purified by the shedding of tears—thus, and only thus, is the way opened for introspection.

We are indebted to the translator for having made this important *yoga* text accessible to a wider public. The Sanskrit scholar will welcome his arrangement which facilitates the comparison of each verse and its translation.

A. 106.

B. HEIMANN.

DHOLĀ-MĀRŪRĀ DŪHĀ: A BALLAD FROM RĀJPUTĀNĀ.

Edited by RĀM SĪH, SŪRAJ KARAN, and NAROTTAM
DĀS. 8½ × 5½. pp. 15 + 877. Benares: Nāgarī Pracārīnī
Sabhā, 1934. Rs. 4.

This delightful and valuable work contains an old Rājasthānī ballad edited with much learning. The first and second of the editors are already favourably known to us through their edition of *Velī Krisan Rukmaṇī rī* published by the Hindustani Academy four years ago.

The date and authorship of the poem which they then edited were known. It was written by the famous Prithirāj ("Pīthal") of Bikāner and is one of the brightest gems of Dīngaḷ literature. This on the other hand is a ballad, and

like other ballads has no assignable author or date. All we can say is that it is later than A.D. 980, for the people described in it lived about that time. We may say also that through the years it has been constantly altered and modernized.

The volume before us begins with an introduction of 136 pages in which the editors give the geographical and historical background of the narrative, relate the story in brief, and discuss at considerable length from a conventional standpoint the different elements of the poem, such as the hero and heroine's separation, the hero's journey, their happy reunion, the other wife's distress, their return to her, and finally the camel which bore them back.

An account is furnished too of the different texts or versions of the story and of the MSS. in which they are enshrined.

The ballad, 1,348 lines in length is translated with copious linguistic notes and a full glossary. Poetically it is perhaps not equal to *Velī Krisan Rukmaṇī rī*, but in narrative power it is far superior. The language is in the main Middle Rājasthānī of the period 1200 to 1500.

We lay down the book with a feeling of gratitude to the editors and with the hope that they may give us more of the ballads and other narrative poems in which their country is so rich.

A. 496.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

THE GEETĀ: THE GOSPEL OF THE LORD SHRI KRISHNA
By SHRI PUROHIT SWĀMI. 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 6 $\frac{1}{2}$; pp. 110; pl. 1.
London: Faber and Faber, Ltd., 1935.

This edition of the Bhagavadgītā is a luxury edition, restricted to a limited number of copies, and has thus a narrow circulation, chiefly among people of means. This feature detracts from the value which the book might have had as a new translation of a very popular text. It also accounts for the fact that more importance is attached to its outer garb than to its inner body. Incidentally one wonders

why the author replaces the familiar spelling of the title by the curiously Anglicized form *Geetā*.

The book is dedicated to W. B. Yeats on the occasion of his seventieth birthday, and it bears in its preface a recommendation by the Gaekwar of Baroda. It is not our object here to criticize the translation in detail: that would be an extensive task. Suffice it to say that, although it may be "beautiful", it does not do justice to the peculiar beauty of the *Gītā*. The subtler shades of its poetical art have not been brought out in English, perhaps because they are inimitable.

Here one realizes once more the difficulty of translating a work in which philosophic interest prevails over the æsthetic appreciation of the word or that which is called the spirit of poetry. The latter which is inseparable from rhyme and rhythm is so often obscured by the letter of pure reason which finds expression in bare prose. Swāmi Purohit's translation in this respect does not come up to Edwin Arnold's "Song Celestial". Many striking similes and descriptions in the original have been omitted in the translation, many "puns" have been missed altogether.

This work is another interesting attempt to reset a masterpiece of Indian mysticism, art, and philosophical ethics without using all the means available in English to achieve an adequate setting. When will the "perfect" English *Gītā* be forthcoming?

A. 479.

W. STEDE.

AN INTRODUCTION TO COLLOQUIAL BENGALI. By W. SUTTON
PAGE. Forlong Fund. Vol. xiii. 9½ × 6. pp. xi + 195.
Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons, 1934. 10s. 6d.

This book teaches colloquial Bengali entirely by the phonetic method. The Bengali character does not appear at all, nor any word in its transliterated form. The model

which the author has chosen for this purpose is "the speech of an educated Bengali living in Calcutta", which is the same standard as was adopted by Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee. This speech is transcribed phonetically, and the teaching is combined with the use of linguaphone records. The phonetic system followed is that of the International Phonetic Association.

As the author remarks in the Preface, colloquial Bengali is very different from the Bengali of books, and experience has shown that those who approach the language in this way not only acquire more facility in speaking and understanding spoken Bengali, but also gain a better all-round mastery of the language.

The book is based upon some years of practical experience of the author in teaching Bengali to beginners, and for this reason has the advantage of being both practical and progressive. It begins with elementary exercises, but the method followed and the progressive exercises are so thorough that the student who has gone through it will have acquired a very complete speaking knowledge of the colloquial language, only requiring to be supplemented by an extended vocabulary, to enable him to converse with facility in Bengali.

The system followed in each lesson is, first, an explanation of the sounds and symbols used in it, which is followed by a Phonetic Drill, of the pronunciation of those sounds in various combinations; then a Sentence Drill, composed of words of those sounds; a Substitution Table for further practice in using the words employed in the Sentences, which is followed by Inductive Grammar, so far as it arises from the Sentences. This method of teaching the grammar is necessarily, but intentionally, inconsecutive, the object being that the student should not burden himself in the earlier stages with more of it than is necessary at the time. A complete Grammar of the Colloquial Language is given towards the end of the book, but the student is instructed not to refer to it until he reaches Lesson XXII.

The author remarks that "the section on grammar (pp. 115-172) is, so far as I am aware, the first attempt that has ever been made at a grammar of spoken Bengali as distinct from the Bengali of books". Although this is strictly correct as a separate grammar, the grammar of the spoken language has been given by Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, in conjunction with that of the written language in his "Outline of Grammar", pp. 110-144 of *Bengali Self Taught* in Marlborough's Self-Taught Series, in which it is phonetic; and so far back as 1861 by Shama Churn Sircar in "Rules for Familiar or Common Conversation", pp. 329-343 of his *Introduction to the Bengali Language*.

To obtain the best results, as the author notes, "the book should be used in conjunction with a teacher, and the ideal arrangement would be to divide the work into four periods: (1) a period spent in preparing the lesson with the help of the book and the gramophone records; (2) a period spent with the teacher, working through the sentence drills and exercises; (3) a period spent with the teacher, in conversation and 'unconscious assimilation', in which no English should be used; and (4) a period of revision of the day's work with the aid of the book and the gramophone records."

The teaching of Bengali by the phonetic script requires to be supplemented by a knowledge of the orthography, even more than in other languages, owing to the colloquial pronunciation of so many words differing so greatly from their spelling. The student who has learnt a language from phonetic script is not in the same position as a child who has learnt his language from ear before he does so from print, in as much as he has formed a visual image of the word in phonetic script. Thus, in Bengali, no difference is made in the phonetic script between the long and short vowels *i* and *u*, nor between ন, the dental *n*, and ণ, the cerebral *ṇ*; the symbol ʃ stands for all the three Bengali sibilants, শ, ঙ, ঝ, ʒ, and স, *s*; *c* represents চ, *ch*, ছ, *chh*, ত্, e.g. boc:or for বতসর, *batsar*,

and *sn*, e.g. can for স্নান, *snān*; and *bisēf* represents বিশেষ, *bīṣeṣ*, while *bisēf* represents বিশ্বাস, *biswās*; etc.

Dr. Sutton Page has in preparation *A Colloquial Bengali Reader*, intended for the use of students who, having finished the *Introduction to Colloquial Bengali*, wish to learn to read and write colloquial Bengali, which will include "a Transcription in Bengali characters of the sentence-drills, exercises, and stories" of the present book, and also a Vocabulary of Colloquial Bengali. If this will be merely a phonetic transcription in Bengali characters, it would be a great benefit if Dr. Sutton Page were also to include in the vocabulary, for comparison, the respective words as they are spelt.

The present book, as the author notes, should "be of use not only to beginners who intend to make a thorough study of the language, but also to a large number of Europeans resident in Bengal who have not the leisure to acquire a complete knowledge of the written language, but would be glad to learn enough to carry on a conversation in Bengali". For these the question of orthography does not arise, and the thanks of all students of Bengali are due to Dr. Sutton Page for this thorough and efficient work.

A. 345.

E. H. C. WALSH.

Art, Archaeology, Anthropology

LE TEMPLE DE DENDARA. By E. CHASSINAT. 14 × 10. Tome 1^{er}, pp. vii + 173; pls. i-lxxxvi. Tome 2^{me}, pp. 244; pls. lxxxvii-clxvii. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1934.

M. Chassinat certainly wastes no time. Hardly have the volumes of his publication of the Temple of Edfu ceased to appear than we find on our tables the first fruits of his work in the Temple of Dendera—the first of at least sixteen volumes. The new work in the main follows those lines with which we have become familiar in the case of the Edfu publication.

In the present work, however, each volume is being issued complete in itself, with both line and photographic plates. This is a very welcome improvement; it is a great convenience to have text and plates at the same time, instead of having to wait, as is still unfortunately the case with Edfu, for months or even years for the plates referring to any given portion of the text.

The new venture is in every sense a worthy successor of the magnificent Edfu volumes. That it should be accurate is only what we have come to expect from Chassinat. I do not pretend, as yet, to have read every word of these volumes, but nowhere in the course of a wide reading of the text and checking of the photographs have I discovered an error in transcription. The photographs are indeed good, especially when one considers the conditions under which some of them have had to be taken, and the line plates on the whole clear and well produced, though in some instances there is an unfortunate inequality in line. Chassinat must be congratulated on yet another excellent piece of work. Let us hope that no untoward events will hinder the regular appearance of the remaining fourteen volumes which are promised.

The two volumes which are dealt with here publish the texts—many of them for the first time—of the first parts of the temple to be built. In volume i are to be found the texts on the interior and exterior of the Sanctuary, and in volume ii those texts that are on the exterior of all the little chapels that open on to the corridor surrounding the Sanctuary, as well as the complete texts of the chapels that lie to the east and south-east of the Sanctuary (Nos. D-H on the plan).

One plea. It is indeed pleasant to be able to supplement the full publication of Edfu with an equally complete publication of Dendera: it is instructive to contrast and compare the one with the other, to note the differences in writing and texts, the greater number, for instance, of "enigmatic" writings at Dendera, or to see how the warlike atmosphere of Edfu hardly finds an echo in Dendera's courts and chapels

with their absorption in Hathor and her cult. But we most earnestly ask Chassinat not to forget that even Edfu is not yet quite complete: we still await anxiously the final half of volume x (the remaining line plates); the Mammisi is not yet complete, and, above all, is it too much to ask that in some way or other those painfully inaccurate first two volumes of Edfu may be corrected, or in some way rendered trustworthy and usable? We know that Chassinat is not to blame for these first two volumes, but they remain a blot on an otherwise admirable and invaluable piece of work, and are of prime importance for purposes of comparison with these two volumes of Dendera.

A. 381.

H. W. FAIRMAN.

FOUILLES DE TÉPÉ-GIYAN, PRÈS DE NÉHAVEND, 1931 ET 1932. Par G. CONTENAU et R. GHIRSHMAN. Musée du Louvre—Département des Antiquités Orientales. Série Archéologique, Tome III. 13 × 10. pp. vi + 144; pls. 85. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1935. Frs. 150.

This account of excavations carried out by the Louvre, with the active assistance of the Persian authorities, in 1931-3, is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of an area between Nihavand and Hamadan. In 1928 pottery and objects of brass were offered for sale by dealers in antiquities, and in 1930 some of these found their way to the Louvre. These objects were said to come from near Nihavand. It was decided to investigate the matter, and the expeditions led by Dr. Contenau and M. Ghirshman resulted.

Excavations were carried on during 1931 and 1932 at the small village of Giyan, half a dozen miles west by south from Nihavand; and borings were made in 1933 at Jamshidi (near Giyan) and Bad Hora (40 miles south-west of Hamadan). These excavations are described in detail in the careful report now made, containing 144 pages of text and tables, and a large number of excellent plates. At Giyan the trenches cut revealed five separate strata, containing graves and traces

of buildings; in each stratum objects of pottery and brass, etc., were found, which the authors compare with similar objects found at Susa, Jamdat Nasr, and elsewhere. The dates suggested run from 3,000 to 2,500 B.C. for the fourth stratum at Giyan to 1,400 to 1,100 B.C. for the uppermost. The broken sherds found at the lowest stratum are not dated, but can be compared with pottery found at Susa and El-Obeid. Two skulls, found at Jamshidi and Bad Hora, were examined by M. Vallois, who contributes an appendix dealing with them and the anthropological deductions to be drawn from them. An analysis of certain metal objects by Mlle L. Halm is also appended.

The book is well printed and is of considerable scientific value. It may be studied with advantage by those interested in the results of excavations in Persia and Iraq.

A. 628.

C. N. SEDDON.

Biblical Archæology

THE BIBLE: AN AMERICAN TRANSLATION. J. M. POWIS SMITH, Editor of the Old Testament; EDGAR J. GODSPEED, Translator of the New Testament. Popular edition. 8 × 5, pp. 883 + 247. U.S.A.: University of Chicago Press; Great Britain and Ireland: Cambridge University Press, 1935.

The reasons alleged for a new translation of the Bible are in the case of the Old Testament advanced knowledge of Hebrew, fuller appreciation of textual problems, clearer recognition of poetic structures, and changes in the English language since the earlier versions were executed. The work has been divided between the Editor, and Messrs. Theophile J. Meek, Leroy Waterman, and Alex. R. Gordon. Mr. Godspeed's reasons for his new rendering of the N.T. are analogous. An appendix furnishing a list of numerous passages wherein the Masoretic text has been altered is omitted from the Popular Edition.

To review a work of this scope would require more pages

than this journal can spare, and a whole staff of reviewers. Some idea of its nature may be given by comparing its renderings of some difficult verses with those of the R.V.

Psalm lviii, 9. R.V. :—

Before your pots can feel the thorns
He shall take them away with a whirlwind, the green and the
burning alike.

Am. B. :—

Before your pots feel the thorns
Whether green or burning, may he blow it away.

Psalm lxviii, 13. R.V. :—

Will ye lie among the sheepfolds,
As the wings of a dove covered with silver
And her pinions with yellow gold ?

Am. B. :—

(Did you lie among the sheepfolds ?)
The wings of a dove covered with silver,
And its pinions with glittering gold.

Job xix, 25-7. R.V. :—

But I know that my redeemer liveth,
And that he shall stand up at the last upon the earth :
And after my skin hath been thus destroyed,
Yet from my flesh shall I see God :
Whom I shall see for myself,
And mine eyes shall behold, and not another,
My reins are consumed within me.

Am. B. :—

But as for me, I know that my Vindicator lives,
And as the next-of-kin he will stand upon my dust ;
And as the next-of-kin he will rise as my witness,
And I shall see God as my defender,
Whom I shall see on my side,
And my eyes will see to be no stranger.
My emotions are spent within me.

Phil. ii, 6. R.V. :—

Who, being in the form of God, thought it not a prize to be
on an equality with God.

Am. B. :—

Though he possessed the nature of God, he did not grasp at equality with God.

1 Cor. xi, 10. R.V. :—

For this cause ought the woman to have *a sign* of authority on her head, because of the angels.

Am. B. :—

That is why she ought to wear upon her head something to symbolize her subjection, out of respect to the angels, if to nobody else.

The N.T. renderings quoted scarcely differ from those of James Moffatt ; if ἐξουσία "licence", "authority", can really mean " a symbol of subjection ", perhaps the derivation of *lucus a non lucendo* may after all be correct. The O.T. renderings do not differ materially from the R.V., except in the verses of Job, where the text has been altered beyond recognition. These specimens suggest that the results of philological research have been somewhat overrated.

A. 645.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

TEXTS AND STUDIES IN JEWISH HISTORY AND LITERATURE.

By JACOB MANN. Volume II. *Ḳaraitica*. 9½ × 6½.
pp. xxiii + 1600 ; facsimiles 4. Philadelphia : Jewish
Publication Society of America, 1935. \$5.

The second and concluding volume of Professor Jacob Mann's monumental *Texts and Studies in Jewish History and Literature* (the first volume was reviewed by me in this *Journal* in 1933) extends to no less than 1,600 pages. In this volume the author has edited and annotated with masterly ability an unrivalled collection of documents relating exclusively to the *Ḳaraites*. By far the largest portion of these documents come from the National Library at Leningrad, but other collections, notably those at Oxford, Cambridge, and at the British Museum, are also utilized. Professor Mann

traces the fluctuating fortunes of the sect of the *Ḳaraites* through all the stages of their variegated history, from the hey-day of their power in the days of *Sē'adhyāh* (who championed so brilliantly the claims of Rabbinic Judaism), down to modern times. The documents cover most of the centres of *Ḳaraite* activity, ranging from Egypt and Palestine to the Crimea, and Lithuania and Poland. The lion's share of the book is devoted to *Ḳaraism* in Lithuania and Poland, where Professor Mann strikes altogether new ground. Thanks to the rich material available at Leningrad, which has not before been made use of by scholars, Professor Mann has added a new chapter to history.

In a brief review it is, of course, impossible to deal critically with a work of this scope. It must suffice to say that the present volume exhibits the same scholarly qualities as the first. On the other hand, it is to be regretted that Professor Mann has not removed from his book the many evidences of hasty writing and defective proof-reading. These are, however, minor blemishes in a scholar who has rapidly established himself as leading authority on Geonic and *Ḳaraite* history and literature. He has opened up with these two volumes new avenues of fruitful research and has accumulated in them treasure from whose quarry scholars will hew with profit for many years to come.

A. 556.

J. LEVVEN.

MARRIAGE CONDITIONS IN A PALESTINIAN VILLAGE. Vol. II.

By HILMA GRANQUIST, PH.D., Societas Scientiarum Fennica. *Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum*, vi, 8. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 366, ill. 30. Helsingfors: Akademische Buchhandlung, 1935. Leipzig: Otto Harrasowitz. Fmk. 160.

The second volume of this work fully maintains the standard set by the first. It is remarkable what a wealth of human interest the author has extracted from the narrow field to

which she has confined her inquiries. This is partly due to the fact that the explanations of rites, customs, etc., are set down in the actual words of her native helpers, 'Alya, Hamdiye, and Sitt Louisa, and to the translations of traditional bridal songs, etc., which the author gives. These songs, apart from their interest in connection with the subject under review, are very colourful and often really poetic.

The book reveals the continuance of superstitions which must be immemorial, even pre-Islamic. Avoidance of the Evil Eye is naturally one of the main preoccupations of these Palestinian peasants and the use and fear of spells seem universal, just as they were among the Semitic peoples of ancient Mesopotamia. Taboos also play a part.

Another feature is the conservatism which seeks to retain old faiths and customs against the incursions of westernization or at least to wed the new to the old and so preserve the old.

The present volume deals with (i) marriage ceremonies (betrothal ceremonies, periods for wedding celebrations, preparations and preliminary festivals for weddings, the fetching of the bride, the bridegroom's home, and the wedding week), and (ii) married life (the woman in her husband's house, polygyny, the *ḥardāne* problem, divorce, and widow and widower), and each section is treated in careful detail and elaborately annotated.

These simple fellahin are also on occasion distinctly amusing, not only in the pleasure which they derive from getting a good meal out of a wedding, but also in the eagerness which is displayed by all who legitimately can, especially the bride's uncle, to make money out of the marriage proposal. The latter personage indeed will often stay away from the actual proceedings of the betrothal contract so that he may afterwards disavow responsibility for it and so make a *douceur* the condition of his acceptance.

Nevertheless these people are quite lovable, and the village weddings afford them the opportunity of displaying an unaffected joy in the elemental events of human life not

too common in the mechanized and sophisticated West. In their humble way they have a much greater sense of the pomp of procession and ritual of public ceremony than the sombre, unimaginative, over-“civilized” European.

There are also biblical parallels as would be expected in the “Immovable East”, and not the least fascinating feature of the book is the way in which it throws the light of reality on the life of ordinary people in the Old Testament narrative.

Indeed this comprehensive study should afford a happy hunting ground in which biblical students may trace the continuity of human customs, hopes, and fears in the Holy Land.

A book which in nearly six hundred large sized pages deals with but one aspect of life, albeit one of the most important, in the circumscribed area of a small village, might seem to the casual observer to promise a satiety of academic dullness, but this is just what the book does not give. It is in fact a work which the imaginative student can take up and, in spite of its extremely careful and thorough treatment of its subject, find pleasantly informative and stimulating, and thoroughly enjoy.

The book is alive because it is an eye-witness account of, and deals simply and clearly with, real life in a country which by its associations, its part in history, and the influence it has had in moulding the religious thought of both East and West still draws and will continue to draw towards itself the questing mind of the seeker after knowledge.

The book should become a standard work of reference and remain a mine of information.

A. 586.

E. B. W. CHAPPELOW.

Cuneiform

LE POÈME BABYLONIEN DE LA CRÉATION. (Enuma eliš.)

By RENÉ LABAT. 10 × 6½, pp. 177. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1935. Fr. 45.

Of translations and treatises upon the Babylonian Creation Epic there seems to be no end; only a few months ago there appeared the Italian translation of Furlani and a German critical discussion by Deimel. This is at any rate a tribute to the interest which was so profoundly stirred by George Smith's first revelation of the story in 1876, and a sign that it is by no means yet exhausted when the story has acquired a greater completeness from subsequent discoveries, the latest of which are incorporated in the present book. If M. Labat needed justification for adding another to the existing versions he can plead that his is the only one completely up to date in its text, and he can add that the last French translation was made in 1907. But he needs none for having published so valuable and useful a work, which gains rather than loses from being based upon lectures given to students and from the appropriate *forme un peu scolaire*, as he calls it.

The Introduction is divided into three sections: (1) Text, language, and composition; (2) Sumerian and Semitic sources; (3) Religious value and significance of the poem. Of these the third is valuable, and the others convey the necessary information with admirable fullness. But a good deal that appears here is more speculative than the author's manner suggests, whether the subject be the date of composition, or the alleged sources and forerunners of the epic. He is not, of course, responsible for the confidence with which theories about these matters have been propounded, but he reproduces them with perhaps insufficient criticism. In particular this applies to what is said about the assumed earlier traditions of Nippur, Marduk replacing Enlil or Ninurta, and the like. The truth is that we have no real prototypes of the Creation Epic, such as we have for Gilgamesh, and in their absence conjecture has been widely substituted.

(At the end of p. 60 M. Labat has been sadly misled by his authority.)

The translation itself (printed with the transcription on the opposite page) is good, and not afraid to be original in several of the obscure passages in which the text abounds. The notes are particularly valuable for the attention which they pay to grammar, though sometimes a rather wilful interpretation seems to be chosen, and the long note on p. 143 f. is unconvincing; there is other evidence to suggest that the purpose of the gods in creating man really was no more than to unburden themselves of the housing and catering problems.

A. 589.

C. J. GADD.

Islam

KORÁN: PRVNÍ ÚPLNÝ PŘEKŁAD Z ARABŠTINY POŘÍDIL.

Dr. A. R. NYKL. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xxxi + 360. Prague: Maráč v Praze, 1934.

While Muslim savants are still at controversy over the new Turkish translations of the Qur'ān, being generally opposed to all translation, Christian scholars are seemingly more active than ever in producing translations of the Scripture of Islam. New translations in Swedish, Italian, French, Spanish, Bulgarian, and Greek have succeeded one another in the last few years, and here is the latest of them, a new translation into Czech.

In 1913 Dr. Ignaz Veselý commenced a Czech translation which appeared in parts and was completed in 1925—*Korán, z arabštiny přeložil Dr. Ignác Veselý, s předmluvou a 5 vyobrazeními v Textu*. Praha, 1913–1925, 8vo, vi, 592 pp. Veselý's translation, however, was dependent very largely on Marracci's Latin, with some reference to the French versions, and is now practically unprocurable.

Dr. Nykl's version is made direct from the Arabic text by a competent Arabist, and has taken account of most of the recent research work done on the Qur'ān. He has an adequate

introduction on the place of the Qur'ān among the Sacred Books of the East, and giving the necessary information as to Muḥammad and the growth of the Qur'ān, to make the book intelligible to a Czech audience. He also notices the work of earlier translators and the little that has been done in the way of Qur'ānic introduction. His own version wisely follows the text of the printed Qur'āns, but he gives Nöldeke's chronological arrangement of the Sūras for those who would wish to study more carefully the growth of the book.

The brief notes to the text are gathered at the end, as in the case of Zetterstéen's version, and are followed by a Table of Sūras. The printing and general get up of the work are attractive, but one wonders what sale such a version will have even in its own linguistic area.

N.R. 38.

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

NUZHAT AL-'UMR FI'T-TAFDIL BAIN AL-BAID WA'S-SŪD
WA'S-SUMR. By JALĀL AD-DĪN AS-SUYŪṬĪ. 9 × 6½,
16 pp. Damascus : Taraqqī Press, 1349.

There seems no end to the appearance of small or great tractates from the store left by the great Muslim polygraph of the fifteenth century, whose literary production seems to have covered the whole area of Islamic learning from Commentaries on the Qur'ān to unblushing pornography.

The present elegantly printed little pamphlet concerns the Colour Question. The Colour Question is not entirely a modern one, nor one that occupies the Nordic races only. One occasionally comes across it in Arabic writings of the present day, and as-Suyūṭī in his introduction to this pamphlet tells us that quite a number of Arabic men of letters had devoted their attention to the comparative excellences of the white and brown peoples. Ibn al-Marzubān had even written a work to prove the superiority of the blacks over the whites, but as-Suyūṭī says that since he had also produced a work to prove that dogs were superior to many who wore pants, we may be excused from taking his work seriously.

The work itself is mostly an anthology of little poetical pieces that the author has excerpted from a great variety of sources all dealing with the virtues and excellences or otherwise of the whites and the blacks and the browns. Perhaps it is necessary to remind the reader that by whites these authors do not mean Europeans.

The verses are of varying quality, and some are mainly of interest because of the source from which they come. Some are witty, some are bitter, but none perhaps more worthy of quotation than the couplet of al-Bahā' Zuhair which heads the last page—

“Hearken to a true saying * and hold with me that which is true.

A gentleman is a gentleman * beloved whate'er be his colour.”

N.R. 36.

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

ORIENTALISTISCHE STUDIEN ENNO LITTMANN ZU SEINEM
60. GEBURTSTAG AM 16. SEPTEMBER, 1935, ÜBERREICHT
VON SCHÜLERN AUS SEINER BONNER UND TÜBINGER
ZEIT. Herausgegeben von R. PARET. 10 × 6. Leiden :
E. J. Brill, 1935.

This volume is somewhat similar to the one dedicated to Professor Kahle, only its contents deal exclusively with Semitic subjects. Attention should be called to a paper of some length by Fridolin Stier *Zur Komposition und Literarkritik der Bilderreden des Aethiopischen Henoch* (Kap. 37-69), and to one by Otto Spies *Über wichtige Handschriften in Meschhed*. In the case of several others, while the industry displayed is commendable, it may be doubted whether the conclusions will win acceptance. Thus the first article (by Hans Alexander Winkler) which collects nonsense words from nursery rhymes, spells, etc., in many languages, endeavours to enucleate thence the order of the letters in the Hebrew alphabet, not very convincingly. The second (by Karl Georg Kuhn) in which the different forms of the Tetragrammaton are historically traced explains the form יהוה as a plural ; this view is paradoxical

on several grounds. The editor contributes a paper on "The plan of a new translation of the Qur'an"; one may agree with him that the Arabic commentaries often inspire little confidence, but the first example which he offers of a new rendering is in the same case. It is of the words (iv, 38). *فَالصَّالِحَاتِ قَاتَاتٍ حَافِظَاتٍ لِلْغَيْبِ بِمَا حَفِظَ اللَّهُ* und *die rechtschaffenen Frauen sind demüthig ergeben und das Verborgene (nicht für die Öffentlichkeit Bestimmte, d.h. die geschlechtlichen Intimitäten) bei sich bewahrend wegen dessen was Gott bewahrt hat (weil Gott bestimmt hat, dass so etwas nicht an die Öffentlichkeit kommen soll)*. Now the fact that the law-books contain a section dealing with *Al-qasm wal-nushuz* makes it clear that this interpretation cannot be right; Tabari's authorities were unable to construe the words, some resorting to the rather desperate expedient of reading *Allaha* as the object of *hafiza*. Karl Heinrich's explanation of the exclamation *לוקוס* in a story told in the Tosefta Sukka as the Latin *locus* is not attractive; from the context it would appear that the word should be Greek, and the ordinary interpretation of it as *λύκος*, "wolf," is fairly satisfactory.

Still our congratulations on the *Festschrift* should be offered to Professor Littmann, whose pardon the reviewer solicits for "looking his gift-horse in the mouth".

A. 807.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

THE HISTORY OF THE KORAN. A Treatise on the Biography of the Prophet and on the History of the Holy Koran, its writing, the order of its chapters, how they were collected, and the translation of the Koran into European Languages. By ABU ABDULLAH AL-ZANDJANI, Member of the Arabic Academy. With an Introduction by Professor AHMAD AMIN, of the Egyptian University, and a Forward (*sic*) by the Committee for translating Incyclopaedia (*sic*) of Islam into Arabic. 9½ × 6½, pp. xx + 83. Cairo: Lagnet al-Taalif wal-Targama wal-Nashr Press, 1935.

With the exception of the title-page and the Committee's "Forward" the work is in Arabic, and represents a new venture in Qur'ānic studies which is very welcome. The author is a Shi'a Muslim, who is already well known for his contributions to the Damascus Academy, and produced this little book while visiting Cairo for the meetings of the Arabic Academy there. The Committee's "Forward" is not very fortunate in its English, which does not always say what they mean to say, as when they refer to the work of European Orientalists whose "views are sometimes not very far from being impartial". Aḥmad Amin's introduction confines itself to expressing his satisfaction as a Sunnī in introducing the work of a Shi'a, which may herald a day when both great sections of Islam may work together on common problems.

The work itself is extremely interesting, for though the author gives the orthodox solutions to all his problems, he is aware of the work of modern scholarship, and of the modern attitude that must be taken up even with regard to the Holy Book of Islam. This is so unusual that it deserves to be given notice. Though the author has obviously never read a word of Nöldeke, he knows of him and of his attempt at chronological arrangement of the material of the Qur'ān. Though he himself argues every time for the orthodox position, he is not afraid to recognize that there is another position.

To the general student of Islam the main interest of the little book is that it gives in a succinct form the orthodox account of the formation, assembly, and arrangement of the Qur'ān, giving clearly and concisely information that one often has to search for in many sources. To the Qur'ānic specialist the work has two claims to notice. Firstly it gives the Shi'a additions to the usual Sunnī traditions. Secondly the author quotes material from certain Shi'a works still in MS., such as the Teheran MS. of the *Tafsīr* of ash-Shahraṣṭānī, which seem to contain material of the first importance for our study of the early history of the Qur'ān text. Thus, for instance, beside the variant order of the Sūras in the Codices

of Ubai b. Ka'b and 'Abdallah b. Mas'ūd, which were already known to us from the *Fihrist* and the *Itqān*, he gives variant Sūra orders from the Codices of 'Abdallah b. 'Abbās and of Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq.

Outside the field of his immediate Qur'ānic studies the author is somewhat at sea. For instance in his chapter on the conditions in Arabia before Muḥammad came he tells us that the Christians were divided into Jacobites, Nestorians, Arians, and Orthodox, while the Jews were divided into Rabbinic Jews, Qaraites, and Samaritans. Arians look strange among the Christians of that day, and since Anan the founder of the Qaraites was a contemporary of Abū Ḥanīfa it is stranger still to find Qaraite Jews in pre-Islamic Arabia. He also seems to think that Estrangelo was a type of Jewish script.

On p. 46 he makes the statement that the great Samarkand Codex which used to be in the Leningrad Museum has now been taken to England. This statement one hears every now and again and it needs examination. The Indian Muslims were furious when Pisareff published his photographic reproduction of this Codex for the use of textual studies, and the story that I have is that after the Russian Revolution the Indian Muslims requested the Codex to be restored to Muslim hands. The Soviet authorities granted the request and the Codex was taken and destroyed. If it was not destroyed scholars would be very glad to know of its whereabouts.

N.R. 37.

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

ANALYTICAL INDICES TO THE KITĀB AL-'IKD AL-FARĪD OF AḤMAD IBN MUḤAMMAD IBN 'ABD RABBIHĪ, prepared by MOHAMMAD SHAFI'. Vol. I. Indices. 10½ × 7. Calcutta: The Baptist Mission Press, for the University of the Panjab, 1935.

Professor Shafi' has earned the cordial gratitude of all who study Arabic literature by undertaking and executing this arduous task. How widely read the '*Ikḍ al-Farīd*' is, may be

inferred from its having gone through six editions, for any of which these indices will serve, as the compiler has devoted 55 pages to collating their pagination. The word Analytical in the title is fully justified, as the articles are not merely references to places where names occur, but furnish summaries of what is said about them, with valuable comments. Like the Indices to the *Aghānī* this work gives a special index of poets and another of rhymes. It is a counsel of perfection to read a book from cover to cover before quoting it; but even when this has been followed a good index saves an incalculable amount of time. And this is one of the best which has been compiled for any work of importance.

When the famous Ṣāhib Ismā'īl b. 'Abbād saw this encyclopaedia of a Spanish Muslim, he quoted the words of Joseph's brethren (Sūrah xii, 64), "Here is our merchandise returned to us," implying that the matter was all familiar. The modern student would not describe it similarly, but rather as a mine of useful information. The publication of this admirable set of Indices is calculated to bring honour to all who have had a hand in it, the compiler, the University of the Panjab, and the Baptist Mission Press.

N.R. 42.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

احلام السياسة وكيف يتحقق السلام العام (POLITICAL DREAMS, AND HOW UNIVERSAL PEACE CAN BE REALIZED). By AL-USTADH AL-HAKIM AL-SHAikh TANTAWI JAUHARI. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. Figs. 3. Cairo: Mustafa al-Babi al-Halabi and Sons, 1354 (1935).

The title of this work calls to mind those of two treatises to be found in the collected works of Immanuel Kant, *Träume eines Geistersehers* and *Zum ewigen Frieden*. Kant was a mathematician and astronomer, but these sciences do not enter into his expedients for perpetual peace; both are employed by the Shaikh as well as botany, chemistry, anatomy,

and psychometry. He states that on certain days of the year 1932 he dreamed that he was wafted to Orion and placed under the protection of five guardian spirits, in order to undergo examination by a board, who would ascertain his ability to utilize various sciences for the promulgation of universal peace. Each day's examination was confined to one question, to which his answer won loud applause, the most vociferous of his admirers being houris of unrivalled beauty. Even if this *Journal* admitted such topics, it would be hazardous to summarize his replies for fear of doing him injustice. It is, however, comforting to learn that he is thoroughly optimistic about the results; and since chemistry has provided the most homicidal instruments of war, a demonstration that the table of the elements might be used for securing universal peace should be welcomed with enthusiasm.

The reviewer's acquaintance with the Shaikh dates from 1904, when he had already commenced what is now a long series of works, all of which have lofty and philanthropic aims. He has endeavoured, not without some success, to eradicate prejudices and to promote good will. It may be hoped that this book may do something to compass these ends.

A. 776.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

1. DIWAN OF KHAKI KHORASANI. An abbreviated version, edited with an introduction by W. IVANOW. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. pp. 20 + ۱۲۸. Bombay: Islamic Research Association, No. 1, 1933.
2. TWO EARLY ISMAILI TREATISES. Edited by W. IVANOW. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. pp. 9 + ۱۲. Bombay: Islamic Research Association, No. 2, 1933.
3. SHIHABU'DDIN SHAH AL-HUSAYNI, TRUE MEANING OF RELIGION (RISALA DAR HAQIQATI DIN). Edited and translated by W. IVANOW. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. pp. 28 + ۳۷. Bombay: Islamic Research Association, No. 3, 1933.

4. KALAMI PIR, A TREATISE ON ISMAILI DOCTRINE. Edited and translated by W. IVANOW. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. pp. lxxviii + 146 + 11v. Bombay: Islamic Research Association, No. 4, 1935.

The first fruits of the Bombay Islamic Research Association bear testimony to the excellent work it has done since its foundation a few years ago and reflect credit not only on the indefatigable editor and translator, to whom none will grudge the lion's share, but also on all concerned in their production; perhaps I may be allowed to mention particularly the Secretary of the Association, my friend and former pupil, Mr. Asaf A. A. Fyzee, who is himself an authority on the subject, and has given valuable help in more ways than one. The format of these handy volumes will be appreciated by European students. The Persian text, lithographed at the Muzaffarí Press, pleases the eye, while the English printing, for which the Baptist Mission Press is responsible, looks as well as it reads. *Al-záhir 'unwánu 'l-báṭin*.

As was remarked by E. G. Browne in connection with the Bábis, study of the origin and growth of a religious movement that has constantly been exposed to persecution "is fraught with peculiar difficulties". In the present case every scholar knows how great they are, and few will quarrel with Mr. Ivanow's statement that "one of the most important problems of research in the medieval culture of Persia is to discover, and, when discovered, to make easily accessible, genuine original works dealing with the doctrine of Persian Ismailism". His investigations have thrown much light on the beliefs current in Central Asia and Southern Persia amongst Ismá'ílís belonging to the Nizárí branch which broke away from the Fátimid tradition and is now represented in India by the Khojas under the religious headship of H.H. the Aga Khan. The documents he has edited, though late copies, seem in the main to be authentic and show that the developed Nizárí system was a characteristically Persian blend of diverse

elements derived from Shí'ite theology and Šúfí theosophy. The details of this combination are suggestive as an example of the way in which opposite doctrines may nevertheless influence each other to such an extent that in the end, apart from some matters of terminology, the difference between them almost disappears. The fact that the Nizári books are popular in style and relatively worthless as literature does not impair, but on the contrary rather accentuates, their value as records of a "mystery" religion that in spite of being driven below the surface continually welled up to feed the large streams of Moslem intellectual life.

With only incorrect modern MSS. at his disposal, Mr. Ivanow decided to publish what he calls "auxiliary or tentative editions, which may be used in the same manner as a facsimile, having, however, considerable advantages over it", since they are supplied with indexes and short notes and preceded by critical introductions, where the student will find information regarding the contents of each volume and also (when possible) about its author. Some questions raised in these preliminary surveys are of great interest and invite discussion which would exceed the limits of a review, though in the present state of our knowledge it could seldom be profitable. Mr. Ivanow handles his problems with judgment as well as learning, and his conclusions carry the more weight because he refuses to jump to them.

While admittedly tiresome reading the volumes before us reveal curious aspects of Ismá'ílí mentality and furnish evidence as to the nature of the doctrine taught in Persia since the twelfth century A.D. Its historical relation to the orthodox Fátimid school must remain obscure till the missing links are disclosed by further research.

The selections from the *Díwán* of Khákí Khorásání introduce us to an Ismá'ílí devotee, whose proper name was Imám-qulí of Dizbád. He lived in the Šafawí period. His poems are poor in quality and careless of metre. Superficially much in them might be mistaken for Šúfism, but many Šúfí terms

he uses, e.g. *Ahli Haqq*, are to be understood quite differently. The editor points out an interesting reference to thirty-three religious trade-guilds (v. 772 sqq.).

Of the two works contained in the second volume, the former, entitled *Haft Bábi Bába Sayyid-ná*, is important on account of the early date (A.D. 1199-1200) at which it was composed, and also because it is a basis of our chief source of information concerning Nizári Ismailism, namely, the *Kalámi Pír* (see below). Of course the *Haft Báb* cannot be the work of Ḥasani Šabbāḥ, as its title pretends; it gives, however, a few sayings of his and several quotations from certain *fuṣūli mubārak* ascribed to the Imám Ḥasan 'alá dhikrihi 'l salám, who promulgated the Nizári reformed doctrine at Alamút in A.D. 1164. The second treatise (*Maṭlúbu 'l-Mu'minín*), a compendium for novices, has no remarkable feature except that the author calls himself Muḥammad (presumably Naṣíru'ddín) Ṭúsí. In my opinion, this attribution is fictitious.

Mr. Ivanow describes the *Risála dar ḥaqíqati dín*, which forms the third volume of the series, as a useful introduction to the study of Ismá'ílí and especially Nizári doctrine. Its author, son of the 47th Imám of the Nizáris, was a comparatively young man when he died fifty years ago, leaving it incomplete.

All these sketchy outlines are filled in by a far more extensive and detailed compilation, the so-called *Kalámi Pír* which, in its present form, the editor assigns to the sixteenth century of our era. The "Pír" is the famous Ismá'ílí poet and philosopher, Náṣiri Khusraw, and the opening chapter repeats the story of his conversion as related in his pseudo-autobiography. Like Ḥasani Šabbāḥ and Naṣíru'ddín Ṭúsí, he merely serves to lend authority to the anonymous writer's principles of faith: such figureheads are natural and almost necessary when a persecuted sect possesses no official learned class of its own. Mr. Ivanow has studied the original version of the *Kalámi Pír*, which only came into his hands after

the latter was in print. As the result of his painstaking analysis, it appears that practically the whole of the older text (entitled *Haft Báb* of Abú Isháq) is contained, together with large additions, in the work he has translated, of which he gives the following account: "The work is not concerned with philosophical matters and obviously avoids them. The purpose of the author was apparently twofold: to give the necessary instruction to his co-religionists and to dispel any possible doubt which might arise in the minds of the sectarians, who were chiefly recruited from amongst the Ithna-'asharis, or who lived amongst them. The first half of the book deals chiefly with controversial matters, while the second is devoted to dogmatic questions, though these subjects are not entirely separated from each other." In reading what is said about the Imáms and their real nature, the student of Šúfism will find himself at home: *mutatis mutandis*, it is just the mystical theory of the Perfect Man.

We are deeply indebted to Mr. Ivanow for his explorations and discoveries in a secret religious literature which hitherto has been jealously guarded by its owners.

A. 27, 26, 25, 483.

R. A. NICHOLSON.

Miscellaneous

A HISTORY OF EXPLORATION. By SIR PERCY SYKES. 10 × 6½.
pp. xiii + 338, ill. 25, maps 33. London: George
Routledge and Sons. 2nd edition, 1935. 12s. 6d.

THE QUEST FOR CATHAY. By SIR PERCY SYKES. 9½ × 6½.
pp. xiv + 336; ill. 25; maps 35. London: George
Routledge and Sons, 1935. 15s.

Sir Percy Sykes' *History of Exploration* has now been in the hands of the public for some three years past, and its merits have been so fully recognized that a further presentation of its virtues seems somewhat superfluous. It was a happy thought of the author to bring together in one book an account

of the explorations of all ages and all countries, and he has covered his wide field with conspicuous success. No book could fail to please which recounts the adventures of the great procession of the world's explorers—which tells us of Polo, of Ibn Batuta, of Columbus, of the Conquistadors, of Captain Cook, of Speke, of Livingstone, of Doughty, of Amundsen, of Scott, and all the company of brave men who have explored new lands or new oceans—and in Sir Percy Sykes' hands the history of their achievements makes gallant reading. He has an eye for the more striking and romantic aspects of travel and his narration carries us on from one enterprise to another with an easy flow of diction and an infectious enthusiasm. His book is well illustrated and is furnished with no less than 33 maps, accompaniments which add greatly to the joy of reading the letterpress.

The later volume on *The Quest for Cathay* is of a different calibre. It does not supersede, nor does it in any way aim at superseding, the immortal Yule and his commentators, and it is addressed not to the experts but to the laymen interested in Asiatic travel. To such readers it presents a brightly written conspectus of Central Asian exploration though the centuries, illustrated by excellent photographs and maps, and it obtains an added interest from occasional references to the author's personal experiences in the same areas. There is at times a tendency to digression, but the digressions, like those of the Father of History, add to the charm of the book and the narrative displays on every page the intense interest of the author in his subject. The conclusion, which comes on us a little abruptly, is appropriately signalized by the quotation of the saying regarding Benedict Goes, who, in 1607, "seeking Cathay found heaven": but neither Sir Percy Sykes, nor Sir Henry Yule, have told us who it was who said this or where the saying is recorded.

DAVID KIMḤI'S HEBREW GRAMMAR (MIKHLÖL). Systematically presented and critically annotated by WILLIAM CHOMSKY. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 6, pp. iv + 120. Philadelphia: The Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning, 1933.

David Kimḥi was one of the three great Jewish medieval commentators of the Bible. Rashi (1040–1105), Abraham ibn Ezra (1092–1167), and David Kimḥi (1160–1235) are “a threefold cord” that “is not quickly broken”. Kimḥi's commentary had a great influence on the English version of the Bible. Kimḥi was also a great grammarian and lexicographer. His important work *Mikhlöl* consists of two parts. The first part contains an exposition of Hebrew grammar, and the second part a dictionary of the Bible. The second part, regarded as a separate work, was later issued under the title *Sefer ha-Shorashim*, “the Book of Roots,” and the title *Mikhlöl* was retained exclusively for the part dealing with the grammar. The influence of Kimḥi's *Mikhlöl* extends to our own days (cf. E. König's *Hebrew Grammar*).

It is obviously a matter for satisfaction if the work of Kimḥi is illumined more fully. Dr. Schiller-Szinessy laid Biblical students under a lasting debt of gratitude by his scholarly and beautifully printed edition of Kimḥi's commentary on the first Book of the Psalms (Cambridge, 1883). It has taken over fifty years before Kimḥi's commentary on the second Book of the Psalms has been edited (by Dr. Sidney I. Esterson, of Baltimore, in the *Hebrew Union College Annual*, vol. x, Cincinnati, 1935). It is to be hoped that the remaining parts of Kimḥi's commentary on the Psalms will follow in more rapid succession.

Now we have to welcome the publication of a part of Kimḥi's *Mikhlöl* by a young American scholar. Dr. William Chomsky submitted as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning at Philadelphia “David Kimḥi's Hebrew Grammar

(*Mikhlol*) systematically presented and critically annotated". In the Preface the author surveys the grammatical work of Kimḥi and gives the reason for his endeavour to give a systematized translation of Kimḥi's Grammar (see especially p. 2, bottom, and p. 3, top). In notes appended after every chapter the translator attempts "to trace as far back as possible the sources from which Kimḥi probably drew his material" (p. 3).

The author writes very optimistically of his work (see especially p. 3, middle, and p. 5). Optimism is a virtue of youth. The present volume consists of 120 pages and contains three chapters (Phonology, The Pronoun, The Verb). At the conclusion of the Preface Dr. Chomsky writes: "The entire manuscript is now ready for the press. But present circumstances make it necessary to publish it in parts, of which this is the first instalment." We hope that the publication of the other parts will follow soon, so that we may see the *Mikhlol* in all its perfection.

930.

SAMUEL DAICHES.

ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS

Vol. 189, No. 5094, contains a description of an exhibition, at the British Museum, of the masterpieces of Egyptian sculpture from the collection of Mr. C. S. Gulbenkian, including a statue head in obsidian, generally believed to represent Amenemhat III, about 2050 B.C., and considered to be one of the finest Egyptian portraits known.

No. 5095 gives a résumé of some of the finds on the mountain slopes west of Tomsk in Siberia, the first of which were accidentally discovered by a peasant. Dr. Salmony, who lectured in this subject before the R.A.S., has given a brief description of the finds, which he dates about A.D. 600-800.

In No. 5096, Sir Leonard Woolley, a member of this Society, describes some items from an exhibition in London of the

discoveries from Antioch revealing early contacts between Minoan Crete and the Asiatic Mainland and raising some interesting problems of origin. He voices the supposition that either Minoan art had its imitators so far afield as the Tigris Valley "or that there was in Asia a native culture that influenced Crete".

No. 5097 of 26th December, 1936, describes how elephants roamed the desert east of the Nile 5000 years ago, as proved by the rock drawings of pre-dynastic artists. Hippopotami were harpooned and cattle bred for their milk. One human figure is shown with a triple head dress somewhat like our Prince of Wales's Feathers.

In No. 5098 is illustrated the Theban funerary temple of Amenhokep, son of Hapu, the architect, who became a god. His funerary temple, which has lately been uncovered by an expedition under the French Institute of Cairo, is much larger than several of the royal temples, and shows that these royal temples were not a royal privilege. This architect was the right hand man of one of the greatest of the Egyptian kings, Amenophis III.

Nos. 5099 and 5100 of 9th and 16th January, 1937, describe the implications of the finding of the remains of "*Sinanthropus Pekinensis*" (in a short account by Dr. Cave, Conservator of the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons in London) as a very primitive type of humanity of the early Pleistocene Age, perhaps a million years ago; "a type which came into existence too late to be ancestral to *Neanthropic* (modern) man, whose beginning is still to be sought in the mists of antiquity". The latter number records his diet. Also of further discoveries of a hoard of finely wrought gold and human skeletons on Mapungubwe Hill, in the Northern Transvaal, that may throw some light upon the still mysterious ruins of Zimbabwe. It is thought that the bones belong to a type of man that was not of the Bantu race. Could he have been Semitic?

No. 5102 shows some of the results found by the Greater-

Indian Research Expedition under Dr. Quaritch Wales, a member of the R.A.S., which unearthed an Indian city in Central Siam, probably founded by Indian colonists in the fifth century of our era. It was originally located by Prince Damrong in 1905, but has never been scientifically examined, and Dr. Quaritch Wales and his party were the first Europeans to be seen in that part of the world. He found what he thinks to be the oldest remaining Hindu temple in Indo-China : built in the first quarter of the sixth century. Also a mutilated but life-sized statue of Vishnu, which he considers to be the most beautiful figure yet found in Indo-China. Dr. Barnett, a member of the Council of the R.A.S., considers that the colonist-builders came from the northern part of the Deccan, probably from Telingana. The city was abandoned about A.D. 550, as a result of the rise of the pre-Cambodian state of Chenlā and the Buddhist kingdom of Dvāravatī.

No. 5103 of Vol. 190, 6th February, 1937, gives pictures and short descriptions of a ritualistic dance to bring rest and peace to the world, performed in the Island of Bali. The dance of Good and Evil.

No. 5106 gives description of the modern and traditional methods of refining oil in the Kirkuk field of Iraq, and of the discovery of an undisturbed First Dynasty Egyptian Nobleman's Tomb. The tomb of Sabu at North Sakkara with its furniture undisturbed. Also of the recent discoveries of Chinese frescoes : fifteenth century Ming paintings in the little Temple of Fa Hai Sse in the hills north-west of Peking ; paintings that rival those at Ajanta.

No. 5107 publishes an illustrated account of the Unknown Tribes discovered in Central Papua, a well organized " Stone Age " people, found by an Assistant Resident Magistrate while on an adventurous patrol. Also of some interesting results of the excavations being carried out at Edfu (Upper Egypt) by the University of Warsaw and the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale. Under the ruins of the Roman towns with its remarkably well preserved baths lay

the Temple of Horus and several unviolated tombs with beautiful funerary objects.

In No. 5108 and 5109, Mr. James M. Plumer describes the finding of the long-lost Chekiang kiln-sites, where the *pi se yao* or "secret colour" ware was produced for the Princes of Wu Yüeh in the first place about A.D. 907. He gives photographs of peasants' cottages built of kiln-waste Sung pottery. (See *Illustrated London News*, 26th October, 1935.) The number also contains a review of A. L. Sadler's *The Maker of Modern Japan*, being the history of Tokugawa Ieyasu, one of whose foreign advisers was the remarkable Will Adams.

The thanks of the Society are also due for the following volumes :—

MALLIA. Deuxième Rapport (1925-6). Études Crétoises, Tome IV. École Française d'Athènes. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1936.

THE CHILD IN ANCIENT INDIA. By KAMALABAI DESHPANDE. Poona: Aryasamskriti Press, 1936. (Venus Stores, Poona.)

A SHORT GRAMMAR OF OLD PERSIAN. With a Reader, accompanied by a word-for-word Translation, Notes, and Vocabulary. By T. HUDSON-WILLIAMS. Cardiff: University of Wales Press Board, 1936.

GORAKNATH AND MEDIAEVAL HINDU MYSTICISM. By MOHAN SINGH. Lahore: Mercantile Press, 1936.

THIS BUSINESS OF EXPLORING. By ROY C. ANDREWS. London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1935.

POVERTY AND POPULATION IN INDIA. By D. G. KARVE. London: Oxford University Press, 1936.

A SANSKRIT PRIMER. By E. D. PERRY. New York: Columbia University Press, 1936.

ROYAL CORRESPONDENCE OF THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE. Part IV. By L. WATERMAN. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1936.

FIRDAUSI CELEBRATION, 935-1935. Ed. by D. E. SMITH.

New York : McFarlane, Warde, McFarlane, 1936.

ALLAH AKBAR. 2 Vols. By GERMANUS GYULA. Révai,
Budapest, 1936.

MORPHOLOGY OF THE TIBETAN LANGUAGE. By HANS
NORDEWIN VON KOERBER. Los Angeles : Suttonhouse,
1935.

A PROPOS DES VOYAGES AVENTUREUX DE FERNAND MENDEZ
PINTO. Notes de A. J. H. CHARIGNON recueillies et
complétées par Mlle. M. Médard. Pekin : Imprimerie
des Lazaristes, 1936.

OBITUARY NOTICE

James H. Stewart Lockhart

The members of the Royal Asiatic Society will have heard with deep sorrow the news of the death of Sir James Haldane Stewart Lockhart, one of the oldest members both of the parent Society and of its vigorous North China Branch. He died in London on 26th February, nearly sixteen years after his retirement from the service of the Colonial Office.

Born in Scotland in 1858, Lockhart would have been 79 years of age on 26th May. Edinburgh was mainly responsible for his education. From Edinburgh University he entered the Colonial Service as an Eastern Cadet, and proceeded in 1879 to Hong Kong. During his twenty-one years of service in that Colony he held a variety of posts and received the thanks of the Secretary of State for special services rendered in connection with the delimitation and settlement of the New Territories, which were added to the Colony as a leasehold in 1898. By this time he had become Colonial Secretary of the Colony, a post which he held till 1902, when he was promoted to be first Civil Commissioner of the British Leased Territory of Weihaiwei. There he remained until his retirement in 1921.

Lockhart received the C.M.G. in 1898, and became a K.C.M.G. in 1908. He was one of the first to receive the honorary degree of LL.D. from the newly founded University of Hong Kong, and during the latter years of his service in China he was elected an honorary member of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. His interest in Chinese pictorial art led him to make a collection of pictures which were exhibited in London in 1928. He also made a noteworthy collection of Chinese copper coins. But his chief interest, outside his official work, lay in the direction of Chinese literature. Although he published little, he was

recognized to be one of the best Chinese scholars among the foreigners of his time in China. He spoke Cantonese fluently, and after his transfer to Weihaiwei he acquired a good working knowledge of "mandarin"—now known as the National Language. His acquaintance with ancient and modern Chinese literature was extensive. His publications included a translation of the *Ch'êng Yü K'ao* (成語考) under the title of *A Manual of Chinese Quotations*. The first edition of this work appeared in 1893. Though it was not a book that could be expected to have a wide popular appeal it was found useful by students of the language, and a second edition was published in 1903. Much more recently he edited and prepared for the press an *Index to the Tso Chuan*, which had been compiled but left unrevised by the late Sir Everard Fraser. This useful compilation was produced by the Oxford University Press in 1930.

Though he was a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, Lockhart's travels in the interior of China were not extensive; he made some interesting journeys, however (when travel in China was more arduous than it is now), in the provinces of Kwangtung Chehkiang and Shantung. The journey which he remembered and spoke of with the greatest pleasure was one which he undertook in 1903, when he visited Chou Fu, the Governor of Shantung, at Tsinan, and afterwards made a pilgrimage to the sacred T'ai-Shan and to the temple and tomb of Confucius at Ch'ü Fou. There he was received and hospitably entertained by Duke K'ung Ling-yi, the head of the family which traces its descent to Confucius himself. Shortly before leaving China on his retirement, Lockhart—on the strong recommendation of the writer of this notice—paid a short visit to the beautiful Yen-tang mountain in the interior of southern Chehkiang.

After his return to England in 1921, Lockhart kept up his Chinese studies with undiminished enthusiasm, and he was a regular attendant at the Council meetings of the Royal Asiatic Society. He also frequently presided at the ordinary

meetings and lectures given under the Society's auspices. In 1928 he became honorary secretary of the Society, and the time and thought which in that capacity he gave to the Society's interests and welfare will not be forgotten. He was the Society's nominee on the Governing Body of the School of Oriental Studies in London University, and held that post until failing health necessitated his resignation in 1935.

Both in Great Britain and in China Lockhart was well known to a wide circle of British and Chinese friends, who will never cease to think of him with respect and affection. Most of his contemporaries in Hong Kong have passed away or have left the Colony, but there are still many Chinese in Weihaiwei, where he was held in great esteem, who will lament the passing of a kindly and sympathetic administrator and a warm-hearted friend.

23.

R. F. JOHNSTON.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

SOME HISTORICAL NOTES ON EAST AFRICA

By ARTHUR E. ROBINSON

We are pleased to welcome a new publication, *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, which was founded by Sir Harold Macmichael, D.S.O., last year. No. 2 (pp. 21-43) contains an article, "Some Historical Notes on East Africa," which may be of special interest. Mr. Robinson has illustrated his paper by a map showing the principal racial migrations since the earliest times, eight reproductions of ancient and Moslem maps and a map of the Greek and Roman sea routes between the Red Sea, East Africa, and the East. There is an extensive and useful bibliography.

Notices

The Keeper of the Privy Purse has been commanded by His Majesty, King George VI. to state that His Majesty is pleased to grant His Patronage to the Royal Asiatic Society.

A Loyal Address in connection with the accession of His Majesty King George VI and of cordial thanks for the gracious continuance of the Royal Patronage was signed on behalf of the Council and Members of the Society by the President on 27th January, 1937. A reply expressing His Majesty's "deep appreciation of the sentiments of loyalty and devotion to which it gives expression" was received from the Secretary of State for Home Affairs, dated 4th February, 1937.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS

In honour of the Coronation of Their Majesties, the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society will hold a Reception at India House, on Thursday, 6th May, 1937, by the kind permission of the High Commissioner.

Attention is drawn to Rule 97, concerning the borrowing of books from the Library for purposes other than reviews : "In no case shall a book be retained for a longer period than six months." Members desiring the use of books for a longer term must return them to the Librarian for examination at the end of six months with a suitable request. Should the book not be required it will then be returned to the borrowing member.

The annual List of Members will be published in the *Journal* for July. Members who wish to make any alterations in name, style, or address, must send the fully corrected entry so as to reach the Secretary by 1st June.

The quarterly numbers of the *Journal* are forwarded to subscribers about 11th of January, April, July, and October respectively. Should a volume not be received within a reasonable time after the prescribed date, notification should be sent to the Secretary as early as possible, but at any rate before the end of the quarter concerned. Should such notice not be received by the Secretary within six months of the first day of the quarter for which the volume has been issued, the onus cannot be admitted and the number cannot be replaced free of charge.

Authors of articles in the *Journal* who desire more than the twenty off-prints, which are supplied *gratis*, are requested to apply to the Secretary in good time as the type is broken up after the lapse of one month. The cost of extra copies varies in accordance with the length of the article and the number of plates.

In accordance with Rule 93, the Library will be closed for cleaning and repair throughout the month of August.

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS

The Antiquaries Journal. Vol. xvii, No. 1, January, 1937.

Woolley, Sir. L. Excavations near Antioch in 1936.

Religions. No. 18, January, 1937.

Gaster, T. H. New Light on Early Palestinian Religion.

— More Texts from Ras Shamra.

Murphy, J. The Indus Civilization in Relation to Indian Religions.

Parnassus. Vol. ix, No. 1, January, 1937.

Sickman, L. Notes on Chinese Rubbings.

Kühn, H. Asiatic Influences on the Art of the Migrations.

Warner, L. An Introduction to Bronze Statuettes of the Far East.

Coomaraswamy, A. K. Indian Bronzes.

Sudan Notes and Records. Vol. xix, Part 1, 1936.

Evans-Pritchard, E. E. Zande Theology.

Robinson, A. E. The Camel in Antiquity.

Walker, J. The Coinage of Ali Dinar.

The Muslim Revival. Vol. v, No. 2, June, 1936.

Smith, Dr. M. The Path of the Soul in Sufism.

The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

Vol. xxii, Part iii, September, 1936.

Jayaswal, K. P. Chronology and History of Nepal, 600 B.C. to 880 A.D.

Basu, K. K. An Account of Firoz Shah Tughluq (from Sirat-i-Firoz Shahi) (in continuation of page 96, *JBORS.*, Vol. xxii).

Journal of the University of Bombay. Vol. v, Part 1, July, 1936.

Heras, H. The Religion of the Mohenjo Daro People according to the Inscriptions.

Epigraphia Indica. Vol. xxii, Part vi, April, 1934.

Aiyer, K. V. S. No. 34. The Larger Leiden Plates (of Rajaraja I).

Vol. xxii, Part vii, July, 1934.

- Aiyer, K. V. S. The Larger Leiden Plates (of Rajaraja I).
 — The smaller Leiden Plates of Kulottunga I.
 Mazumdar, R. C. Note on Sailendra Kings mentioned in the
 Leiden Plates.

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society. Vol. xxvii, New Series,
 Nos. 1 and 2, July-Oct., 1936.

Coomaraswamy, A. K. The Nature of "Folklore" and "Popular
 Art".

Law, B. C. A Short Account of the Damilas.

Mitra, S. C. On the Fire-Walking Ceremony of the Dusadhs of
 Bihar.

Indian Art and Letters. Vol. x, No. 2, 2nd issue for 1936.

Quaritch Wales, H. G. The Exploration of Sri Deva, an Ancient
 Indian City in Indochina.

Visser, H. F. E. The Museum of Asiatic Art, Amsterdam.

Dalet, R. A Newly Discovered Monument of Primitive
 Khmer Art.

Lindsay, J. H. Indian Influences in Chinese Sculpture.

Bengal Past and Present. Vol. lii, Part ii, Serial No. 104,
 Oct.-Dec., 1936.

Cotton, E. The Sardhana Pictures at Government House,
 Allahabad.

— Government House, Calcutta : An Official History.

Seth, M. J. Armenians as Political Stepping-Stones in India.

Sarkar, Sir J. Memoir of Monsieur Rene Madec.

E. C. Unpublished Letters of Lord Clive (Correspondence with
 Admiral Watson).

Bullock, H. Lewis Anthony Yvon.

— Monumental Inscriptions, Third series (1698-1830).

The Indian Historical Quarterly. Vol. xii, No. 4, December, 1936.

Berriedale Keith, A. Aryan Names in Early Asiatic Records.

Sharma, S. R. The Administrative System of Sher Shah.

Journal of the Karnatak Historical Research Society.

Vijayanagara Sexcentenary Commemoration Volume, 1936.

Containing thirty-two articles by many well-known Indian
 scholars on subjects relating to the history and culture of the
 Vijayanagara Empire.

Indian State Railways Magazine. Vol. x, No. 3, December, 1936.
 Surfield. Charles Masson : Archæologist and Vagrant.
 Sutherland, T. C. Tibetan Medicine.
 Mackay, D. Excavating in the Indus Valley.

The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society. Vol. xvi,
 Nos. 2 and 3, 1936.

McCown, C. C. New Historical Items from Jerash Inscriptions.
 Ginsberg, H. L. Ba'lu and his Brethren.
 Maisler, B. A genealogical List from Ras Shamra.
 Picard, L., and Solomonica, P. On the Geology of the Gaza-
 Beersheba District.

Palestine Exploration Quarterly. Sixty-ninth Year, January, 1937.
 Salmon, F. J. The Modern Geography of Palestine.
 Gaster, T. H. The Chronology of Palestinian Epigraphy.

Journal of the American Oriental Society. Vol. 56, Number 4,
 December, 1936.

Montgomery, J. A. Ras Shamra Notes. VI : Danel Text.
 Prince, J. D. Turkic Material in Hungarian.
 Vernadsky, G. Notes on the History of the Uigurs in the Late
 Middle Ages.

La Géographie. Tome lxxvii, No. 3, Mars, 1937.

Guibon, A. La navigation fluviale à Sumatra.

*Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde Van Nederlandsch-
 Indië.* Deel. 94, Afl. iii, 1936.

Ronkel, S. van. In Memoriam, Dr. Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje,
 8 Febr. 1857-26 Juni 1936.

Heuting, A. Iets over de spraakkunst van de Tobeloreesche taal.
 Juynboll, H. H. Vertaling van Sarga xxiv, xxv, en xxvi (slot)
 van het Oud-Javaansche Rāmāyana.

Archiv Für Orientforschung. Band xi, Heft 4, 1936.

Böhl, F. M. T. Die fünfzig Namen des Marduk.
 Humbert, P. A propos du "serpent" (bšn) du mythe de Môt
 et Aleïn.

Orientalia. Vol. vi, Nova Series, Fasc. 1-2, 1937.

Ungnad, A. Maëri und Subartu.
 Rosenthal, F. Arabische Nachrichten über Zenon den Eleaten.
 Mittwoch, E., u. Schlobies, H. Altsüdarabische Inschriften im
 Hamburgischen Museum für Völkerkunde (Fortsetzung).
 Aešcoly, A. Z. Die äthiopische Übersetzung eines Kapitels aus
 einer verlorenen hebräischen Chronik.

Ostasiatische Zeitschrift. Neue Folge 12 Jahrg., Der Ganzen Reihe
22 Jahrg., 5 Heft, 1936.

Bachhofer, L. "Art Treasures from Japan" in Boston.

Umehara, S. Über die Bronzezeit in China.

Gupta, C. C. D. Remarks on a few early Indian Terracotta-
Figurines.

Studi E Materiali Di Storia Delle Religioni. Vol. xii, Fasc. 3°
e 4°. Anno xii, 1936.

Cassuto, U. Il calendario di Gezer e il suo valore storico-religioso.

Gaster, Th. H. The Story of Aqhat.

Furlani, G. Nuovi documenti sui Yezidi.

La Turquie Kamâliste. No. 15, Octobre, 1936.

Alaca Hüyük.

Koşay, Hâmit Z. A description of the results of the work of the
Türk Tarih Kurumu (Historical Society of Turkey), in
excavating the site of the Hittite city down to the level of
the Copper Age deposits at Alaca Hüyük.

The Chinese Social and Political Review. Vol. xx, No. 4, January,
1937.

Shaw, S. J. Historical Significance of the Curious Theory of the
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 scribed and ed. by I. Pruitt . . . $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6$. *London, 1937.*
From Messrs. Faber and Faber.
- Yü Hsuan-chi, Selling wilted peonies. Biography and songs of
 Y. H., Tang poetess. [Tr. by] G. Wimsatt. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$.
New York, 1936. From the Oxford University Press.

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PART III.—JULY

Archaic Chinese Characters Being some intensive studies in them

PART III

By L. C. HOPKINS

(Continued from the JRAS., April, 1937, p. 217, line 11)

HAVING already discussed the first of the two forms used for Summer, we may examine the second, and attractive theory of its origin put forward by Mr. Yeh Yü-sên. This theory is freely cited by Mr. Tung Tso-pin in Part 3 of the *Excavations at Anyang (Academia Sinica)*, 1931, especially on pp. 511-514. Mr. Yeh observes: "When the ancients invented characters for the Four Seasons—Spring, Summer, Autumn, and Winter—I surmise that in each case they drew their imagery from the object most conspicuous in that season. Now the character 夏 *hsia*, summer, is not found in the oracular sentences, but on the analogy of the example previously adduced, the words 今春 *chin ch'un* 'the present Spring', I have secured three instances where, following 今 *chin*, there occurs a single character, in each case a pictogram." Here Mr. Yeh cites three passages from Bone inscriptions, two from Lo Chên-yü's *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i*, and one from a work not accessible to me. The three figures below I have copied direct from Lo's plates, as cited by

Mr. Yeh, but not from the minuscule forms as constricted into the text of Mr. Tung Tso-pin's article.¹



FIG. 1.










FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.

After citing these three forms Mr. Yeh continues: "In these three passages the pictographic figures all represent the antennæ, head, wings, and feet, 並狀綏首翼足 *ping chuang sui shou i tsu*, closely resembling those of the cicada 蟬 *ch'an*, and we may surmise that the oracular sentences borrowed the *cicada* to stand for Summer, the cicada being the most conspicuous summer insect. When you hear its sound you know it is summer!"²

One other variant of the six forms cited in the text by Mr. Yeh must be reproduced here as his argument requires it. This is  (Fig. 4). And Yeh proceeds to put forward a most ingenious explanation of the real sabotage of significance that he perceives in the formation and in Hsü Shên's explanation of his Lesser Seal version of Hsia, viz.  (Fig. 5) "a man of China". The Lesser Seal, he says, has "perverted  (Fig. 6) to  (Fig. 7),  (Fig. 8) to 頁, and  (Fig. 9) to  (Fig. 10), and, as it were, robbed them of their resemblances, 猶略得其似 *yu liao tê ch'i ssü*. By the time the form had reached the learned Hsü Shên it was held to depict the head, the two hands, and two feet, being those of a Man of China; just as though a foreigner's head, hands, and feet were of some different number to those of Chinese! In all conscience an interpretation of despair!"

誠強索解矣 *ch'êng ch'iang so chieh i*.

¹ See Lo Chên-yü in 殷虛書契, fig. 1, ch. 5, p. 25; fig. 2, ch. 2, p. 5; fig. 3, *ibid.*, Hou Pien, 下, p. 12. Fig. 1 is not preceded by 今 *chin*.

² This is enragingly true in Peking of the deafening *we-we* cicada.

To Mr. Yeh Yü-sên's argument from the immediately preceding word 今 *chin* "the present", implying a restriction to one of the Four Seasons, it is a real pleasure to adduce a short passage of three words, which virtually serves as conclusive proof of the truth of his theory. Strangely enough this passage seems to have been overlooked by Mr. Yeh and by Mr. Tung Tso-pin, but it will be found in Lo Chên-yü's *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i*, ch. 4, p. 5, written horizontally, in fine clear style, as shown below: 卜 𠄎 𠄎 (Fig. 11) *pu hsia*

chih "to divine as to the Summer Solstice". Close by, but written vertically, are the two characters 𠄎 𠄎 (Fig. 12)

ssü yüeh, 4th moon, as a separate entry. If the limitation to one of the Four Seasons is cogent, how much more compelling is the restriction to one of the two solstices!

In bidding adieu to the Summer, there is one feature of the character so brilliantly elucidated by Mr. Yeh Yü-sên that should be noted as quite exceptional.

Assuming that the original form of *hsia* 夏 was an unskilful drawing of a cicada, this is a type of presentative device not referable to the traditional classes of the Six Scripts, and recalcitrant to their conditions. Only two of these classes could lay claim to include it, and neither without violence. One of these would be the 象形 *hsiang hsing* group, or pictographic figures. These, in the system, are pictures of objects corresponding to the names of such objects in the spoken language. Thus, the original picture of a horse is the character for the word *ma*, meaning horse. But in the case adduced by Mr. Yeh, the picture was of a cicada, termed *ch'an* in the spoken language, but violently (as it were) diverted or perverted to the term *hsia* summer, on the strength of its undeniably appropriate symbolism. The only other class of the Six Scripts that might be suggested is the 假借 *chia chieh*, or borrowed forms, but to qualify for entry into that group the borrowing and the lending characters must have the same

sound, which *ch'an*, cicada, and *hsia*, summer, cannot claim ever to have had. It is with pleasure that I welcome and perhaps make more widely known to Western students the discovery of Mr. Yeh Yü-sên, suggested by his imaginative insight and supported by sound and perspicuous argument.

L. C. HOPKINS.

Assyrian Prescriptions for Diseases of the Feet

By R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON

(Continued from p. 286)

Col. II (KAR. 192, p. 55, l. 33 ff.)

33. If a man is sick of a swelling, the colour of his sickness being black, thou shalt [pound] (and) strain the tops (juice) of oleander (?), mix in fine-ground flour, mash in rose-water (!),¹ bind on ; (or) tops (juice) of tamarisk.

35. Mustard (and) **Ammi*, [thou] shalt pound finer than (?) flour,² mix, mash in rose-water, bind on.

37. Fruit of acacia ³ while it is yet green thou shalt bray, bind on.

38. Liquorice while it is yet green thou shalt bray, bind on.

39. Poppy thou shalt bray, bind on.

40. **Acorus Calamus*, the rush *elpitu mê burki* ⁴ thou shalt dry, pound, powder of *šupuhru*-cedar in fine-ground flour with rose-water thou shalt mash, bind on.

41. If ditto, tops (juice) of Lycium,³ tops (juice) of caper, tops (juice) of liquorice, tops (juice) . . . , tops (juice) of apple, tops (juice) of fig, tops (juice) of pomegranate, tops (juice) of

¹ *A.ZAL.LA* ("hemp") must be a scribe's mistake, as *E.* suggests.

² [Tu]-dāk-kak iš-tu ZID.DA.

³ *šupAšagu* ; see RA. 1930, 127.

⁴ See AH. 32.

date-palm . . . , thou shalt dry, pound, mix in flour, mash in a small copper pan, bind on.

45. If ditto, tragacanth (and) *kamkadu*-plant thou shalt dry, pound, in fine-ground flour mix, in rose-water mash, bind on.

47. [If ditto], pine-turpentine, fir-turpentine, cypress of the cemetery (?) thou shalt dry, pound, in *Ú.SA*-beer thou shalt mix, bind on.

48. [If ditto], tops (juice) of liquorice, tops (juice) of nettle, tops (juice) of **Arnoglosson* . . . (?) ¹ thou shalt pound, in a small copper pan thou shalt mash, with . . . flour (?) mix, bind on.

50. If the *tumur* ² of a man's heel is twisted (*kapil*), the colour ³ of his flesh varies, the sickness . . . being severe, thou shalt take all the tops (juice) of the garden-trees, roast them in an oven, into a [*nam*]*haru*-bowl thou shalt pour (them); he shall bathe therein; until the sunset thou shalt leave (?) him . . .

.

(Col. II of KAR. 192)

1. . . . thou shalt pound, in beer [in] a small copper pan thou shalt mash, while it is still hot [thou shalt bind it on].

2. If a man is sick of a swelling, the *tumur* of [his] heel . . . becoming black . . . bone, . . . anemone, **Anacyclus Pyrethrum*, **Arnoglosson*, tops (juice) of medlar (?) . . . fruit of Lycium

¹ E. xiv, 30, reads [*urki*]^t (!)-*su*(!)-*nu* "while they are yet green".

² Cf. col. II, l. 2.

³ Text *ŠI*, but is this for *ši-mat*? See, however, col. II, l. 12.

thou shalt bray, mix in beer in a [small] copper pan [thou shalt mash, bind on].

6. If a man is sick of a swelling, the sickness [reaching] as far as the bone of [his] . . . , the sickness torments [him],¹ not being loosed from his body, *Ū.SA*-beer . . . into a *namḥaru*-bowl thou shalt pour (it), his feet thou shalt bathe,² . . . washed, cataplasms . . . mustard, roast corn, in *ḫimetu*-ghee in a small copper pan thou shalt mash, [bind on].

11. If a man is sick of a swelling, the sickness rising as far as his knee, the colour of [his] flesh being . . . , it . . . (?),³ the surface of his sickness being black, (and) that sickness not being relieved⁴ by cataplasms; a ball (?)⁵ of cow-dung, gazelle-dung, *Vitex* in an oven thou shalt [roast], he shall bathe his legs (therewith); **Arnoglosson*, **Anacyclus* *Pyrethrum*, pine-turpentine . . . , the plant . . . (?),⁶ *Cannabis*, *Withania somnifera*,⁷ *ʿam*- . . . , *kazalurtu*-plant,⁸ sumach, *kamkadu*-plant . . . **Crataegus Azarolus*, *Solanum*, *B.A.R. HUS*-plant, **Ammi*, . . . thou shalt pound, in beer in a small copper pan thou shalt mash, bind on.

19. If a man is sick of a painful swelling, *Cannabis* . . . in *ḫimetu*-ghee thou shalt anoint.

20. If ditto, . . . (and) *Solanum* in *ḫimetu*-ghee thou shalt anoint.

¹ *Iltazaz*, from *lazāzu*, exact meaning uncertain.

² Text *tar-ḫat*, surely for *tar-ḫaš*, as in col. I, l. 49, where *tar-ḫaš* is the variant. *B.* xiv, 31 (6), reads *tar-ḫāš*.

³ *Tu-ri-iḫ*.

⁴ *Ul i-ti-li*.

⁵ *KIL*, as in *AM.* 83, l, r. iii, 10, *RA.* 1934, 13.

⁶ *E.* xiv, 31, suggests *ʿana-me-rum* (= rue?).

⁷ *ʿHAR. H.U. BA. ŠIR*, *DACG.* 173.

⁸ Hardly *pizalurtu*, "maggot" (cf. l. 31); see my forthcoming article in *AJSL.* 1937.

21. If ditto, powder of poppy in *himetu*-ghee thou shalt anoint.

22. While thou art binding on these cataplasms, . . . dry (?) thou shalt bind.

23. If ditto, thou shalt dry, pound, **styrax*, *Arnoglosson*, *tragacanth*, anoint with oil, bind.¹

24. If ditto, thou shalt dry (and) bray a cricket of the river (and) pine-turpentine in *himetu*-ghee anoint, bind.¹

25. If ditto, mucilage (?) of sesame (*Here is AM. 73, ii*), thou shalt dry, pound, the sick place . . . (?) anoint, bind.¹

26. If ditto, tops (juice) of poppy thou shalt dry, pound, the sick place . . . (?) anoint, bind.

27. If ditto, thou shalt pound the mineral geodes of the river,² the sick place (?) . . . (?) anoint, bind, bind on.

28. If ditto, *Artemisia*,³ seed of *lidruša*-plant, **Anacyclus Pyrethrum* thou shalt pound, . . . anoint, bind.

29. If ditto, *Solanum* (and) *TU.LAL*-plant thou shalt pound, in beer-yeast [mix], anoint . . .

¹ *MAR(-rum)* (ll. 25-6) in conjunction with l. 23, seems rather to indicate that the reading for *MAR* in these texts is *tašaru*, perhaps as well as *ekû* (*PRSM.* 1924, 4, n. 6). Cf. *AM.* 26, 2, r. 6, 7, *MAR.* and *ta-ša-rum-ma*. For *tašaru* = "bind", see *PRSM.* 1924, 5, n. 3; *E.* reads "bestreuen", doubtless *zārû*, Heb. *zārah* "scatter". ll. 25-33, as represented by *AM.* 73, ii, 1-9, have no dividing horizontal lines.

² *Ātites*, a reddish-brown ironstone, containing a smaller stone, *DACG.* 108.

³ *AM.* adds *arzallu*-plant, *Crataegus Azarolus*.

30. If ditto, date-stones thou shalt bray, in pig's fat anoint, bind.

31. If ditto, *kazallurtu*-plant thou shalt bray, in oil anoint, bind.

32. If ditto, *Cannabis*, *Crataegus Azarolus* thou shalt pound, anoint with mountain oil (petroleum), bind.

33. If ditto, rind¹ of pomegranate thou shalt reduce, anoint in fish-oil, bind.

34. If (ditto) the sickness of a swelling (be) great, a tabu has seized upon him: though he assuage it he will subsequently die.

35. If (ditto) the sickness of the swelling result in "moisture",² he will die.

36. If he is sick of a swelling, thou shalt mix in a small copper pan green dung with red-brown urine with fine-ground flour, bind on.

38. If ditto, *mint, *Artemisia*, *balsam, **Sagapenum*, powder of poppy (opium) in *himetu*-ghee (and) pig's fat thou shalt mash in a small copper pan, bind on.

40. If he is sick of a swelling,³ thou shalt reduce the plant *išin ekli*, put on the (sick) place.

¹ BAR = *kuliptu*, CT. xii, 16, No. 93043: cf. AM. 12, 6, 7, and for a word *kuliptu* = "bark," "skin," see JRAS. 1924, 454; PRSM. 1926, 44, n. 1; Gilg. Ep., xi, 289. KAR. has PA. See also my Devils, ii, 148, 12.

² *Ruṣumtu*, v. *ruṣibtu*. Both these last two prescriptions suggest dropsy.

³ KAR. "If the sickness ditto." AM. omits the horizontal lines between ll. 40-45.

41. If ditto,¹ tops (juice) of liquorice thou shalt bray, put on the place.

42. If ditto, "shell" of pomegranate thou shalt fry, put on the place.

43. If ditto, a falcon² thou shalt fry, put on the place.

44. If ditto, tops (juice) of nettles thou shalt chop,³ put⁴ on the place.

45. If ditto, tops (juice) of nettles, tops (juice) of *urzinnu*⁵-plant thou shalt chop, put⁴ on the place.⁶

46. If ditto, tops (juice)⁷ of rue (?) thou shalt chop, apply to the place.

47. If a man's *kappaltu*⁸ hurts, the head of a "red-tongue" (lizard ?) thou shalt reduce, bray, apply to the place.

48. (If ditto), "shell" of pomegranate thou shalt bray, put on the place.

49. (If ditto), the head of a *kaziru* thou shalt fry, put on the place.

¹ This "If ditto" is not always on *KAR.*, and conversely in ll. 48-50, although it is on *KAR.* *AM.* 74 omits.

² *KAR.* has *SAG.DÚ.HA*, a fish, much more probable. Cf. col. i, l. (68).

³ *Ta-sal-liṭ*.

⁴ For *tanadi* on *KAR.*, *AM.* 74 has *tatabbak*, except l. 46, where both have it.

⁵ In addition to the examples in *AM.* 212, cf. Weidner, *Boghaz K. Studien*, *D. Zug Sargons*, 1922, 64.

⁶ *KAR.* for the latter part has "ditto".

⁷ *PA* omitted on *KAR.*

⁸ Some part of the foot: = *RI.GIR*, ii R. 29, 31, c. *KAR.*, *ka-pal-ta*.

50. (If ditto), the sick place thou shalt cleanse, apply a needle.¹

(51 on KAR. (mutilated) appears to be different from the text on AM. 74, which, since only two much-mutilated lines of this column remain on KAR., is put here in continuation):—

24. If a man's feet are full of sickness, thou shalt dry the root of male-mandrake, pound, sift, in neat-oil bind on, and he shall recover.

25. If a man's feet are full of sickness, their sickness having a recurrent period; the day when they are full of sickness, **Anacyclus Pyrethrum*, of which the "eyes" (flowers) are turned to the west, thou shalt root up in the sun, saying thus: "O Shamash, the plant is thy plant (?) . . ." This plant below (?) thou shalt tie; thus² thou shalt say "Free, O Shamash, loose, O Shamash!" Seven times [thou shalt say it]: then shalt thou take dust of the City-Gate, go to the river, go down into the river, and set his face downstream (?) . . . thou shalt tie his feet downstream (?); thus² shalt thou say, "thou hast bound, do thou loose, O Shamash!" Seven times thou shalt say (it) . . ., his face upstream (?) thou shalt set, the dust aforementioned³ on his feet upstream-(wards) (?) he shall rub: thus² shalt thou say, "Thou hast bound, do thou loose, O Shamash!" Seven times thou shalt say (it), and he shall recover.

32. If sickness comes out in a man's leg, or (in) a man's testicle,⁴ and it tickles him and makes (him) itch⁵; moisture, burning . . . For his recovery, roses, fenugreek, *sahlê* in

¹ *Itgurtu*: see *DACG.* 120.

² *HAR.GIM.*

³ Lit. "their dust".

⁴ *ŠIR.* But it would almost appear here that there had been a doubtful text, and that the scribe was not certain whether it was *ina šepâ* or a ditto-graphy of *ina*. For this reason he has given this almost impossible word as an alternative.

⁵ *Iraššašumma ukkak.*

rose-water thou shalt knead, bind, mix in fat, make a suppository, put into his anus and [he shall recover].

34. If sickness comes out in a man's leg, and it tickles him and makes (him) itch ¹; the sickness moisture, b[urning ?] . . . thou shalt sprinkle bean-flour ² with oil, put (it) on the place; thou shalt put powder of manna ³ and oil on a cloth, and [bind on].

36. Thou shalt sprinkle water of *Salicornia*-alkali on the sick place, anoint with oil, seed of *Cratægus Azarolus* and seed of daisy [thou shalt put] on the place . . .

Reverse of AM. 74 (Col. III)

1. Thou shalt bray *styrax, put (it) on the place. Thou shalt bray *Calendula*, lupins (and) *Chrysanthemum segetum*, put (them) on the place. Thou shalt bray seed of tragacanth (and) seed of *kamkadu*, put (them) on the place. Thou shalt bray seed of *Ricinus* (and) seed of fennel put (them) on the place. Thou shalt bray pine-turpentine (and) fir-turpentine, put (them) on the place. Thou shalt bray *mint, put (it) on the place. Thou shalt bray *kazallu*-plant (and) **Ammi*, put (them) on the place. Thou shalt bray shoot of **Conium maculatum* (and) *Ricinus*, put (them) on the place. Thou shalt bray root of rue (?) (and) seed of tamarisk, put (them) on the place.

5. Thou shalt put (thereon) tops (juice) of oleander (?), tops (juice) of liquorice, tops (juice) of laurel, pine-turpentine, fir-turpentine, when it hurts.

6. Thou shalt put *balsam (and) **Sagapenum* on the place; in an oven thou shalt roast (them), rub his feet therewith,

¹ *Iraššašumma ukkak.*

² *ZID lub-ba.*

³ On *kudru* "manna" see my article in *AJSL*. 1937.

anoint with oil; thou shalt mix fir-turpentine (and) *Enanthe* (?), anoint.

8. Thou shalt bray seed of daisy, seed of *Crataegus Azarolus*, mix in rose-water, bind on.

9. Thou shalt mash seed of rue (?), seed of *Hyoscyamus*, seed of **Arnoglosson* in rose-water, rub with oil, bind on.

10. Thou shalt bray seed of sumach (and) seed of caper in rose-water, mash, bind on.

11. These drugs in beer he shall drink, mix with wax of honey, bind on.

12. Thou shalt bray chamomile, tops (juice) of oleander (?), tops (juice) of fennel, put on the place.

13. If sickness comes out on a man's leg and it grows like a pustule, he shall prick (cut) (it) (its name is "sagbanu" ¹ which is full of fluid") and he shall recover. If ditto, he shall anoint with human excrement, ² and shall recover. If ditto, thou shalt reduce camel-ticks (?), ³ bray, apply, and he shall

¹ *Kima pu-pu-ul TE* (= *alûku*, *emêdu*) *i-ḥar-ra-aš sag-ba-nu MU.NE šá IR.RA malû*. *Sag-pa-nu* occurs also in l. 24, and is written out more fully in l. 26 [*sa*] *-ag-ba-nu-(um)*. It occurs in Sumerian as *SAG.BA.NÁ* (D. 115, 58) and [*SAG*].*DINGIR.BABBAR*, ib. 67, and since *PA* = *ZAK*, we may assume that *sagbanu* and not *šagbanu* is correct, although the Syr. *š'kaph*, verberavit, contudit, and *šûkâphâ*, colaphus suggest a cognate for a form *šakpanu*. V. R. 21, 4-6 *a-b* gives *SAG.BA.NÁ* = *sag-ba-nu*, *SA.NIGIN* = *ra-pa-du*, *SA.AD.NIGIN* = *ši-da-nu IR* = *izulu* and *zutu* "sweat" (D. 232, 3 and 9), which suggest the fluid in a blister (*ir-ra*, as a Semitic word, is not so easy to trace as *IR*). The remedies suggest a simple swelling.

² "Human excrement" suggests an alchemist's synonym. I know of no synonym in the syllabaries for this, but *JRAS*. 1924, 455 (the explanatory text), says "*kurkanû* (turmeric) like *suḫatum* (excrement)", which suggests that this or some similarly coloured substance is the equivalent.

³ *NAM* + *ŠAB.SAḪAR.RA* (*ḪU* + *ŠAB.SAḪAR.RA*) = *ḪU* + *ŠAB ga-ra-bi* (?) (= *erib turbu'ti*, *ŠID ekli*, Landsberger, *Fauna*, No. 232).

recover. If ditto, with blood of the kidney of an ox thou shalt anoint, reduce stalks of straw, bray, apply, and he shall recover. If ditto, thou shalt dry poppy, bray, ditto. If ditto, thou shalt anoint the sick place with oil or *himetu*-ghee, dry the "shell" of pomegranate, bray, apply. If ditto, thou shalt bray gum of **Galbanum*, put on the place. If ditto, thou shalt anoint the sick place with oil, bray date-stones, ditto. If ditto, thou shalt anoint the sick place with oil of cedar, or *himetu*-ghee, bray pine-turpentine, fir-turpentine, cummin together, ditto. If ditto, thou shalt reduce the heart of the palm, bray, ditto. If ditto, thou shalt reduce ash of the heart of the palm, stalks of straw, *mirsu*,¹ mash with rose-water, bind on. (Here is AM. 75.) If ditto, thou shalt reduce *mirsu*, bray, mash in rose-water, bind on. If ditto, thou shalt bray tops (juice) of tamarisk, anoint in cedar-"blood", put on the place. If ditto, . . . honey thou shalt introduce,² bind on. If ditto, with honey thou shalt anoint, thou shalt put ash of cedar on the place. If ditto, with honey thou shalt anoint, . . . (?) thou shalt reduce, bray, ditto.

23. Charm : (*unintelligible to me*).

24. Incantation for a blister.³

25. . . . all drugs as many as thou canst bray,⁴ thou shalt mix, mash in rose-water, bind on, and he shall recover.

26. . . . the [*s*]*agbanu*(-blister) thou shalt anoint with *himetu*-ghee, one shekel of tops (juice) of pomegranate thou shalt pound,⁵ for four days bind on, and he shall recover.

¹ *Mirsu* (GAR. NI. TE₅. A) appears to mean something thickened, either of flour, or of honey and curd, or of wine.

² *Tulam*, PRSM. 1926, 63.

³ *Ság-pa-nu* (see l. 13).

⁴ *Ta-za-ak* (?).

⁵ *Ta-pa-aš(z)*.

27. . . . gum of **Galbanum* together thou shalt mix, ditto :
dates thou shalt reduce, pound, with oil anoint, bind on, and
he shall recover.

28. If . . . his . . . is pierced¹ hart's-horn thou shalt bray,
mix in oil, anoint, bind on and he shall recover.

29. . . . alkali (?) thou shalt bray, put on the place : ash
of salt thou shalt bray, put on the place : gum arabic (?)
thou shalt reduce, bray, put on the place : . . . thou shalt
bray, put on the place : mustard thou shalt bray, put on the
place.

31.² Thou shalt boil [roast *sahlē*] (and) fresh (*BÍL^{pl}*),
powdered roses in beer, (and) bind on for three days. A
bandage for a pierced foot.

32.³ After this, on the fourth day (?), horn . . . , barley-
flour (?), date-stones thou shalt reduce, bray, mix in oil,
anoint in *himetu*-ghee. Two bandages for a "pierced"
sickness.⁴

33. [If] . . . is sick, thou shalt bray leaven, anoint him in
oil, apply, and he shall recover.

34. . . . in oil thou shalt mix, bind on, and he shall recover.

35. . . . thou shalt anoint, boil in gypsum, apply, and he
shall recover.

¹ . . . *hir-ta-šú nu-uh-hu-ra-at-ma*.

² The first half must be duplicate of *KAR.* 192, r. 2, 19. *sikūti*
= "powdered", *JRAS.* 1931, 17. The "three bandages for a pierced foot"
in *KAR.* refers to the three preceding recipes.

³ From *KAR.* 192, r. 2, 21, a horizontal line being drawn in this latter
text between this and the previous recipe. Read (?) *arki-šu ina IVkam* (^u)
áme(me). Are the signs after "horn" a mistake for "hart", as in l. 28?

⁴ i.e. a pricked blister. It is not easy to see whether this last phrase is
included on *KAR* as it is here, since the text is damaged.

36. . . . in rose-water thou shalt mix, ditto.

(Remainder mutilated)

Col. IV

1. (Here is AM. 18, 5, reverse, joined to AM. 75, 1, iv.)
Pine-turpentine, fir-turpentine, *opopanax thou shalt dry (?),
put on,¹ and he shall recover.

2. If ditto, the sick place thou shalt wash, anoint with oil,
Artemisia, *balsam, **Sagapenum* in water thou shalt put,
roast in an oven, take out, rub his feet with this water, and
anoint with oil ; thou shalt mix pine-turpentine, fir-turpentine,
Enanthe (?), anoint, and he shall recover.

5. If ditto, the sick place thou shalt wash, anoint with
oil, seed of daisy (and) seed of *Cratægus Azarolus* together
thou shalt bray, thou shalt mash in rose-water, bind on, and
he shall recover.

6. If ditto, the sick place thou shalt wash, anoint with oil,
seed of *mint, seed of *Cratægus Azarolus*, seed of **Arnoglosson*
in rose-water thou shalt mash, rub in oil, bind on and he shall
recover.

8. If ditto, the sick place thou shalt wash, anoint with oil,
seed of cummin, seed of lettuce, in rose-water thou shalt mash,
bind on, and he shall recover.

9. If ditto, the sick place thou shalt wash, anoint with oil,
these drugs in wax of honey thou shalt mix, bind on, and he
shall recover.

10. If ditto, the sick place thou shalt wash, anoint with oil,

bray together *Cratægus Azarolus*, tops (juice) of oleander (?), fennel, apply and he shall recover.

11. . . . male thyme in slime (?) ¹ of fish thou shalt put, and pour into his anus, and he shall recover.

12. . . . thyme in the milk of a virgin (?) kid thou shalt pour into his anus, and he shall recover.

13. . . . tragacanth, *Solanum* (?), thyme, without a meal he shall drink, and he shall recover.

14. . . . lupins, . . . without a meal he shall drink, and he shall recover.

15. . . . thyme, . . . cypress of the cemeteries in water thou shalt steep, ² thou shalt let it stand under the stars ; in the morning thou shalt . . . ; without a meal he shall drink (it), and he shall recover.

17. If the sole ³ of a man's foot) is "broken", ⁴ gum of *Aleppo pine thou shalt dry, pound, in a [small] copper pan in rose-water thou shalt mash, bind on.

18. If ditto, poppy thou shalt dry, pound, in fat mix, bind on.

19. If the soles of a man's feet) are split, ⁵ thou shalt mix worms of the field ⁶ in fat (?), bind on.

¹ *Nidi ša nāni*, *nidu* meaning anything cast ; *nid libbi*, an untimely birth (PRSM. 1926, 67), *nid ru'ti*, the spitting of spittle, etc.

² *Tar-ša-an* ; so also AM. 38, 3, 7 (in beer), and *i-ra-ša-an* (also in beer, AM. 85, 3, 4), Syr. *r'šan*, perfusus fuit.

³ *Asidu*, Holma, *Körp.* 150 ; Ungnad, "sole", ZA. 1917, 44 ; also "sole of a shoe" (SAI. 4652, Thureau-Dangin, RA. 1913, 224). Cf. E. xiii, 132 ; AH. 157.

⁴ *Pur-ru-ur*.

⁵ *Luttá*.

⁶ *Mubattira ša eqli*, see Landsberger, *Fauna*, 129.

21. If ditto, the whole scrotum of a river-tortoise¹ thou shalt dry, bray . . . put [on the place].

If ditto, *Ricinus* thou shalt dry, bray, bind on :

If ditto, myrrh . . .

If ditto, flour of the plant *BAT.TAR* thou shalt bray, mix in fat, bind on.

If ditto, the skin of . . .

23. If the sole of a man's foot continually hurts, thou shalt heat urine in an oven, hot and cold . . .² (*Here is AM. 15, 3, reverse.*)

24. If the under-part of a man's foot pricks him, black sulphur . . .

25. If ditto, black sulphur, **Liquidambar*, kelp (?), in oil thou shalt mix, [anoint] the under-part of his foot.

26. If a man . . . his foot . . . or with anything either his foot or his finger festers³ and . . . it suppurates,⁴ blood and pus coming forth, a mash of roses, . . . poppy, pig's fat, *U.SA-beer*, bitumen thou shalt bind on and it will supp[urate]; . . . dates, 3 grains of gum of **Galbanum* thou shalt bind on ;

¹ *Ma-la BIR AL.LUL nâri*. *AL.LUL* = *alluttu* (see Landsberger, *Fauna*, 121), but I prefer to see in it the tortoise rather than the crab, on the grounds that the star *mulAL.LUL* as *Cancer* is represented on the boundary-stones as a tortoise and not as a crab (see *JRAS.* 1929, 804) (which Meissner had probably in mind in quoting *KMI.* No. 1, 5, 20, in his *Bab. Ass.*, ii, 308). Just as *BAL.GI.ĦA* is "tortoise" rather than "crab" owing to the use of its *UŠ* (penis) in medicine (*KAR.* 186, r. 18), the tortoise being endowed with a large copulatory organ in the tail, so here will *BIR* show that this *AL.LUL* is "tortoise" rather than "crab". *BIR* is the scrotum (*BIR birki*, lit. "the bag of the penis, or copulatory organs", *RA.* 1929, 63); *mala*, although unusual, must be the word in front of it (and not *-ma* (and) *LA* ("shell"), paralleled by *mala libbi* "all the mind, heart").

² Urine applied to footsoles tender after marching is an old soldier's remedy.

³ *Imrud*, Heb. *mârad* "fester", different, of course, from the *tummarat* of *Ku.* i, iii, 61.

⁴ *Išarrik*.

...¹ *mint (?) thou shalt bind on ; ... [as] a mash thou shalt bind on and he shall recover (?).² If ditto, a mash ... ash of human skull³ thou shalt reduce, bray, [apply] ... *NAM GAR NAM* in fire thou shalt reduce, bray, [apply].

(33) (*Here is AM. 100, 3, reverse*). If a man ... asses' dung ...

(34) If a man's hand (?) ... If ditto, flour (?) ...

(36) If a man's nail ... fat of the eye of a male sheep, *sahlê*, horn ... locust of the sea,⁴ gum of **Galbanum* ...

(39) If a man's nail either falls off [or] ... fat of the kidney of a male sheep, fat of the eye of a male sheep ... thou shalt reduce, belemnite (?)⁵ gum of [**Galbanum*] ... , fresh *sahlê*, ...

(43) If a man's nail either falls off [or] ... fat of the eye of a male sheep, *sahlê* ... gum of **Galbanum*, ...

(*KAR.* 192, r. 2, continues, in the main, differently from the above. The following are the sections not included above :)

(l. 6 mentions " nine cataplasms ".)

7. Fat of the kidney of a male sheep, wax (?) ... , fir-turpentine, gum of **Andropogon* ... , oil of myrtle, gum of **Aleppo* pine ...

10. Fir-turpentine, pine-turpentine, myrrh ... , gum of

¹ *I-ba-šal(rak)*...

² *NI.NIŠ*, perhaps *i-niš* (= *ina-ēš*).

³ A mystical name for tamarisk, *JRAS.* 1924, 456.

⁴ Cf. *AM.* 93, 2, 1 (*JRAS.* 1929, 802); Landsberger, *Fauna*, 123.

⁵ *aBišsur atani*, *DAG.* 109.

[**Galbanum* ?], gum of *Aleppo pine, cedar-“ blood ”, . . .
-plant, drugs for cataplasms for blains . . .

13. Dross of an oven,¹ “ gum ” of barley,² husk (?) of barley
. . . fine-ground flour thou shalt mix, in rose-water boil, bind
it on (as) a cataplasm for . . .

15. . . . flour of husk (?) of barley, powder of fresh (*BÍL^{pl}*)
roses, dross [of an oven] in . . . thou shalt bray, bind it on (as)
a cataplasm for “ heat ”.³

17. Powder of fruit of pomegranate, powder of fruit of ?,
powder of seed of ?, powder of **Arnoglosson*-seed, these four
powders on the sickness.

(19-22, see *Col. III*, 31, of *main text*.)

23. Flour of roast corn, powder of roses, fine-ground flour
in oil . . . thou shalt boil; three cataplasms . . .

(25-32 *mutilated*.)

33. *Sahlê* in [rose-water (?)] thou shalt mash, flour of roast
corn . . . aromatics, **Calendula* on the place thou shalt sprinkle
. . . bind it on; a cataplasm for sickness . . .

36. . . . in rose-water thou shalt mash, fine-ground flour,
powder of roses . . . on the place [thou shalt spr]inkle . . . (?)

38. (*mutilated*, mentioning “ gum of **Galbanum* ” and “ old
(or roasted) fat ”).

¹ Text bad here, but read *ḥa-ḥu-ú šá utuni*, like *ḥa-ḥi-e šá utuni*, l. 51
(cf. l. 15), *ḥa-ḥa-a šá utuni*, *KAR.* 186, 6: *alīḫḫakimīna ḥaḥā ša utuni*
umminu ša diḫari, *Maḫlā.* iii, 116 (. . . *BIL* = *ḥa-ḥu-ú*, *CT.* xix, 1, K. 55,
22). It is some form of ash (see *DACG.* 265).

² *Ira ša ŠE + BAR + ŠE.*

³ *Širhi.*

40. Fir-turpentine, . . . hellebore, myrrh, gum of **Galbanum*, . . ., *KANKAL* of dates, . . ., wax of honey, suet of the kidney of a male sheep, . . ., cedar-"blood", . . . on the fire thou shalt parch.

43. (*Practically dup. of AM. 32, 5, 4 : 93, 2, r. 6 : see RA. 1930, 132, 10.*)

46. Corn-flour,¹ flour of husks (?) of barley, flour of . . . *arsuppu*-[flour], *šigušu*-flour, *IN.NU.ĤA*-flour, *kibatu*-wheat-flour, *Lathyrus*-flour, [fenugreek]-flour, vetch-flour, flour of roast corn, flour of *saḫi* . . . corn, wheat-flour, powder of dung,² doves' (?) dung, linseed-flour, flour of . . ., "aromatics" . . . dry . . ., gypsum-powder, powder of dry mucilage (?) of sesame, powder . . ., . . . of the top of an old wall, powder of ash of an old oven, . . ., dross of an old oven, powder of the ash from a dome(d furnace),³ powder of . . ., powder of *Artemisia*, powder of *balsam, powder of **Sagapenum*,⁴ flour of *lidruše*-plant, . . ., flour of manna,⁵ flour of cedar, flour of cypress, flour of juniper, flour of fir-turpentine, flour of pi[ne-turpentine (?)], flour of oleander (?), flour of myrrh, flour of myrtle, flour of . . ., flour of **opopanax*, [flour] of *Acorus Calamus*, flour of *suadu*, total fifty-six (kinds of) flour . . . a "great ointment,"⁶ a cataplasm . . . (ll. 58-9 broken) . . . either cold in beer (?) . . . thou shalt rub in *ḫimetu*-ghee, bind on . . .

¹ *Kim šibri*; see Torczyner, *DKAWW*. lv, 1913, s.v., 130.

² *Putri*: see No. 202, col. I, l. (52), note.

³ See *DAG*. xxv.

⁴ *isuḫUM.ĤA* = *bariratu*, *AH*. 172 (e.g., cf. *KAR*. 191, 18, and *AM*. 70, 7, 6).

⁵ See my forthcoming article in *AJSL*.

⁶ *Siku rabū(u)*. *Sāku*, *BBR*. 26, i, 24, "anoint": cf. *AM*. 23, 10, 6, *ina ZAL.LU sa-a-ki ta-zak*: and 8, 7, 4, *ina ZAL.LU sa-a-ki* . . .: *KAR*. 182, r. 2, *ZAL.LU sa-a-ki*; perhaps connected with *siktu* "powder", for which see *JRAS*. 1931, 17.

KAR. 192, Col. IV.

(The first six lines are mutilated or doubtful, except in l. 5, "Ea who soweth the land.")

. . . the lamb by its hair,¹ the Euphrates by its bank . . . may he provide its alleviation, and set its barrier [against that which seizeth on] me, So-and-so, son of So-and-so.

² Its name is [šû], the *parkadu*-sickness (rheumatism, or similar) is its nature (?), its nature (?) is not *pakadu*: its name is šû; from a star of heaven it has come down, it has come down from a star of heaven; half the poison of the snake it has taken, half the poison of the scorpion it has taken. Mouth it has not, (but) it has a tooth; a tooth it has, it seizes on the muscles; fingers it has not, (but) it seizes on the *kappaltu* (of the foot); like hair it is peeled off, not known (i.e. felt) on the flesh; it has no face (?) . . .; it has seized on the hip, the knee, the loins, the "middle", the shoulders and the back, the "hump", all the muscles, that which has seized on So-and-so, the son of So-and-so, the whole of all of them, is *Sagal*[lu] ("swollen muscle"); ever since the day he was born . . . the hand of his god . . .

³ [It is the charm of Ea and] Marduk, [the charm] of Damu and [Gula], the charm of Nin-aḥa-kuddu, [the mistress of charm]: it is they who have told me, and I have adopted . . . above let not ascend, the evil tongue . . .

Prayer against

29. Ritual for this: a hair of a male and female lamb, the male lamb . . . thou shalt spin; male and female pumice-stone, cornelian, white coral (?), green vitriol, vitriol (alumen), *zibit*-stone, *abarummu*-stone, lime, magnetic iron ore, pounded chalk (?), geodes of the r[iver] (?) thou shalt thread; *curcuma*

¹ See l. 27.

² See *DAOG.* 190; *E.*, xiii, 133 ff.

³ See *PRISM.* 1924, 30.

on red wool thou shalt fold in [seven] folds, bind on . . . and he shall recover.

. . . shall go forth outside.

328.

Appended for information of readers, by direction of the Council of the R.A.S., is a list of works by the same author on similar subjects :—

CUNEIFORM TEXTS.

Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets (British Museum publications), parts xvi, xvii, xxiii.

Assyrian Medical Texts, a volume.

TRANSLATIONS.

The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia, 2 vols.

TRANSLATIONS IN VARIOUS JOURNALS OF MEDICAL TEXTS.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

"Assyrian Prescriptions for Diseases of the Ears," 1931, 1.

"Assyrian Prescriptions for the Hand of a Ghost," 1929, 801.

Monographs on *KUR.GI.HU*, *Šikku*, and *Kamunu*, 1929, 339.

— On *garidu*, 1926, 723.

— On "*KUR.KUR*", 1924, 669.

— Some Notes on Modern Babylonia, 1923, 233.

— On Mandrake and Tragacanth, 1926, 100.

— On some Minerals, 1933, 885.

— On "Whetstone" and "Corundum", 1934, 343.

— On the *Allalu* bird, 1924, 258.

— A Babylonian Explanatory text, Medical, 1924, 452.

— An Assyrian Chemist's Vade Mecum, 1934, 771.

Journal of the Society of Oriental Research, 1931, 53.

"Assyrian Prescription for Ulcers."

American Journal of Semitic Languages.

"Assyrian Prescription for Diseases of the Head," 1907. Re-edited and much enlarged under the title "The Series 'If a man's Cranium holds Inflammation'," in same periodical, 1937.

"Assyrian Prescription for treating Bruises or Swellings," 1930.

Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine.

"Assyrian Medical Texts (Head, Eyes)," 1924.

"Assyrian Medical Texts (Head, Eyes)," 1926.

Revue d'Assyriologie.

"Assyr. Med. Prescription against *Šimmatu* 'Poison'," 1930.

"Assyr. Med. Prescription for Diseases of the Stomach," 1929.

"Assyr. Med. Prescriptions for Diseases of the Chest and Lungs," 1934.

Babyloniaca, xiv, 1934.

"Assyrian Prescriptions for the Urine."

Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.

"The Folklore of Mossoul."

"An Assyrian Incantation against Ghosts," 1906, 219.

"An Assyrian Incantation against Rheumatism," 1908, 63.

Short article in *Man*, 1928, 13 (on *Abnu Šadannu šabitu*).

Archiv f. Keilschriftforschung, xi, 336. Assyrian Prescriptions for Stone, etc.

VOLUMES ON ALLIED SUBJECTS.

Semitic Magic.

The Assyrian Herbal.

On the Chemistry of the Ancient Assyrians.

A Dictionary of Assyrian Chemistry and Geology.

Notice of an unknown Anthology of Ancient Arabic Poetry, "Muntaha 'l-Ṭalab min Ash'âr-i 'l-'Arab," by Muḥammad b. al-Mubârak b. Muḥammad b. Maimûn

By S. M. HUSAIN, M.A., D.PHIL. (OXON)

AT Oxford, in 1927, while hunting up references to the verses of an unknown anthology of ancient Arabic poetry, which I hope to present shortly to the students of Arabic, I came to find mention of another unknown anthology of Ancient Arabic poetry: *Muntaha 'l-Ṭalab min Ash'âr-i 'l-'Arab*¹ by Muḥammad b. al-Mubârak b. Muḥammad b. Maimûn,² said to contain one thousand Arabic odes.³ Although the anthologist, Muḥammad b. al-Mubârak b. Muḥammad b. Maimûn, was no familiar figure in Arabic literary history, the name of the anthology and the note about its enormous extent at once struck me and led me to think that it was a very valuable work. So I at once consulted the well-known expert, Mr. (now Dr.) F. Krenkow about it. Mr. Krenkow informed me that he also had come across the name of this anthology, most probably in the catalogue of the books in the late De Slane's library. Afterwards, when I visited Germany and met Dr. Hommel of Munich, he felt immensely interested in this anthology, and suggested to me to be on the look-out for it in my intended Near East tour especially in the libraries of Istanbul and Damascus. As a matter of fact, in Istanbul I came upon a codex of this work in the library of Laleli, where it is numbered 1941. But this codex, 2'1 c.m. × 1'5 c.m., containing 164 folios, was only a small part—one-sixth—of the whole work. Again in Cairo I found two manuscripts of the *Muntaha 'l-Ṭalab* in the

¹ *Khizânât-u 'l-Adab*, vol. i, pp. 10, 366, 448, and 405; and vol. iv, p. 233.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii, pp. 421, 467; vol. iii, p. 164; and vol. iv, pp. 40, 373.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 10.

Royal library. One of them is identical with the Istanbul codex and the other contains only a single fasciculus of the entire work. The Istanbul codex gives no provenance or date, and is apparently older than its Cairene counterpart, which bears at its end the date of transcription—the 11th Jumâdâ 'l-Ulâ, A.H. 995.

It would appear that both these copies were transcripts of a copy made from Muḥammad b. al-Mubâarak's own manuscript. The Istanbul manuscript has lost the fly-leaf, which in the Royal manuscript supplies the title of the work and the name of the compiler : منتهى الطلب من أشعار

العرب تأليف الإمام الأديب محمد بن المبارك بن محمد بن ميمون

On the second page of both the manuscripts is found a note on the contents of the whole work, followed by a note and a table of the contents of the present volume, with which the copyist from the compiler's manuscript may be credited. The great work is thus said to comprise from its beginning to its end—divided into six volumes—the compositions of 264 poets, 1,051 full odes with 29 fragments : 39,990 verses. The present volume, which, apparently, and as also mentioned in the last page of the Royal copy, is the first of the six volumes into which the work is divided, contains the compositions of 58 poets, 219 odes with two fragments : 7,264 verses. This note is followed by the preface of the anthologist, Muḥammad b. al-Mubâarak b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Maimûn, who is reported to have said, after the usual doxology and homage to the Prophet and his family, as follows :—

“I have collected in this book one thousand odes which I selected from the composition of those Arabic poets whose verses are often cited as authoritative and have named it *Muntaha 'l-Ṭalab min Ash'âr-i 'l-'Arab*. I have divided the collection into ten parts and collected in each part one hundred odes, writing on the margin the meanings of the rare words occurring in them. I included in the Anthology from the Mufaḍḍalian poems and the selections of al-Aṣma'î, the

Naqā'id of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq and the poems which Abū Bakr b. Duraid mentioned in his book, called *al-Shawārid*, the best of the Hudhalian poems, and from the poetry of those whom Ibn Sallām al-Jumāhī mentioned in the *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt*. I did not exclude any of the Pagan and Islamic poets whose verses are cited in *belles-lettres*, unless it were for the fact that I had not come upon the collection of his poetry and did not find it in *waqf* and other libraries. Of course, I took from the compositions of each of the poets whom I included in my Collection, the choicest and most elegant of his compositions; if a critic closely examines my selections, he will recognize the truth of my assertion. I made these selections, having spent sixty years, after my boyhood, in the perusal of poetry. I got many of them by rote from my masters, Abū Muḥammad 'Abdullāh b. Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. Aḥmad al-Khashshāb and Abu 'l-Faḍl b. Nāsir and others whom I met, and wrote down most of the *dīwāns* containing these poems. I wanted to compile this work according to an arrangement of the poets, some of them taking precedence over others. But it was not possible as I could not find out any such arrangement, for which I must offer my apology. I put Ka'b b. Zuhair first and concluded the work with the *Hāshimīyāt* of al-Kumait in order to take blessings from the panegyric on the Apostle of Allāh (May Allāh bless him and grant him peace) in the ode of Ka'b and from the mention of the Prophet (May Allāh bless him and his family) in the *Hāshimīyāt* with which I have concluded the book. The compilation of this book was made at Baghdād during the months of the two years A.H. 588 and 589. I became acquainted with many works of poetry that I collected and I did not see anybody who had acquired as many of these books as I did. Now, I beseech Allāh to send His blessings on Muḥammad and his family and to bless this book and lend His help to those who apply themselves to it."

From this preface it will be found that the anthologist divided his book into ten parts, each part containing 100

lengthy odes. The note on the contents of the work, as found in both the Istanbul and Cairene codices, however, mentions that the work is divided into six parts. But it must be due to a redaction made by some transcriber from the author's manuscript, who divided the work into six volumes, of which the manuscripts in question contain the first volume, comprising a little more than two parts of Muḥammad b. al-Mubārak's collection. For, in both these manuscripts is found after the 104th poem¹ the note: "End of the first part in the original manuscript"; and this is what the compiler wrote at the end of the first part: "Here end the hundred selected odes and with these is ended the first part of the thousand odes in the book which I named *Muntaha 'l-Ṭalab min Ash'ār-i 'l-'Arab*." Again, after the 194th poem² we find: "End of the second part in the original manuscript," and at the end of the second part in the original was found in the hand-writing of Ibn Maimūn: "This is the end of the second part of the book which I named *Muntaha 'l-Ṭalab min Ash'ār-i 'l-'Arab* and I included in this part one hundred poems selected from the well-known *diwāns*." Thus both in the preface and at the end of the first and second parts of the work Ibn Maimūn mentioned that he put together 100 odes in each part. In our manuscripts the first part is found to contain 104 poems, four of which must be additional pieces. For poem No. 62 is mentioned in the manuscript³ as besides the thousand selected odes, and poem No. 85⁴ is said not to be included amongst the selected poems. Similarly in the second part also we find a note by the Compiler on poem No. 147⁵: "I put down this piece on account of its exquisite beauty but it does not come under the number of my selections." Hence we can account for the additional fifty-one odes and twenty-nine fragments over and above 1,000 odes, as mentioned in the note on the contents of the entire work. The second

¹ Folio 80r.² Folio 150r.³ Folio 51r.⁴ Folio 67v.⁵ Folio 119v.

part, however, is found to contain only ninety poems. It must be due to the redaction I have referred to above.

In the Royal library of Cairo I also came across a codex of a collection containing the *Dīwān* of Laqīṭ al-Iyādī¹ and of al-Ḥādirah² and the commentary on the *Dīwān* of Abu Mihjan al-Thaqafī³ and on the *Dīwān* on 'Alqamah al-Fahl.⁴ As stated in the colophon,⁵ it was transcribed by a scribe, named Ismā'il Ḥaqqī, who came originally from Africa and was domiciled in Syrian Tripoli. The scribe betrays his *Maḡribī* origin by writing sometimes ق with one dot and putting the dot of ف underneath. The first part of this codex— which contains thirty-three poems by Jarīr, thirty by al-Farazdaq, nine by al-Akḥṭal, three by Qais b. al-Khaṭīm, one poem by Ka'b b. Sa'd al-Ghanawī, one by al-Shanfarā and one by Ta'abbata Sharran and three poems by al-Aḥwaṣ Muḥammad b. 'Āṣim b. Thābit al-Anṣārī— claims to be a part of the *Muntaha al-Ṭalab min Ash'ār-i 'l-'Arab* by (Muḥammad b.) al-Mubārak b. Maimūn al-Baghḍādī, although it thus contains only eighty-one poems. The author of the *Khizānah* has quoted from seven poems in this part, viz. from three poems by al-Farazdaq,⁶ two poems by Jarīr,⁷ one poem by Qais b. al-Khaṭīm,⁸ and one by Ka'b b. Sa'd al-Ghanawī,⁹ and mentioned them as selected by Muḥammad b. al-Mubārak in his *Muntaha 'l-Ṭalab min Ash'ār-i 'l-'Arab*. No poem in the first two parts, as contained in the Istanbul codex, is found quoted in the *Khizānah*, which mentions three other poems by Muslim b. Ma'bad al-Wālibī,¹⁰ Muzāḥim al-Uqailī,¹¹ and Kuthaiyir 'Azzah¹² as belonging to this anthology.

¹ Folios 248-256.

³ Folios 272-291.

⁵ Folio 347v.

⁷ Ibid., i, 448 and 463.

⁹ Ibid., iv, 373.

¹¹ Ibid., iv, 255.

² Folios 258-270.

⁴ Folios 292-318.

⁶ *Khizānat-u 'l-Adab*, i, 463, ii, 467, and iv, 40.

⁸ Ibid., iii, 164.

¹⁰ Ibid., i, 366.

¹² Ibid., ii, 421.

That the *Muntaha 'l-Talab min Ash'âr-i 'l-'Arab* is an anthology of the best compositions of all those pagan and Islamic poets who are often quoted in *belles lettres*, as mentioned by the anthologist in his preface, may be accepted on the authority of a literateur like 'Abdu'l-Qâdir al-Baghdâdî (d. A.H. 1093), whose *Khizânat-u 'l-Adab* is, as we know, an exposition of the citations in the commentary of the *Kâfîyah*, containing biographical sketches of the poets and scholars of the pagan and early Islamic periods who are oft-quoted as authorities.¹

But nothing can be known about the anthologist, Muḥammad b. al-Mubâarak b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Maimûn from our sources of biographical reference. The second manuscript of the Royal library gives the name as al-Mubâarak b. Maimûn al-Baghdâdî and the redactionist in his notes in the other MSS. often calls him simply Ibn Maimûn. That he was a native of Baghdâd may also be gathered from the preface in which he says that he made his compilation at Madînat-u 'l-Salâm. Thus, probably, the work came to be known to 'Abdu'l-Qâdir al-Baghdâdî, the author of the *Khizânah*. Al-Khatîb al-Baghdâdî, however, does not mention him in his history of Baghdâd. Yâqût mentions in his *Mu'jam-u 'l-Udabâ'*² one Muḥammad b. Maimûn, of Cordova, a skilled grammarian and well-known scholar, who wrote a commentary on the *Maqâmât* of al-Ḥarîrî, but we have no chronological data from which we could suppose that our anthologist's father or grandfather came to Baghdâd from Cordova. From the preface of the book, which mentions the years 588 and 589 as the date of its compilation, we learn that the anthologist spent sixty years in the study of Arabic poetry before beginning to compile his work. This gives the sixth century as the age in which he flourished, being born within its first quarter. We further learn from this preface that he read most of the poems of his selections with his masters,

¹ J. Zaidân, *Târikh-u Âdâb-i 'l-Lughat-i 'l-'Arabîyah*, vol. iii, 288.

² Vol. vii, p. 112.

Abū Muḥammad 'Abdullah b. Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. Aḥmad al-Khashshâb and Abu 'l-Faḍl b. Nâsir. The former was a pupil of al-Jawâlîqî, who died at Baghdâd in A.H. 539,¹ and the name of the latter, whom Yâqût mentions in his *Mu'jam al-Udabâ'*,² is Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Nâsir al-Sulamî.

Muḥammad b. al-Mubâarak often mentions the occasion of the poems of his collection, and sometimes traces his sources as far back as could be ascertained. For instance, on the first poem in the anthology he notes: "A panegyric on the Prophet by Ka'b b. Zuhair. I read it in the year A.H. 542 with my master Aḥmad b. 'Alî b. al-Samîn, who delivered it to me, having got it from Abū Zakariyâ Yaḥyâ b. 'Alî al-Khaṭîb, who got it from Abū 'Amr Muḥammad b. al-'Abbâs b. Hayawayah al-Jazzâr, who got it from Abu Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Qâsim al-Anbârî, who got it from his father, who got it from 'Abdullâh b. 'Amr who got it from al-Ḥajjâj b. Dhu 'l-Ruqaibah b. 'Abd-u 'l-Raḥmân b. Ka'b b. Zuhair al-Muzainî, who got it from his father, who got it from his grandfather, who got it from Ka'b.

The anthologist also sometimes makes interesting remarks and important observations. Thus, regarding a poem of Jarîr,³ he observes that it is the last of three best poems by Jarîr, which the poet uttered satirizing al-Farazdaq, but yet it does not occur in the *Naqâ'id*. The author of the *Khizânah* quotes verbatim this criticism of Ibn Maimûn. Again about 'Ubaidullâh b. al-Ḥurr⁴ the anthologist says that al-Sukkarî reckons him amongst the Luṣṣûs, but he was not a bandit, although he gathered a rabble for leading expeditions. From al-Sukkarî's *Kitâb al-Luṣṣûs*, which, unfortunately, has been irretrievably lost, six other poets and, in all, nineteen poems are found included in the second part of the *Muntaha*

¹ Suyûtî, *Bughyât-u 'l-Wu'ât*.

² Vol. i, p. 217, and vol. vii, pp. 209, 286, and 289.

³ Folio 47r.

⁴ Folio 129r.

'*l-Ṭalab* : four poems by 'Ubaid b. Ayyûb al-Anbârî, three by al-Khaṭîm al-Muḥrizî, two by Jaḥdar b. Mu'âwiyah b. Ja'dah al 'Ukalî, one poem by al-Samharî b. Bishr al-'Ukalî, one by Ṭahmân b. 'Amr al-Kilâbî, four poems by the above-mentioned 'Ubaidullâh b. al-Ḥurr and four by al-Qattâl, whose name is given as 'Abdullâh b. Mujîb al-Kilâbî. In the other parts of our anthology which are yet unknown, we could probably find far more materials for the reconstruction of al-Sukkari's interesting work, on which one of our research students has been engaged. Similarly from the *Mufaḍḍaliyyât* fourteen poems are found in the first part,¹ twenty in the second part,² and two ³—one by Ta'abbata Sharran and one by al-Shanfarâ—in the unknown part of the second Cairene manuscript. In the other seven parts of the work we could not only expect to find some more selections from these two collections, but we could also have got a large number of selections from the *Aṣma'îyyât*. As I have shown elsewhere, the collections of al-Aṣma'î have come down to us very incomplete in Ahlwardt's edition of the Vienna codex of the *Aṣma'îyyât*. If the selections made from the *Aṣma'îyyât* in the *Muntaha 'l-Ṭalab*, as mentioned in its preface, were before us, we might have in them some valuable additions to Ahlwardt's edition.

In this short paper I just draw the attention of Arabists to this anthology of vast extent, interest, and importance, of which I could discover only one-third or a little more than three out of its ten parts. Several scholars from Europe and India have made inquiries of me about its contents. I therefore give below a list of the poems included in these parts, arranged in the alphabetical order of the names of the poets, with the first hemistichs, numbers of verses, and

¹ *Mufaḍḍaliyyât*, ed. Sir Charles Lyall, Nos. ix, xviii, xxi, xxii, xxiv, xxv, xxx, xlv, xevi-xeix, and cxxiv.

² *Ibid.*, Nos. v, vi, x, xv, xvii, xxvii-xxix, xxxi, xxxiv-xxxvi, xli, xlii, xlvii, lxxvii, lxxvi, lxxxix, xcî, and cv.

³ *Ibid.*, Nos. i and xx.

numbers of the folios in the Laleli and the Royal manuscripts.

In the first two parts of the *Muntaha 'l-Talab* will be found notices of the *dīwāns* of several poets that are yet unknown to us. I may mention the poets Bishr b. Abī Khāzim, 'Urwah b. Udhainah, al-Aswad b. Ya'fur, al-Shamardal, al-Mutawakkil b. 'Abdullah al-Laithī, Tamīm b. Ubaiy b. Muqbil, Kuthaiyir 'Azzah,¹ and Jamīl. From the number of their poems included, it is evident that the anthologist had access to the *dīwāns* of these poets. Not a few of these and other selections in the first two parts of our anthology are insufficiently known, and some are altogether unknown.² How much more could we expect to find like these poems in the remaining seven parts, if they came to light!

Folio.	No. of Verses.	First hemistich.	No. of Poems.	Name of Poet.
104v	48	أقوت رواوة من أسماء فالسند	3	الأحوص (محمد بن عاصم بن ثابت الأنصاري)
105v	42	يا بيت عاتكة الذي اتقزل		
106v	53	أ في كل يوم حبة القلب تقرع		
87v	38	ألا يا أسلمي يا أم بشر على الهجر	9	الأخطل
88v	67	عفا واسط من آل رضوى فنبتل		
90r	47	كدبتك عينك أم رأيت بواسط... (لا)		
91r	55	لمن الديار بجائل فوعال		
92v	54	هل تعرف اليوم من ماوية الطللا		
93v	47	تغير الرسم من سلمى بأجقار		
95r	49	عفا الجوف من سلمى فبادت رسومها		
96r	47	ألا يا أسلمي يا هند هند بنى بدر		
97r	84	خف القطين فراحوا منك أو بكروا		

¹ Kuthaiyir's *Dīwān*, with the commentary of Abū 'Abdullāh al-Rashīdī, is known to exist in a manuscript of the Escorial library.

² For example, out of the thirteen poems by 'Abid b. al-Abras five will not be found in the Poet's *Dīwān*, edited by Sir Charles Lyall.

<i>Folio.</i>	<i>No. of Verses.</i>	<i>First hemistich.</i>	<i>No. of Poems.</i>	<i>Name of Poet.</i>
130v	27	لَا بُتَةَ حِطَانِ بْنِ عَوْفٍ مَنَازِلَ	1	الأخنس بن شهاب التغلبي
42r	36	نَامَ الْخَلِيْتُ وَمَا أَحْسَ رِقَادِي	6	الأسود بن يعفر
43v	34	هَلْ بِالْمَنَازِلِ إِنْ كَلِمَتَهَا خَرَسَ		
43v	30	أُ بَيِّنْتَ رَسْمَ الدَّارِ لَمْ تَتَّيْنِ		
44v	28	أَلَا حَى سَلَمَى فِي الْخَلِيطِ الْمَفَارِقِ		
45r	23	هَلِ الشَّبَبُ فَاتٍ مِنْ مَطْلَبٍ		
45v	16	أَجَارَتْنَا غَضَى مِنَ السَّيْرِ أَوْ قَفَى		
66r	20	وَدَّعَ لَيْسَ وَدَاعَ الصَّارِمِ الْآخِي... (ج)	8	أوس بن حجر التيمي
68r	26	عَيْنِي لَا بَدَّ مِنْ سَكَبٍ وَتَهْمَالٍ		
69r	13	أَيْتَهَا النَّفْعَنُ أَجْمَلِي جَزْعًا		
69r	26	هَلْ عَاجِلٌ مِنْ مَتَاعِ الْحَى مَنْظُورٍ		
70r	24	حَلَّتْ تَحَاضِرُ بَعْدَنَا رَبِّهَا		
70v	52	سَلَا قَلْبُهُ عَنْ سَكْرِهِ قَنَاطِلًا		
71v	57	تَنَكَّرَ بَعْدِي مِنْ أُمَيْمَةٍ صَائِفٍ		
73r	41	تَنَكَّرْتَ مِنَّا بَعْدَ مَعْرِفَةٍ لَمَى		
149v	21	جَلَبْنَا الْخَيْلَ مِنْ جَنْبَى أَرِيكَ (م)	1	أوس بن غلفاء الهجيمي
88v	37	هَجَرْتَ أَمَامَةَ هَجْرًا جَبِيلًا	1	بشامة بن عمرو
41v	17	لَمِنَ الدِّيَارِ عَفُونٌ بِالْجَزْعِ	1	بشامة بن الغدير
74r	38	أَحَقُّ مَا رَأَيْتُ أُمَ احْتِلَامٍ	9	بشر بن أبي خازم
74v	27	لَمِنَ الدِّيَارِ عَشِيَّتُهَا بِالْأَنْعَمِ		
75v	17	هَلْ أَنْتَ عَنْ أَطْلَالِ مِثْ رَابِعٍ		
75v	16	هَلْ لَعِيشٌ إِذَا مَضَى لَزْوَالٍ		
76r	20	تَغَيَّرَتِ الْمَنَازِلُ بِالْكَثِيبِ		
76v	50	أَلَا بَانَ الْخَلِيطُ وَلَمْ يَزَارُوا		
77v	21	عَفَتْ مِنْ سَلِيمِي رَامَةً فَكْثِيبَهَا		
78r	20	أُ سَائِلَةٌ عَمِيرَةٍ عَنْ أُبَيْيَا . . (بَا)		
78v	24	كَفَى بِالنَّأْيِ مِنْ أَسْمَاءٍ كَافٍ		

<i>Folio.</i>	<i>No. of Verses.</i>	<i>First hemistich.</i>	<i>No. of Poems.</i>	<i>Name of Poet.</i>
104r	26	يا هيد ما لك من شوق وايراق	1	تأبط شرا
28v	42	سل الدار من جنبى حبر فواهب	11	تميم بن أب بن مقبل
29v	23	دعتنا بكهف من كنانين دعوة . . (ح)		
30r	46	أناظر الوصل أم غاد فصوص . . (لا)		
31r	41	دعتنا عتية من عالج . . (لا)		
32r	53	هل أنت محبى الربع أم انت سائله		
33r	28	شطت نوى من يحل السر فالشرفا		
33v	32	هل القلب عن دهماء سأل فسمخ		
34v	39	للمازنية مصطاف ومرتبج		
36r	22	يا صاحبى انظرانى لا عد متكما . . (ر)		
36r	35	طاف الخيال بنا ركبا يمانينا		
36v	50	تأمل خليلي هل ترى ضوء بارق . . (را)		
20v	41	نأتك بليلى دارها لا تزورها	3	توبة بن الحمير
21r	13	ألا هل فؤادى من صبا اليوم صافح		
21v	19	رمانى بليلى الأخيلية قومها		
94r	24	هل عند عمرة من بتات مسافر	1	ثعلبة بن صعبير
146r	25	ألا يا لقوم للجديد المصرم	1	جابر بن حنى التلبى
125r	21	تاوبنى فبت لها . . (ن)	2	جحدر بن معاوية بن جعدة
125v	26	إنى أرفت لبرق ضافنى سارى		المكلى
46r	27	بان الخليط فهالتك التهاويل	5	جران العود
46v	48	ألا لا يغرن امرأ نوفلية . . (ح)		
47v	72	ذكرت الصبى فانهلت العين تذرِف		
50r	45	بان الأنيس فما للقلب معقول		
50v	32	طربنا حين راجعنا اذكار		

<i>Folio.</i>	<i>No. of Verses.</i>	<i>First hemistich.</i>	<i>No. of Poems.</i>	<i>Name of Poet.</i>
1v	39	جَيِّ الِهدِ ملة من ذات المواعيس	33	جرير بن عطية
2v	63	لمن الديار رسومهن بوال		
4r	42	ما هاج شوقا من رسوم ديار		
5r	79	ألا حي ربيع المنزل المتقادم		
7r	105	أقلَى اللوم عاذل و العتابا		
9r	65	أجد رواح البين أم لا تروح		
11r	69	أ زرت ديار الحى أم لا تزورها		
12v	74	ألا أيها القلب الطروف المكلف		
14v	95	ألم ترأن الجمل أقصر باطله		
16v	67	ذكرت وصال البيض والشيب شائع		
18v	29	أمن ذى عهد تفيض مد امعى . . (ل)		
19r	64	لا خير فى مستعجلات الملالوم		
20v	34	تعللنا أمامة بالعرات		
21v	36	ألا بكرت سلمى فجر بكورها		
22v	53	لمن طلل هاج الفؤاد المتيما		
23v	41	ألا حى بالبردين دارا لا أرى . . (مها)		
24v	65	عوجى علينا واربعى ربة البغل		
26r	55	ألا حى رهبي ثم حى المطاليا		
27v	62	لمن الديار كأنها لم تحلل		
29r	25	سمت لى نظرة فرأيت برقاً . . (ر)		
29v	32	ألا حى الديار بسعد إني . . (را)		
30v	26	سرت الهموم فبتن غير نيام		
31r	35	زار الفرزدق أهل الحجاز . . (د)		
32r	19	لست بمعطى الحكم من شف منصب		
32v	82	أقننا وربتنا الديار ولا أرى . . (عا)		
34v	115	لولا العياء جرى لنا استعبار		
37r	92	لمن الديار ببرقة الروحان		
39v	37	فإن أمير المؤمنين حباكم . . (د)		
40v	106	أ من ربيع دارهم أن يتغيرا		
43r	54	عرفت الدار بعد بلى الحيام		
44r	53	ألا حى المنازل بالجنان		

<i>Folio.</i>	<i>No. of Verses.</i>	<i>First hemistich.</i>	<i>No. of Poems.</i>	<i>Name of Poet.</i>
45v	69	ألا زارت وأهل منى هجود		
47r	57	أهوى أراك برامتين وقودا		
80v	39	ألم تسأل الربع القواء فينطق	10	جميل
81r	36	ألا ليت أيام الصفاء جديد		
82r	17	لقد لامننى فيها أخ ذو قرابة . . (د)		
82r	17	حلت بثينة من قلبى بمنزلة . . (د)		
82v	28	طربت وهاج الشوق منى ربما . (ف)		
84v	58	عفا برد من أم عمرو فلفلف		
85r	23	عاودت من جل قديم صبايتى . (يا)		
85v	24	لقد أورث قلبى وكان مصححا (وها)		
86v	31	وغر الثنايا من ربيعة أعرضت . . (ن)		
87v	39	أ من ليلى تقتدى أم تروح		
56v	83	آذنتنا ببينها أسماء	2	الحارث بن حلزة
57r	14	لمن الديار عفون بالحبس		
144r	23	نأت سلمى وأمست فى عدو . . (با)	1	الحارث بن ظالم المرى
61v	39	جزى الله أفناء العشيرة كلها . (ما)	1	الحضين بن الحمام
121r	63	أبت لى سعد أن أضام ومالك (ر)	3	الخطيم المحرزى
122v	60	وقائلة يوما و قد جئت زائرا (دا)		
124r	26	نزلنا بمخشى الردى آجن الصرى (ل)		
10v	38	ألا طرقت أسماء من غير مطرق	5	خفاف بن عمير
11r	28	ألا تلك عرسى إذ أعمرت		
11v	18	أوحش النخل من تعامل فالروضات (د)		
12r	25	ما هاجك اليوم من رسم وأطلال		
12v	18	ألا صرمت من سلمى الزماما		
12r	30	أرث جديد الجبل من أم معبد	5	دريد بن الصمة

<i>Folio.</i>	<i>No. of Verses.</i>	<i>First hemistich.</i>	<i>No. of Poems.</i>	<i>Name of Poet.</i>
122r	24	هل مثل قلبك في الهوى معذور		
122v	15	إن يك رأسى كالنعامه نسله . . (د)		
122v	18	وقاك الله يا ابنة آل عمرو . . . (س)		
123r	16	غشيت برابع ظللا مُجِيلًا		
94r	32	إنكما صاحبي لن تدعا	2	ذو الإصبع
95r	30	يا من لقلب شديد الهم محزون		
51r	32	أقول لأصحابي الرواح فقرّبوا . . (ر)	1	الرحال بن مجدوح النميري
52v	23	أ من آل سلمى ذا الخيال المؤرق	1	زهير بن جناب
16r	33	أودى الشباب حمدا ذو التعاجيب	2	سلامة بن جندل
16v	38	لن تطل مثل الكتاب المنق		
88r	16	إذا غدوتم عامدين لأرضنا . . (ر)	2	سلمة بن الحرشب الأماري
88r	16	تأوبه خيال من سليمي . . (م)		
124v	19	ألا حي ليلى قد ألم لمامها	1	السمهري بن بشر العكلى
129r	21	ألم تر أن الحى فرق بينهم . . (ج)	1	شبيب بن البرصاء المرى
123v	32	بان الخليط فأدلجوا بسواد	6	الشمردل
124r	66	طربت و ذو الحلم قد يطرب		
125v	42	لعمري لئن غالت أخى دار فرقة . . (له)		
126v	29	إن الخليط أجد منك بكورا		
127v	47	بان الخليط بحبل الود فانطلقوا		
128v	21	أ أنكرت أطلال الرسوم وقد ترى . . (ق)		
103r	33	أرى أم عمرو أزمعت فاستقلت	1	الشنفرى
126r	32	سقى دار ليلى بالرفاشين مسبل . . (ق)	1	طهمان بن عمرو الكلابي
144v	29	من مبلغ سعد بن ذبيان مالكا . . (ما)	1	عامر الحصفى

<i>Folio.</i>	<i>No. of Verses.</i>	<i>First hemistich.</i>	<i>No. of Poems.</i>	<i>Name of Poet.</i>
24r	19	تأوبنى بعارمة الهموم	1	عبد الله بن الحمير
24v	17	ألا صرمت جبالنا جنوب	1	عبد الله بن سليمة
79v	18	ألا لا تلوماني كفى اللوم ما بيا	1	عبد يغوث بن وقاص
92r	80	هل جبل خولة بعد الهجر موصول	2	عبد بن الطبيب
93v	28	أ بنى إني قد كبرت ورابنى .. (ع)		
61v	17	أمن منزل عاف ومن رسم أطلال	13	عبيد بن الأبرص
62r	18	تغيرت الديار بنى الدفين		
62r	25	يا ذا المخوفنا بقتل أبيه إذلالاً وحيناً		
63r	18	يا خليلي قفا واستخيرا . . . (ل)		
63v	23	لمن الديار بصاحة فحروس		
64r	18	يا دار هند عفاها كل هطال		
64r	20	تحاول رسماً من سليماً دكاكا		
64v	14	أ من أم سلم تلك لا تستريح		
65r	22	أ من رسوم أيها ناحل		
65v	24	أقفر من أهله ملحوب		
66v	36	أ من دمنة أقوت بحجرة سرغد		
67r	14	لمن جمال قبيل الصبح مزموقة		
67v		سقى الرباب مجلجل الأكتاف لَمَاع بروفه 7		
119v	3	لقد خفت حتى لو تمر حمامة . . . (ر)	4	عبيد بن أيوب العنبري
119v	24	أرأني وذهب القفر خدنين بعد ما... (ر)		
120r	32	كأن لم أقد سبجانك الله فتية . . (له)		
121r	24	ليت الذي سخرت مني ومن جلي . (ر)		
119r	20	ألم تعلمي يا أم توبة أننى . . . (ود)	4	عبيد الله بن الحر
120r	20	ألم تعلمي يا أم توبة أننى . . . (ج)		
120r	19	من مبلغ الفتان أن أخاهم . . (ه)		
120v	21	لنعم ابن اخت القوم يسجن مصعب.. (ل)		

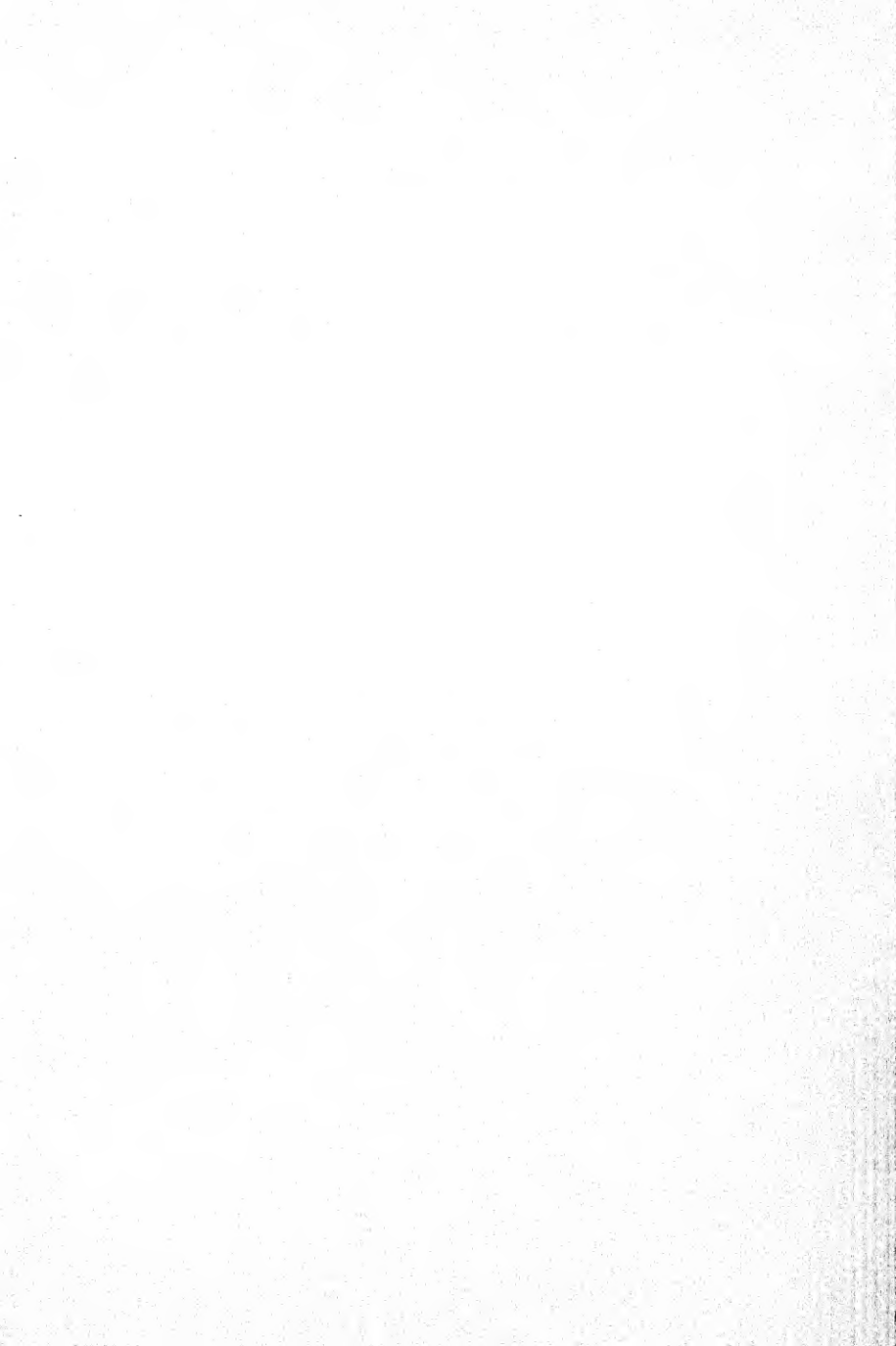
<i>Folio.</i>	<i>No. of Verses.</i>	<i>First hemistich.</i>	<i>No. of Poems.</i>	<i>Name of Poet.</i>
95v	45	أ عرصة الدار أم توهما	11	عروة بن أذينة
96v	35	يا ديار الحى بالأجـه		
97v	37	أ فى رسوم محل غير مسكون		
98v	40	أما قتلت ديار الحى عرفانا		
99r	86	صرمت سعيدة ودها وحلالها		
101r	42	بجـلت رقاش بـودها ونوالها . . (شا)		
102r	51	يا حبذا الدار بالروحاء من دار		
103r	41	أ من حب سعدى و تذكارها		
104r	69	سرى لك طيف زار من أم عاصم		
105v	76	أ هاجتك دار الحى وحشا جنبها		
107r	38	صرمت سعيدة صرما حائا		
117v	16	أرقت وصحبتي تضيق عمق . . (ر)	5	عروة بن الورد
118r	29	أقلى على اللوم يا ابنة منذر		
118v	15	أ فى ناب منخنأها فقيرا . . (ت)		
119r	11	أ ليس ورائى أن أدب على العصا . . (ل)		
119r	11	أ لم تعرف منازل أم عمرو . . (ن)		
17v	98	هل ما علمت و ما استودعت مكتوم	3	علقمة بن عبدة
18v	34	طحا بك قلب فى الحسان طروب		
19v	43	ذهبت من الهجران فى غير منهب		
13r	28	أرى جارتى خفت وخف نصيحها	5	عمرو بن قنطة
14r	14	إن أك قد أقصرت عن طول رحلة ... (م)		
14r	19	هلا يهيج شوقك الطلل		
14v	28	نأتك أمامة إلا سؤالا		
15r	29	نأتك أمامة إلا سؤالا		
57v	91	ألا هبى بصحنك فأصبحينا	1	عمرو بن كلثوم التغلبى
52v	75	هل غادر الشعراء من متردم	5	عنصرة بن عمرو بن شداد
				العيسى

<i>Folio.</i>	<i>No. of Verses.</i>	<i>First hemistich.</i>	<i>No. of Poems.</i>	<i>Name of Poet.</i>
54r	17	طال الوقوف على رسوم المنزل		
54v	25	نأتك رقاش إلا عن لمام		
55r	43	عفا الرسوم و باقى الأطلال		
56r	18	يا عبل أين من المنية مهربي ... (ها)		
129v	20	هدمت الحياض فلم يغادر . . (آء)	2	عوف بن الأحوص
130r	17	ومستنبج يخشى القواء ودونه . . (رها)		
40v	40	أ من آل ليلي عرفت الديارا	1	عوف بن عطية
48v	95	لا قوم أكرم من تميم إذ غدت .. (ل)	30	الفرزدق
51r	39	تحن بزوراء المدينة ناقتي . . . (ر)		
52r	147	يا ابن المراغة إنما جارثنى . . (ر)		
55v	69	أنا ابن العاصمين بنى تميم . . (با)		
57r	97	عرفت بأعلى الرس إلغا بعدما ... (رها)		
59v	115	عزفت بأعشاش وما كدت تعزف		
62r	80	سمونا لنجران اليماني وأهله		
64r	45	منا الذى اختير الرجال سماحة .. (ع)		
65r	28	أ تنسى بنو سعد جدود التى بها .. (ل)		
66r	40	ود جرير اللوم لو كان عانيا ... (م)		
67r	39	حلفت برب مكة والمصلى . . (ت)		
68r	15	إن تك كلبا من كليب فإننى .. (ق)		
68v	26	ألا استهزأت منى هنيئة أن رأت .. (ل)		
69r	28	أ لم ترأى يوم جو سويقة . . . (با)		
69v	99	إن الذى سمك السماء بنى لنا .. (ل)		
72r	23	اقول لصاحبى من التعزى . . . (ر)		
72v	37	جر المغزيات على كليب . . (را)		
73v	24	عفا المنازل آخر الأيام		
74r	42	عرفت المنازل من مهرد		
75r	19	تقول كليب حين مشت سبالها . . (ب)		
76r	17	عجبت لتعادينا المقجم سيره . . (عا)		

Folio.	No. of Verses.	First hemistich.	No. of Poems.	Name of Poet.
76r	86 (ر)	أعرفت بين رويتين وحنبل . . (ر)		
68r	25 (ن)	يا ابن المراغة والهجاء إذا التقت . . (ن)		
70r	86 (ر)	محت الديار فأذهبت عرصاتها . . . (ر)		
80v	43 (ر)	بنى نهشل أبقوا عليكم ولم تروا . . (ر)		
81v	12 (ع)	بين إذا نزلت عليك مجاشع . . . (ع)		
81v	22	ألا من لمعتاد من الهم عائد		
82v	85 (م)	أ لستم عائجين بنا لعتنا . . . (م)		
85r	17 (ب)	اخال الباهلي يظن أني . . . (ب)		
85v	27 (م)	هذا الذي تعرف البطحاء وطأته . . (م)		
127r	22	نظرت وقد جللى الدجى طاسم الصوى (ل) . . .	4	القتال الكلابي
127r	29	صرمت شميلة وجهة فتجلد		
128r	23	لطيفة ربع بالكليبين دارس		
128v	25	ضلعت قطاة فما تقولك صاتعا		
99r	18	تذكر ليلى جسنها وصفاءها	5	قيس بن الخطيم
99v	19	أجد بعمره غنيانها		
100r	38	أ تعرف رسما كالطراد المذاهب		
101r	7	رد الخليلط الجمال فانصرفوا		
101r	12	إذا المرء لم يشبه أباه و جده		
150r	78 (لها)	خليلي إن أم الحكيم تحملت . . (لها)	16	كثير بن عبد الرحمان الخزاعي
152r	23	ألا يا لقوم للنوى وانتقالها		
152v	48	ألا حيا ليلى أجد رجلي		
153v	38 (ت)	خليلي هذا ربع عزة فاعقلا . . (ت)		
154v	55	أ لم تربع فتخبرك الطلول		
155v	29 (م)	لعزة من أيام ذى النصفن هاجنى . . (م)		
156v	53	لعزة أطلال أبت أن تكلمنا		
157v	53	عفت غيقة من أهلها فحريمها		
158v	31	أ شافك برق آخر الليل واصب		

<i>Folio.</i>	<i>No. of Verses.</i>	<i>First hemistich.</i>	<i>No. of Poems.</i>	<i>Name of Poet.</i>
159r	30	عفا السفح من أم الوليد فككب		
160r	46	ألا طرقت بعد العشاء جنوب		
161r	26	أبائنة سعدى نعم ستين		
161v	30	لقد كنت للمظلوم عزاً وناصراً... (نها)		
162r	46	لعزة هاج الشوق فالدمع سافع		
163r	21	ألم يحزنك يوم غدت حدوج		
163v	30	ألا إن ناءت سلمى فأنت عميد		
6r	56	بانت سعاد فقلبي اليوم متبول	5	كعب بن زهير
7v	31	من سره كرم الحياة فلا يزل .. (ر)		
8r	41	لمن دمنة الدار أقوت سنينا		
9r	30	أ من أم شداد رسوم المنازل		
9v	28	هل جبل رملة قبل البين متبور		
101r	45	1 تقول سليمى ما يجسك شاجبا... (ب)		كعب بن سعد الغنوى
22r	35	3 طربت وما هذا بساعة مطرب		لبلى الأخيلية
23r	45	نظرت ودونى من عماية منكب .. (ر)		
24r	17	يا عين بكى توبة ابن الحمير		
108r	72	7 للغانيات بنى المجاز رسوم		المتوكل اللبى
110r	62	قفى قبل التفرق يا أماما		
110r	61	أجد اليوم جيرانك احتمالا		
112v	71	صرمتك ربطة بعد طول وصال		
114r	47	خليلى عوجا اليوم وانتظرانى		
115r	44	نام الحلى فنوم العين تسهيد		
116r	56	يا ريط هل لى عندكم نائل		
132r	29	3 ألا إن هنداً أمس رث جديدها		المتقب العبدى
133r	45	أ فاطم قبل بينك متعبنى		
144r	16	لا تقولن إذا ما لم ترد		

<i>Folio.</i>	<i>No. of Verses.</i>	<i>First hemistich.</i>	<i>No. of Poems.</i>	<i>Name of Poet.</i>
38r	45	ذكر الباب و ذكر ما سقم	3	المخبل
40r	49	أعرفت من سلمى رسوم ديار		
40v	41	عفا العرض بعدى من سلمى فحائله		
148r	19	أ من رسم دار ماء عينك يسفح	3	المرقش الأصغر
148v	22	ألا يا اسلمى لا صرم لى اليوم فاطما		
149r	19	لابنة عجلان بالجو رسوم		
146v	18	أ من آل أسماء الطلول الدوارس	3	المرقش الأكبر
147r	17	ألا بان جيرانى ولست بعائف		
147v	35	هل بالديار إن تحيب صمم		
89v	32	ألا يا لقوم و السفاهة كاسمها ... (د)	2	مزد بن ضرار
90r	74	صحبا القلب عن سلمى و مل العوازل		
145v	25	أجد القلب من سلمى اجتنابا	1	معاوية بن مالك
132r	50	عفا وخلا ممن عهدت به خم	1	معن بن أوس
25v	26	صرمتك جرة واستبد بدارها	5	النمر بن تولب
26r	41	تأيد من أطلال جرة مأسل		
27r	22	ألم بصحبتى و هم هجود ... (ن)		
27v	18	شطت بجرة دار بعد إلمام		
28r	24	سلا عن تذكره تكتما		





A LUTE PLAYER AT THE COURT OF SHĀH ŠAFĪ (1629-42)

By Riẓā 'Abbāsī(?)

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Was the Arabian and Persian Lute Fretted?

By HENRY GEORGE FARMER

(PLATE I)

"The [Islamic] legacy to western Europe in musical instruments . . . was of the greatest importance. . . . There were many distinctly novel Arabian types introduced. . . . With these instruments came several material benefits. European minstrels, prior to the Arabian contact, only had the cithara and harp among stringed instruments, and they only had their ears to guide them when tuning. The Arabs brought to Europe their lutes, pandores, and guitars, with the places of the notes fixed on the finger-board by means of frets which were determined by measurement. This alone was a noteworthy advance."—H. G. FARMER in *The Legacy of Islām* (1931), pp. 373–4.

IT was in reference to this claim that I was once asked by the author of *Musik des Orients* (1929), Dr. Robert Lachmann, now the director of the Department of Extra European Music at the University of Jerusalem, whether I had actual evidence in regard to frets on the Arabian and Persian lute in the Middle Ages. He asked the question because a German writer, Karl Geiringer,¹ had searched Arabic and Persian manuscripts which gave delineations of the lute without finding a solitary example which revealed the presence of frets on the instrument.

In 1932, whilst I was at Cairo at the Congress of Arabian Music, the question arose officially. At the plenary session of the Commission of Musical Instruments the well-known Egyptian musicologist Aḥmad Amīn al-Dik Efendī, the author of the *Qānūn aṭwāl al-awtār wa tatbīqa 'alā al-'ūd* (Cairo, 1926) and other works, suggested that frets should be adopted on the modern Egyptian lute ('ūd) as in days of old. Dr. Curt Sachs, late Professor of Musikwissenschaft at the University of Berlin, and the author of the *Real-lexikon der Musik-instrumente* (Berlin, 1913), who was President of the

¹ Karl Geiringer, "Vorgeschichte und Geschichte der europ. Laute" in *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, x (1927–8), p. 570.

Commission, replied that the Arabian lute in days of old *was not fretted*.

Several Egyptian savants and musicians questioned me privately at the time about Dr. Sachs's statement. I pointed out that Dr. Lachmann had made a similar statement to me, and I suggested that both of these musicographers were, apparently, rather unduly influenced by the opinions of Karl Geiringer.¹ I promised that I would deal with the question at length not only for its own sake, but in defence of my own thesis that Europe was influenced by the introduction of musical instruments with frets during the early Arabian culture contact.

§ 1

Frets on the neck or fingerboard of the Arabian and Persian lute, mandore, and pandore were known as *dasātīn* or *dastānāt* (sing. *dastān*), a Persian word. In the *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm* of Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Khwārizmī (fl. 976-997) we are informed in the section on the lute ('ūd), that "*dasātīn* are the tied places (*ribāṭāt*) upon which the fingers are placed".² This definition is in itself quite sufficient to settle the question at issue. These "tied places" were made by means of gut or string tied around the neck of the instrument.

It is unfortunate, however, that the generality of Arabic lexicographers ignore the word, whilst Occidental lexicographers of Arabic are simply bewildering in their definitions. J. G. Hava, for instance, in his *Arabic-English Dictionary* (Beyrout, 1921), says that a *dastān* is a "key of a keyboard". Yet Golius, the Father of Occidental lexicographers of Arabic, had given the correct definition in 1653 as "*ligatura in collo instrumenti musici*". Steingass is no better in his *Persian Dictionary* (London, 1892), although Vullers, quoting the *Bahār-i 'ajam*, makes its meaning quite clear by citing from the *Durrat al-tāj* of Al-Shīrāzī (d. 1310).³

¹ Dr. Lachmann has since repudiated reliance on Geiringer's argument. See *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Musikwissenschaft*, ii (1934), p. 60.

² *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*, ed. G. Van Vloten, p. 238.

³ *Lexicon Persico-Latinum* (Bonn, 1855-1864).

The reason why Arabic lexicographers generally have ignored the word *dastān* is due to the fact that it was an exotic word and that they already had its Arabic equivalent in '*ataba*. This belief, in spite of the authority of the lexicographers, is erroneous. The point is worth explicating before dealing with *dastān*.

The term '*ataba* is defined by a very important Arabic writer, Al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Salama (d. ca. 903), in an interesting work entitled the *Kitāb al-'ūd wa'l-malāhī*, the solitary exemplar of which is preserved in the Tōp Qapū Serāi Library at Constantinople. The treatise is not mentioned by Dr. C. Brockelmann in his monumental *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (1898-1902), nor in the *Supplementband* (1936), although this manuscript is doubly interesting because it is in the handwriting of the celebrated calligraphist Yāqūt al-Musta'şimī (d. 1298). In this work Al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Salama says that "those things which the Persians call *dasātīn* are called [in Arabic] '*atab*'".¹ He also quotes a line from Al-A'shā Maimūn (d. ca. 629) as follows :—

"And he placed the hand over the '*atab*,
To sound the note of the treble string."

This definition is confirmed by the lexicographer Al-Ṣaghānī (d. 1275), who states that the '*atab* or *dastānāt* are "what are tied upon the neck ('*umūd*) of the lute ('*ūd*)". These writers appear to be mistaken in this definition since the '*ataba* (plur. '*atab*)² was not a fret or *dastān* but rather what is known in English as the "nut" or what the Arabs more generally term the *anf* (nose),³ a small piece of wood between the end of the neck and the pegbox, which is raised higher than the plane of the fingerboard and serves to cut off one end of the vibrating string, the other end being at the bridge-tailpiece (Arab. *musht*). It was given the name '*ataba* because it was the "threshold" of fingering the lute.

¹ Al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Salama, ff. 31, 33.

² Strictly speaking a collective.

³ *Mafatīḥ al-'ulūm*, p. 239.

Strange to say there is a secondary definition of 'atab by Al-Ṣaghānī, later supported by Al-Fīrūzābādī (d. 1414), which is nearer the truth. He tells us that the 'atab are "transverse pieces of wood upon the face of the 'ūd from which the strings are extended to the end of the 'ūd". By the term "face" (*waḡh*) he means the front of the lute, and by the term "end" (*tarf*) is meant the bridge-tailpiece.

Yet Muḥammad ibn Ziyād ibn al-'Arabī (d. 864), as quoted in the *Tāj al-arūs*, seems to "hit the mark", as the Arabs say, in defining the 'atabat al-'ūd as "that which is upon the extremities of the strings in the forepart [of the lute]". By the term "forepart" (*muqaddima*) is meant the extremity of the fingerboard, i.e. the "nut".

The 'atab and the *dasātīn* do not, strictly speaking, refer to the same thing, although probably at the time of Al-A'ṣhā Maimūn the term 'ataba was used indifferently for both "nut" and "fret".

§ 2

Frets (*dasātīn*) are frequently mentioned in the *Kitāb al-aghānī* of Al-Iṣfahānī (d. 967) and in an unmistakable way. For example, see the passage in which Ibn Jāmi' (d. ca. 803) tells a lutanist to finger a certain *dastān*.¹ Again there is the account of the lute playing of Iṣḥāq al-Mauṣilī (d. 850), where the "fingering" of the instrument, up and down the *dasātīn*, is clearly described.²

As for the Arabic theorists of music, their treatises prove conclusively that the lute ('ūd) as well as the pandore (*tunbūr*) had these frets or *dasātīn* tied around the neck of the instrument. Al-Kindī (d. ca. 874) shows in speaking of the *dasātīn* that they must have been frets.³ Yaḥyā ibn 'Alī ibn Yaḥyā (d. 912) explains "the place of every note (*naghma*) upon every fret (*dastān*)".⁴ In describing the essentials of the

¹ *Kitāb al-aghānī*, Bulak ed., v, 57-8.

² *Ibid.*, vi, 78-80.

³ British Museum MS., Or. 2361, fol. 165, v.

⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 236, v.

lute ('ūd) Al-Fārābī (d. ca. 950) says that the *dasātīn* (frets) were tied (*shadda*) on the neck (*mutadaqq*) of the instrument, and that they were fixed parallel with the bridge-tailpiece.¹ Al-Mas'ūdī (d. ca. 957) directs that the *dasātīn* next to the nut (*anf*) was to be placed (*mauḍū'*) on the fingerboard at one-ninth of the vibrating string-length, and the *dasātīn* nearest the bridge-tailpiece (*musht*) was to be placed at one-fourth of the vibrating string-length.² The Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' (tenth century),³ Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037),⁴ Ibn Zaila (d. 1048),⁵ Ṣafī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu'min (d. 1294),⁶ and others, all confirm the view that *dasātīn* were gut or string frets tied on the neck of the lute or pandore.

If further proof were necessary one might quote from the *Hawī al-funūn wa salwat al-maḥzūn* of Abū'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan, better known as Ibn al-Ṭaḥān (fourteenth century ?), the only copy of which is in the Dār al-kutub at Cairo. Ibn al-Ṭaḥān, himself a musician, recommends the use of a pair of compasses when fixing the places of the *dasātīn* on the neck of the lute. He tells us, however, that he did not need *dasātīn* on his lute because he knew the place of every note on the fingerboard without *dasātīn*. He says, further, that four rolls of gut string were required to "fret" a lute, and he recommends that several thicknesses ought to be used.⁷

§ 3

Although it is quite clear from literary sources that the lute of the Arabs and Persians was fretted in the early Middle

¹ Leyden University MS., No. 1427, fol. 52, v. Kosegarten, *Lib. Cant.*, pp. 77, 79. R. D'Erlanger, *La musique arabe*, i, 166. Land, "Recherches sur l'histoire de la gamme arabe," in *Actes du Sixième congrès Inter. des Orientalistes*, . . . 1883, pt. i, pp. 100, 133.

² *Les prairies d'or*, viii, 99. The text has *دستان* but *دستان* is intended.

³ Bombay ed., 1887-8, i, 98.

⁴ India Office MS., No. 1811, fol. 173. See *JRAS.*, 1937, pp. 251-5.

⁵ British Museum MS., Or. 2361, fol. 235, v.

⁶ British Museum MS., Or. 136, fol. 3, v.

⁷ Cairo National Library MS., *funūn jamīla*, 539, fol. 89.

Ages, it has to be admitted that our iconographical sources do not support this, although frets may be seen on the pandore. How can this seemingly conflicting evidence be adjusted ?

Our iconographic sources must be divided into two periods : (a) the tenth-thirteenth century, and (b) the thirteenth-twentieth century.

That no example of a fretted lute is to be found in the first period is due, probably, to the fact that the iconographic sources of the period are confined entirely to industrial art, a medium which does not lend itself to the delineation of such relatively minute details as the frets on a musical instrument. Indeed, in some instances, even the strings are omitted.

That hundreds of pictures of the lute during the second period do not reveal the slightest trace of frets must be explained differently. Our sources from this period are of painting or other design on paper or parchment, in which the artist had plenty of scope for registering such details as frets, although occasionally we find even strings omitted. The absence of frets from iconographic sources during this period can only be explained by recognizing that by the thirteenth century the use of frets on the lute had already started to fall into neglect, although the Persian writers, Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d. 1310), Muḥammad al-Āmulī (fourteenth century), the author of the *Kanz al-tuḥaf* (fourteenth century), and Ibn Ghaiḥī (d. 1435) all refer to *dasātīn* (frets). That they were sometimes used by the Arabs is definitely stated and explained by Ibn al-Ṭaḥān (fourteenth century ?), and that they were still favoured in Persia is evident from a painting (ca. 1630) in the possession of Messrs. Bernard Quaritch, in which there is a beautiful scene at the court of Shāh Ṣafī, where a musician playing a fretted lute is clearly delineated.¹

¹ Part of this scene is reproduced here by the courtesy of Messrs. Bernard Quaritch. The artist has delineated the frets on the instrument with such care that I have been prompted to take measurements of them. We may safely suppose that a string vibrating between the nut (*anf*) and the

Nowadays in Egypt, 'Iraq, Syria, Turkey, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco, neither the classical lute (*'ūd*) nor the smaller lute (*kuwītra*, *lauṭa*) has frets. At the same time nearly all the long-necked pandores (*tunbūr*, *tār*, *dūlār*, *sītār*, *chūgūr*) of the Near and Middle East are furnished with gut or string frets after the mediaeval fashion.

§ 4

Clearly, iconography is an uncertain guide. The facts of Karl Geiringer are legitimate enough, but his deductions, and those of Dr. Curt Sachs, are fallacious. We see another instance of the folly of placing too much reliance on iconography in the veteran Arabist Baron Carra de Vaux, who has argued that the lute of the time of Ṣafī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu'min (d. 1294) had five *double* strings. His authority for this was the manuscript used by him in his masterly version of the *Risālat al-sharafiyya* of Ṣafī al-Dīn, in which the table dealing with the frets of the lute showed double lines for the strings.¹ Yet I feel sure that these double lines are merely a licence of the copyist so as to conform with the other double lines which he uses in the frame of his table. Indeed, every other manuscript of the *Risālat al-sharafiyya* and *Kitāb al-adwār* of Ṣafī al-Dīn which I have examined contains a single line for each string.²

In Baron Carra de Vaux's manuscript the lines representing the strings are parallel, as they are also delineated in other manuscripts, but we must not assume from this fact that they were strung parallel on the lute. On the contrary, as several

bridge-tailpiece (*musht*) measures 80 mm. The *khinṣir* (4th finger fret) would therefore be at 20 mm. These measurements allow for seven frets from the *sabbāba* (1st finger fret) to the *khinṣir* (4th finger fret) inclusive. This, together with the five tuning pegs, shows that the system of Ṣafī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu'min (d. 1294) was still in vogue.

¹ *Le traité de rapports musicaux . . . par Saḥī ed-Dīn 'Abd el-Mumin . . .* par M. le Baron Carra de Vaux, Paris, 1891, pp. 53-4.

² British Museum MSS., Or. 136, Or. 2361. Berlin MS., Landberg, 11, Paris Bibl. Nat., MS., Arabe 2865. Bodleian MSS., Marsh, 115, Marsh, 161, Marsh, 521.

manuscripts reveal,¹ the strings converged from the bridge-tailpiece (*musht*) to the nut (*anf*), as Al-Fārābī specifically points out.²

Even in treatises on music, where one naturally expects to find correct delineations and complete details, the most chimerical forms are introduced and the most essential factors are omitted. In some manuscripts of the Persian *Kanz al-tuhaf* (fourteenth century) almost every instrument is out of proportion whilst the strings are entirely omitted.³ In the *Sharḥ Maulānā Mubarrak Shāh* the lute, which is delineated, has a fingerboard so wide that performance on it would be impossible.⁴ In short, whilst iconography has an undoubted value in recording the existence of classes of musical instruments of which no literary evidence has come down to us, we must always be critical before accepting the forms and details of such instruments.

¹ British Museum MS., Or. 136. Paris MS., Arabe, 2865.

² Leyden MS., No. 1427, fol. 52, v. Kosegarten, *Lib. Cant.*, p. 77. Land, op. cit., p. 100.

³ Cambridge, King's College, No. 211. India Office MS., No. 2763.

⁴ British Museum MS., Or. 2361.

Did Sulamī Plagiarize Sarrāj ?

By A. J. ARBERRY

SULAMĪ'S tractate on the Malāmatīs (*Risālat al-Malāmatīya*), as preserved in the Berlin manuscript,¹ has been fully and scientifically analysed and described by Professor R. Hartmann in *Der Islam*, vol. viii, pp. 157–203.² There remains nothing to be added to the conclusions reached there. It is, however, to be remarked that Hartmann's article takes no account of the Cairo manuscript of the tract³: this, indeed, could hardly have been available at the time the article was written. The Cairo manuscript has been noted and utilized by Massignon⁴: a striking feature of this copy, however, which distinguishes it from that preserved at Berlin, appears to have escaped attention, and the purpose of the present note is to call attention to this peculiarity.

The title of Sulamī's treatise as given in the Cairo manuscript is: *Uṣūl al-Malāmatīya wa-ghalaṭāt al-Ṣūfīya*. Its text agrees perfectly with the Berlin copy, so far as the latter goes; but after the point at which the Berlin copy ends, a new section is added in the Cairo manuscript, with the heading *Faṣl fī ghalaṭāt al-Ṣūfīya*. The author then proceeds to enumerate the various errors into which certain "schools" of the Ṣūfīs had fallen. What a valuable new source on a highly interesting subject, says the expectant reader! But, alas, this is no new source at all, as the extracts published below will amply demonstrate. This section is, in fact, nothing more than a brief précis of *Kitāb al-Luma'* of al-Sarrāj, pp. 409–435 (Nicholson's edition). The précis is not even a particularly intelligent one: it is rather to be described as a wholesale

¹ Ahlwardt 3388.

² Brockelmann (*Erster Supplementband*, p. 362) is, of course, mistaken in describing this article as a translation of *Kitāb 'Uyūb al-nafs*, an entirely different work.

³ Old catalogue, vii, p. 228.

⁴ *Bibliographie Hallagienne* (suppl. to *Passion*), p. 12.

plagiarism of Sarrāj's text, committed without the slightest acknowledgment or excuse.

Plagiarism is, of course, a well-known vice of less reputable Arabic authors, and even to this day is freely enough indulged, as could be demonstrated by numerous examples.¹ Sulamī has, however, generally been conceded to be an honest and valuable authority, and if the present charge is really to be laid at his door his reputation must in consequence suffer. But is it he, in fact, who is guilty ? The Cairo manuscript is not very old, undated but probably of the eleventh-seventeenth century ; and as the Berlin copy lacks this concluding section it would be permissible to argue that it is an excrescence on Sulamī's text, added by a late and indiscriminating admirer. If this is the case, then the section naturally has no value whatsoever. If, however, Sulamī really is guilty, then the section is of the utmost importance : for it constitutes the earliest testimony now extant to the text of *Kitāb al-Luma'*. It shows us the text of Sarrāj differing little if at all from what we know it to be. Sulamī died in 412/1021, Sarrāj in 378/988 : Sulamī is thus almost a contemporary witness to the text of Sarrāj.²

The selections from the "précis" given below, compared with the corresponding passages in *Kitāb al-Luma'*, amply prove the charge of plagiarism.

SARRĀJ

SULAMĪ

قال المؤلف أبو عبد الرحمن قال الشيخ رحمه الله سمعت
السامى رضى الله عنه الشطح احمد بن على الكرخى يقول

¹ See, for example, H. A. R. Gibb's remarks in *BSOS.*, vii, p. 11 (n. 3), 20 (n. 2).

² Qushairī in his *Risāla* (437/1045) is otherwise the earliest authority for the text, see Nicholson's edition of Sarrāj, introd., p. xl. The relevant section in *Kitāb al-Luma'* is based on a single MS., though the Bankipore copy, as Maulavi Abdul Hamid remarks, is the oldest known to exist (Bankipore 825) ; and this contains that section.

SARRĀJ

SULAMĪ

للخراسانيين لأنهم يتكلمون سمعت ابا علي الروذباري رحمه
عن أحوالهم وعن الحقائق الله يقول قد بلغنا في هذا الامر
وأهل العراق يصفون أحوال الى مكان مثل حدّ السيف فان
غيرهم وليس الواصف بشاطح قلنا كذى في النار وان قلنا
فالغلط الذي وقع للقوم وذلك كذى في النار يعني ان غلطنا
لبلوغهم الى محل من العلم والحال فيما نحن فيه بدقيقة فنصير من
ودرجة سقطوا عنها بالتفاتة كما اهل النار لأن الغلط في كل
قال أبو علي الروذباري رحمه شئ أهون من الغلط في التصوّف
الله بلغنا في هذا الأمر الى وفي عامه لأنها مقامات واحوال
مكان مثل حدّ السيف فإن قلنا وإرادات ومراتب وإشارات...
كذا في النار وذلك لدقة المقام ولم يحكم اساسه على ثلاثة اشياء
ودقة الحال وإنما بنى هذا الأمر... وهذه الثلاثة اشياء اولها
وأسس على ثلاثة أشياء أولها اجتناب جميع المحارم كبيرها
اجتناب المحارم والثاني اداء جميع وصغيرها والثاني اداء جميع
الفرائض والثالث ترك الدنيا الفرائض عسيرها ويسيرها
لأهلها والثالث ترك الدنيا على اهل
الدنيا قليلها وكثيرها...

SARRĀJ

SULAMĪ

والغلط وقع في ثلاثة أوجه قال الشيخ رحمه الله ثم انى طبقة غلطت في الأصول لقلّة إحكامهم أصول الشرع وضعف فهمهم وإخلاصهم كما قال الجنيد رحمة الله عليه انا منعوا من الوصول لتضييع الأصول وطبقة غلطت في الفروع من الآداب والأخلاق والمقامات وذلك لقلّة معرفتهم بالأصول واتّباعهم حظوظ النفس والدنيا ولم يتأدّبوا بمن يروضهم ويجرّعهم المرات ويدلّهم على المناهج ويعرّفهم النفس وعيوبها فتسقط عنهم حظوظهم فمثل هؤلاء مثل من يدخل بيتا مظلما بغير سراج يريد أن يطلب فيه شيئا فتي يجد ما يطلب ويفسد في

قال الشيخ رحمه الله ثم انى نظرت الى الفرق الذين غلطوا فوجدتهم على ثلاث طبقات فطبقة منهم غلطوا في الاصول من قلّة إحكامهم لأصول الشريعة وضعف دعايمهم في الصدق والاخلاص وقلّة معرفتهم بذلك كما قال بعض المشايخ حيث يقول انما حرموا الوصول لتضييع الاصول وطبقة ثانية منهم غلطوا في الفروع وهى الآداب والاخلاق والمقامات والاحوال والافعال والاقوال فكان ذلك من قلّة معرفتهم بالأصول ومتابعتهم لحظوظ النفوس ومزاج الطبع لأنهم لم يدنوا ممّن يروضهم

SARRĀJ

SULAMĪ

تلك الظامة أكثر ممّا يصلح ويجرّعهم المراتات ويوقفهم على
 وطبقة غلظهم زلّة او هفوة المنهج الذى يؤدّيهم الى مطلوبهم
 فاذا تبينّ لهم ذلك عادوا الى فمثلهم فى ذلك كمثل من يدخل
 سبيل الرشّد ومكارم الأخلاق بيتا مظلما بلا سراج فالذى
 ومعالى الأحوال وقبلوا النصيح يفسده أكثر ممّا يصلحه ...
 وتركوا العناد وأذعنوا للحقّ والطبقة الثالثة كان غلظهم فيما
 فلا تنقص تلك الهفوة من غلطوا فيه زلّة وهفوة لا علّة
 مراتبهم شيئا الخ وجفوة فاذا تبينّ ذلك عادوا

الى مكارم الاخلاق ومعالى
 الامور فسدّوا الخلل ولمّوا
 الشعث وتركوا العناد وأذعنوا
 للحقّ وأقرّوا بالعجز فعادوا الى
 الاحوال الرضيّة والافعال
 السنيّة والدرجات الرفيعة فلم
 تنقص مراتبهم هفوتهم ... الخ



MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

ANCIENT BEADS FROM THE JOHORE RIVER AS EVIDENCE OF AN EARLY LINK BY SEA BETWEEN MALAYA AND THE ROMAN EMPIRE

(PLATES II-IV)

In my excavations on the Johore River, in the many ancient sites there I collected, among other things, a number of old beads and gem stones. The somewhat rough gem stones, about 800 in all, appeared to be early, rather than late, Indian ; of the 600 or so beads, about 20 per cent were classed as belonging to the Roman Empire, and typical examples are shown in the photographs. The term Roman is used in much the same sense as in Egypt, and may mean dating from any time in the first two or three centuries of the Christian era.

In addition to these, there were about eighty early Indian stone beads. Incidentally, there were one Hittite stone bead of 700 B.C. and one glass bead, similar to those made in Italy about 700 B.C., and two glass beads of Phœnician or early Cypriot type. The remainder were mostly of crude glass of no clearly assignable origin, either Arabic or later European, and most probably of local manufacture, apparently of an early date.

The question is, how and when did these Roman beads reach Malaya ?

Did they come in Roman times ? Were they brought by Arab traders ? Were they brought in the time of the Chola kings ? Or were they brought after A.D. 1500 by European traders ? I think this last suggestion may be dismissed as unlikely. European traders could, and did, obtain European glass beads in such numbers and so cheaply that it is unlikely they would trouble about antiques, and there would probably be a number of European glass beads among those I found.

The same argument applies, to a certain extent, to the Arab traders ; they made excellent glass, and still use glass beads of their own manufacture, and if they brought them it would be natural to find Arab beads among them. But we find Indian stone beads and gem stones instead. Were they brought in the time of the Chola kings ? They were a strong sea-power ; about A.D. 1026 they conquered the Nicobar and Andaman Islands, and probably Kēdah. In a Chinese work, the *Sung shih*, are mentioned the names of two Chola kings who sent embassies to China with tribute, which was a way of trading, viz., in 1033 Shih-li-lo-ch'a-yin-to-lo, i.e. Śrī Rājendra Chola, and in 1077 Ti-wa-ka-lo, i.e. Kulottunga (*circa* 1077–1118).

The Malay annals and folk-tales are full of the wars and disputes between the Malays and these Indian kings, Rajah Kling and Rajah Chulan. Kēling is the Malay name for all South Indians, and means the people of Kalinga, the coast of Orissa, while Raja Chulan was, according to Winstedt, Raja Chola, i.e. the Chola king. The Malay annals tell us that Raja Chulan had a city, Kota Batu Itam, on the upper waters of the Johore River. In 1928 a man was alive who had seen it and offered to take people there, but this offer was not accepted, and in 1932 he was dead. It is quite possible that the Chola people brought these beads. In the light of our present knowledge I am inclined to dismiss this indication ; but if anyone will explore the upper waters of the Johore River, and find Kota Batu Itam or the Hindu Temple, Chandi Bombom, said by Malays to be there, the missing evidence may be found.

Goods are usually traded in the period of their manufacture, and there is a mass of evidence bearing on Roman trade with India and the East, which it is needless to repeat here. It is, however, worthy of especial note that traders from the Roman Empire took glass, among other things, into India, and the *Periplus* mentions the import of crude glass into Malabar and the export of tortoiseshell obtained both from the Isle of Chryse and from the islands along the coast of Damirica

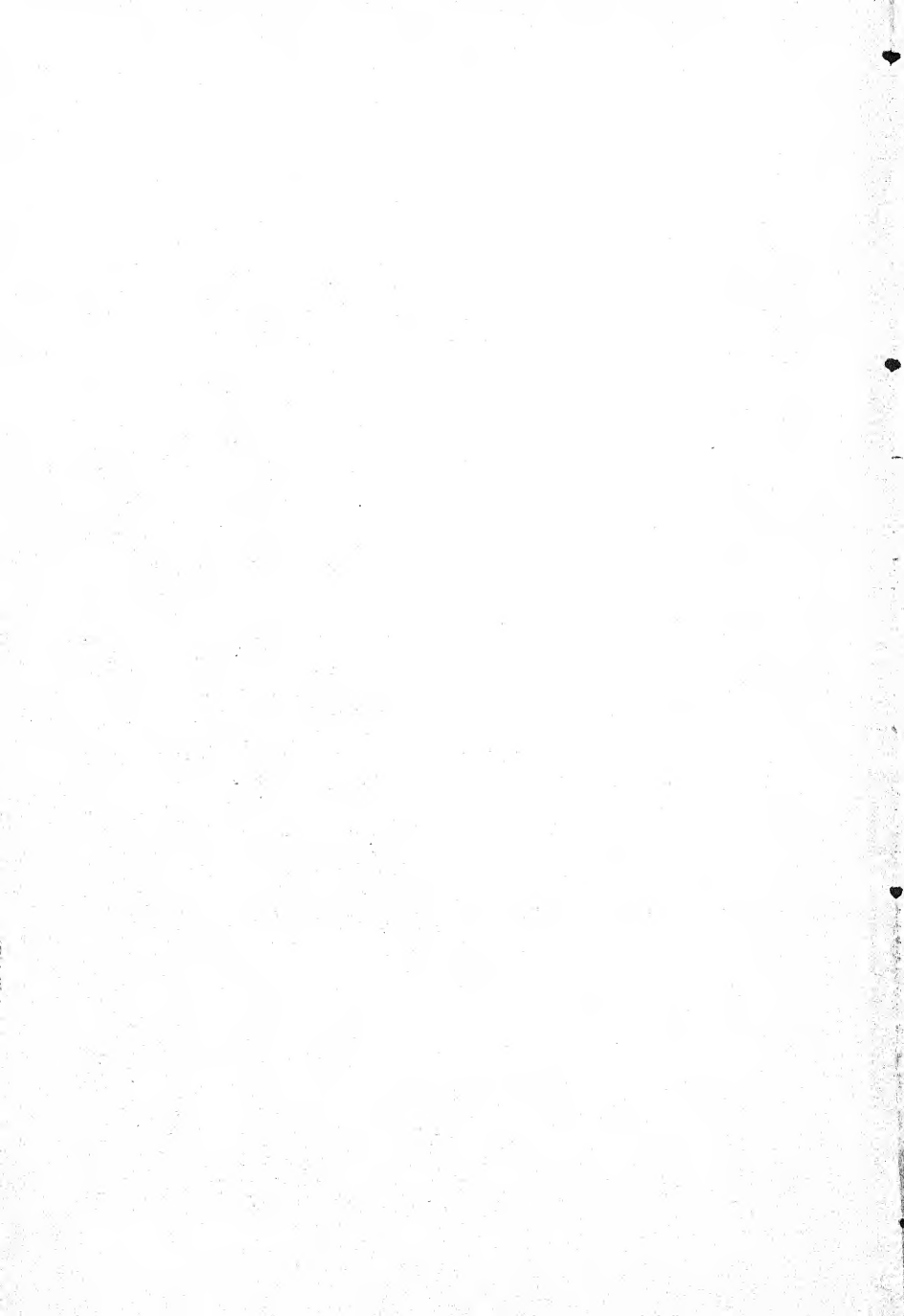


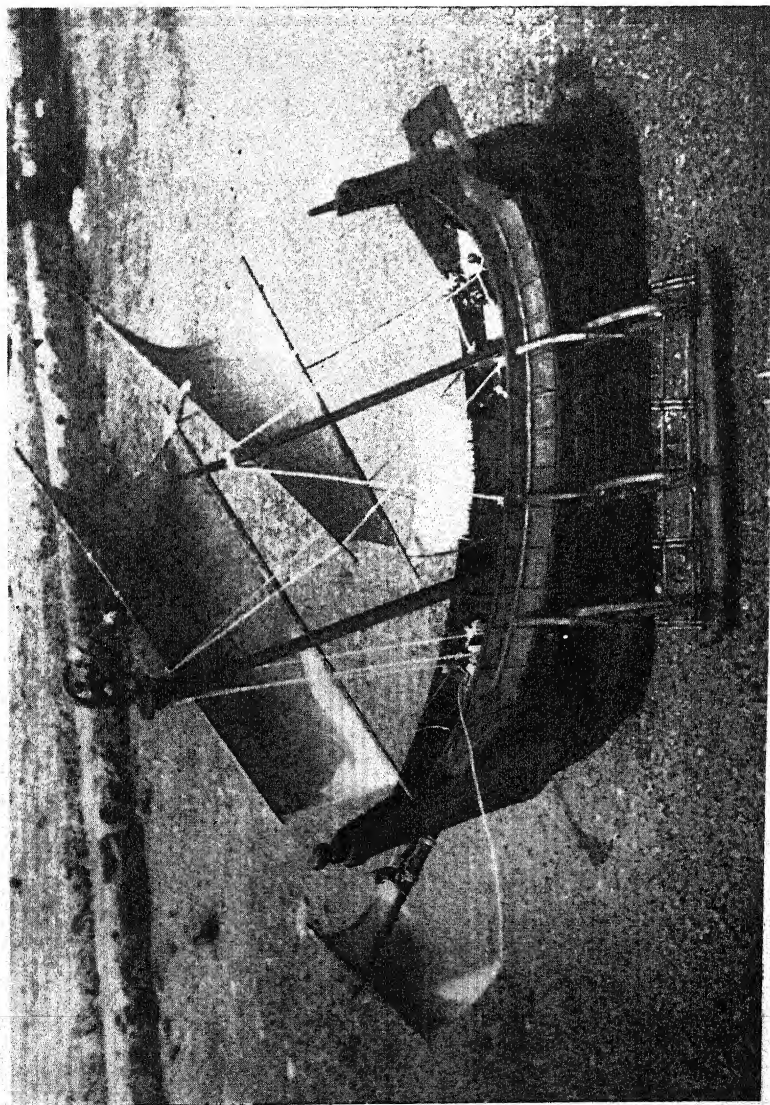
INDIAN BEADS.



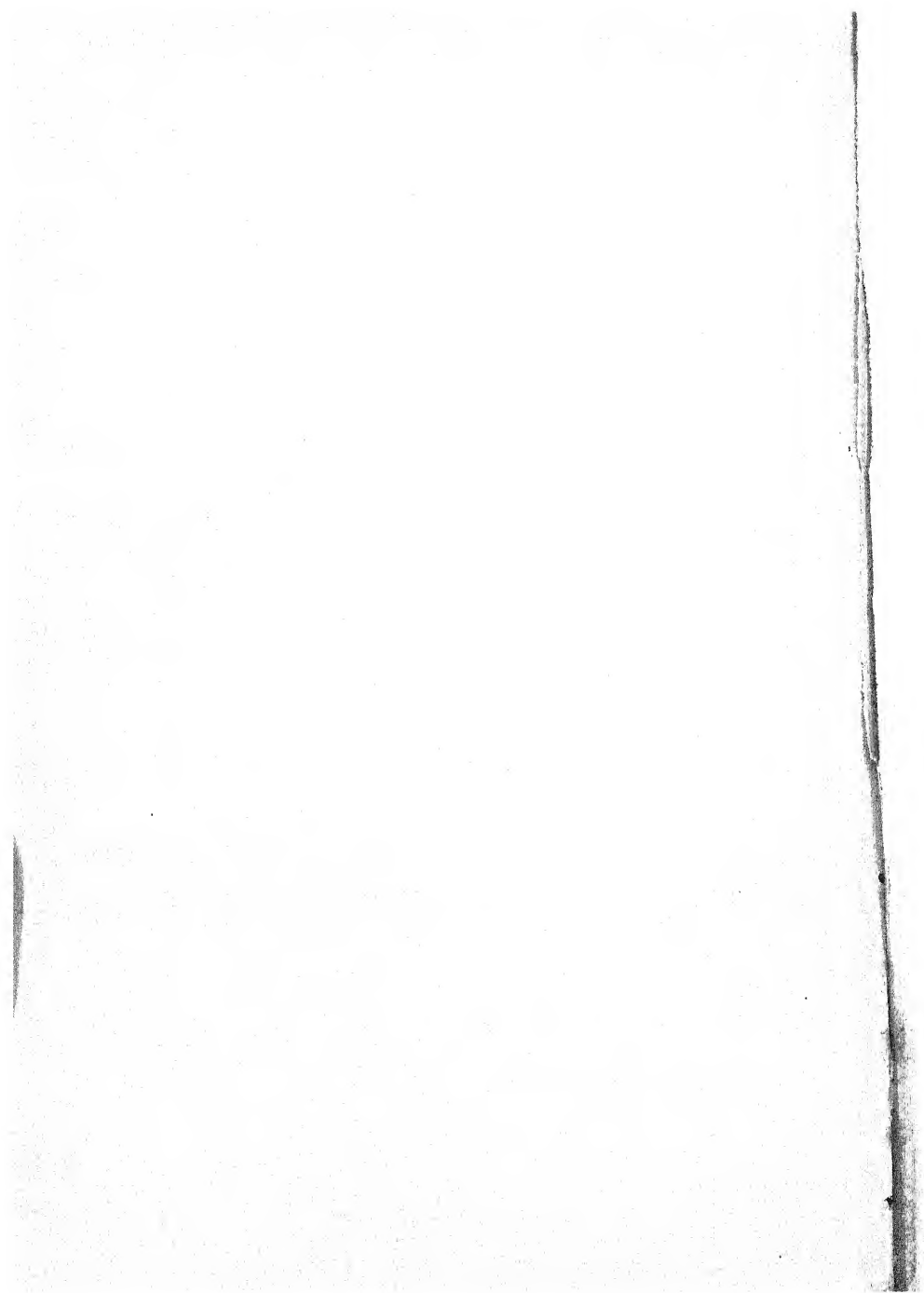


ROMAN BEADS FROM THE JOHORE RIVER. No. 1 is Hittite, No. 2 are Phoenician or Cypriot.





EARLY TYPE OF SHIP THAT TRADED BETWEEN INDIA AND JAVA. MODEL MADE BY THE AUTHOR FOR
SOUTH KENSINGTON MUSEUM.



(the Tamil country).¹ The *Periplus* also refers to the native vessels sailing to and from Damirica which put in at Camara, Poduca, and Sopatma, "and other very large vessels made of single logs bound together, called *sangara*; but those which make the voyage to Chryse and to the Ganges are called *colandia*, and are very large."² The same traveller writes: "Sailing with the ocean to the right and the shore remaining beyond to the left, Ganges comes into view, and near it the very last land towards the east, Chryse. . . . And just opposite this river (Ganges) there is an island in the ocean, the last part of the inhabited world toward the east, under the rising sun itself; it is called Chryse."³ If a mariner should follow these directions he would find Chryse in Johore, the Malay name for which is *Hujung Tanah*, "The End of Land."

That there was intercourse between South India and the Malay Archipelago by sea in early days is also certain from other sources. Javanese historians tell of the various settlements of South Indians in Java from A.D. 70 onwards, and these settlers are always said to have come by sea. The bas-reliefs at Barabudur in Java show a type⁴ of vessel that may have made the voyage—possibly the kind of ship referred to in the *Periplus*.

The Malay States have always been famous for their gums, incense, and spices, and the Roman demand would encourage this trade, presumably through Indian middlemen, who would have gems, stones, and Roman products, including beads among other things, to send in return. Thus the Roman beads found by me on the Johore river, in conjunction with ancient gem stones or stone beads, were probably part of this early overseas traffic between Malaya and India, and thence to the Roman Empire. Whether the single Hittite bead or the early Italian eye-bead are traces of an earlier connection is a question for which we have at present no evidence.

¹ See *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, translated by W. H. Schoff, p. 45.

² *Ibid.*, p. 46.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 47 f.

⁴ See Plate III. This model reproduces the type in question.

I may conclude by saying that my excavations were preliminary and exploratory only, and that many extensive and untouched sites in Johore, including Kota Batu Itam, while associated in legend with the Chola kings, may well prove to have been founded at a much earlier date. All these ancient sites would repay proper excavation, and might throw an entirely new light on the ancient history of these regions.

338.

G. B. GARDNER.

TEMPLE RECORDS FROM UMMMA

The six tablets here published were purchased by me from a dealer in Beyrouth in April, 1936. They all belong to the time of the Ur dynasty, and have been arranged according to their dates in chronological order. I am indebted to Professor Langdon for help in the interpretation.

1. Barley and spelt (emmer) from the granary (*é šu-ib*) received from Arad by Šu. . . Cf. Contenau, *Umma sous la Dynastie d'Ur*, No. 14. Of lines 4-5, to which I know no parallel, the following interpretation is suggested: *ki* (?) - *enim* - *Šul-gi-ra* [. . 1]0 + 6 *KA sag-bi gíd-da*, "on behalf of Enim-Šulgi, [x + ?] 16 KA, its capital, has been subtracted," this capital being the original seed-corn which Arad borrowed from Enim-Šulgi and of which he has now reaped the harvest. However, a harvest between the months *šu-numun* and *mìn-èš*, which were at Umma the sixth and seventh months of a year beginning with Adar,¹ is at least unexpected. Year: Šulgi 47.
2. Three men for twelve days, stationed at the *a-da*, at the *guruma*. Foreman, Lugal-mumag; commissioner,² Ir-dingir. From month 2 to month 6 (an unusual method of dating: cf. de Genouillac, *Textes Économiques*, pl. x). Year: Bur-Sin 1.

¹ See Deimel, *Šum. Lex.*, p. 98; Langdon, *Memories*, p. 97, n. 1, and p. 119, n. 3.

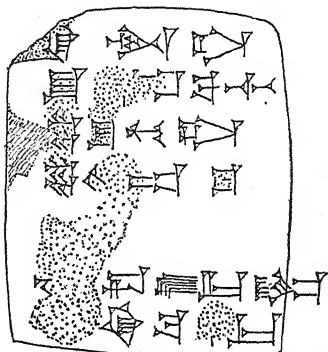
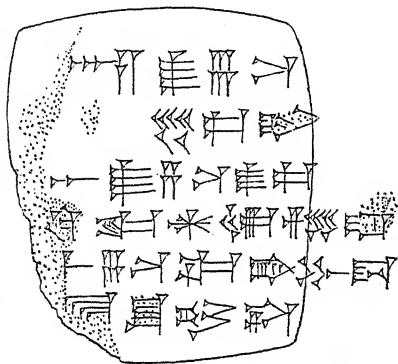
² See Deimel, *Reallex. d. Ass.*, i, 18b, and *Šum. Lex.*, No. 208 (8).

3. Spelt (for) Ur-^{gi}gigir, son of Habalul, the chief of the *ú-bil* men. Month Adar, year Gimil-Sin 1. Seal of Lú-^dHani, the scribe, son of Ur-dul (?) -du[-e].
4. Ur-lamušša, the "lord of the seal of the house", has taken

Obv.

I

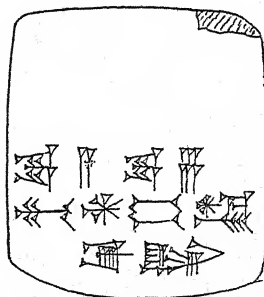
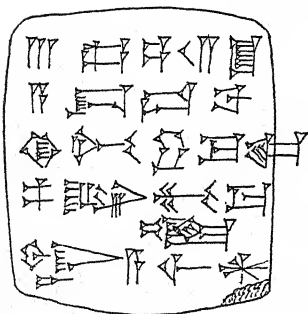
Rev.



Obv.

2

Rev.



charge of forty-six bundles of reeds. Month *šu-numun*, year not stated. Cf. Contenau, op. cit., No. 75.

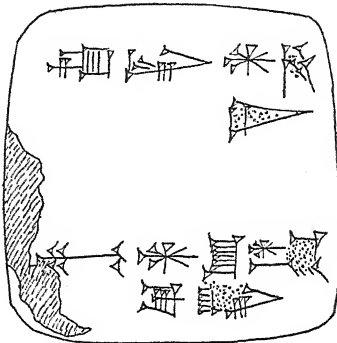
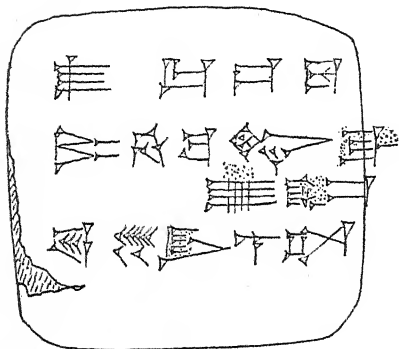
5. Allowance of barley for Duggi and others, at the granary of A-KA-KA, issued by Gududu. Month *šu-numun*, year Gimil-Sin 3. Seal of ^dSara-ereš, scribe.

6. Allowance of barley for the ox-herds (*ša-gud* = *kullizu*, cf. Kraus, *Briefe*, ii, p. 217), to the total of 2 *gur* (for *gur-lugal*? $10 \times 60 = 600$ KA), issued by Gududu. Month of ^a*Ne-gín* (the ninth month: Langdon,

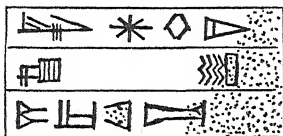
Obv.

3

Rev.



IMPRESSION OF SEAL



Obv.

4

Rev.



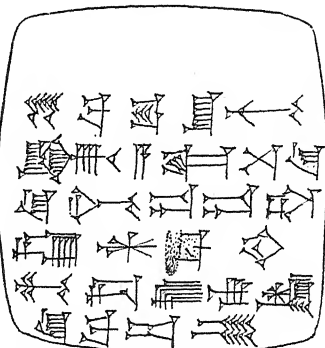
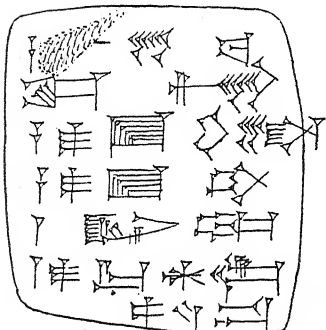
Seal impression only, identical with that shown in Contenau, *Umma sous la dynastie d'Ur*, p. 54, fig. 12.

Menologies, p. 115, n. 5), year Gimil-Sin 3. Seal of Enim-aŠara.

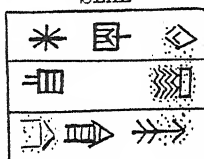
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5

Rev.



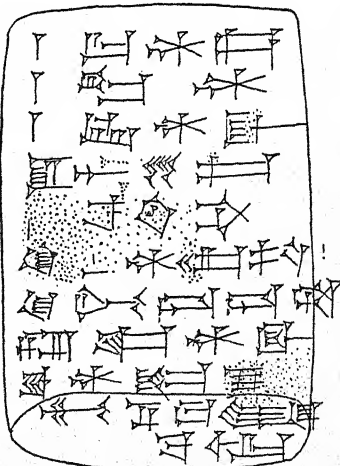
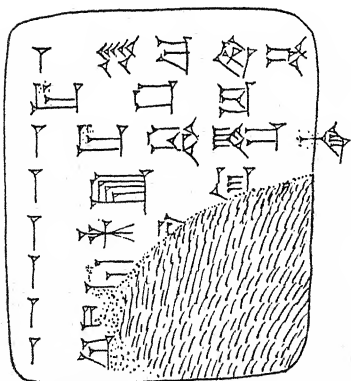
SEAL



Obv.

6

Rev.



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THE SOURCE OF A STORY IN THE MATHNAWĪ, AND A
PERSIAN PARALLEL TO GRIMM'S FAIRY TALES

I

In the preface to *Tales of Mystic Meaning*, selected from the Mathnawī, Professor Nicholson briefly refers to the sources of the stories told in that poem, and enumerates a number of Arabic and Persian works to which certain tales can be traced. The whole subject, he adds, is still open to investigation ; and it is thought that the following contribution may be of interest :—

The story entitled “ The Man who flew to Hindustān ” (Book i, v. 956 ff., of the Persian text) relates how a man threatened by Azrael the Angel of Death implored Solomon to order the wind to transport him to India, in the hope of thus escaping death ; Solomon complied with the request.

“ On the morrow, when the king in audience sate,
He said to Azrael, ‘ wherefore didst thou look
Upon that Musulmān so wrathfully,
His home knew him no more ? ’ ‘ Nay, not in wrath,’
Replied the Angel, ‘ did I look on him ;
But seeing him pass by, I stared in wonder,
For God had bidden me take his soul that day
In Hindustān. I stood there marvelling.
Methought, even if he had a hundred wings,
’Twas far for him to fly to Hindustān.’ ”

The ultimate source of the story here related is an Agada told in the Palestinian Talmūd in the following form—I quote from the extract given in J. T. Marshall’s *Manual of the Aramaic Language*, pp. 60 and 145 ; the reference is to Kilaim, ix, 4, 32 (c) : “ Elihoreph and Ahijah were two secretaries of Solomon. He saw the angel of Death looking at them and gnashing with his teeth. Solomon spake the word and placed them in a cavern. The angel went and took them from there. He then came and stood opposite the king, laughing. Solomon said : ‘ A little while ago thou wast gnashing with thy teeth and now thou art laughing at them.’ He replied : ‘ The Merciful One bade me remove Elihoreph and Ahijah from the

cavern ; I said : “ Who will put these men in the place whence I am sent to take them ? ” He put it into thy heart to do so, in order that I might accomplish my errand.’ He went and joined himself to them from there.” Maulānā Rūmī, in his usual manner, adds an allegorical interpretation. It is not to be assumed, of course, that he derived the tale directly from the Talmūd, and it would be of some interest to trace the channels through which it reached him.

II

In a volume of short stories descriptive of modern Persian life by a contemporary author (*Sih Qatrahi Khūn* by Ṣādiq Hidāyat, Teheran, 1311) there is contained a story entitled *Changāl*, which deals with the unhappy life and tragic death of two young people, brother and sister, who are ill-treated by an unkind stepmother and a worthless father. The girl is represented as singing the following song : “ one of the songs they used to sing together in the old days ” :—

” منم ، منم ، بلبل سر گشته
از کوه و کمر بر گشته
مادر نابکار ، مرا کشته
پدر نامرد ، مرا خورده
خواهر دلسوز : —
استخوانهای مرا با هفتا گلاب شسته
زیر درخت گل چال کرده ،
منم شدم یه بلبل

پر پر

"I am, I am a *bulbul* that's got lost ;
 From the hills and rocks I've come back.
 My wicked mother killed me,
 My inhuman father ate me ;
 My heartbroken sister
 Washed my bones seven times with rose water,
 She buried me under a rose tree,
 I became a *bulbul* . . .
 Fly away, fly away."

The connection of the song with the wicked stepmother motif is obvious, and there is little doubt that it belongs to a Persian folk-story, of which the Brothers Grimm have a Low-German version under the title *Van den Machandelboom*. A boy is killed by a wicked stepmother, who serves him up to his father to eat. His sister collects the bones in a silk kerchief and places them under a juniper tree. The boy is turned into a bird, in which shape he sings the following song :—

"Mein Mutter der (*sic*) mich schlacht,
 mein Vater der mich ass,
 mein Schwester der (*sic*) Marlenichen
 sucht alle meine Benichen,
 bindt sie in ein seiden Tuch,
 legt's unter den Machandelbaum.
 Kywitt, kywitt, wat vor'n schön Vagel bün ik ! " ¹

The bird duly punishes the stepmother, and rewards the sister and the innocent father ; and in the end he is turned into a boy again.

Versions of the tale are found in most European languages ; and the learned authors of the *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (J. Bolte and G. Polivka, Leipzig, 1913) also refer to the occurrence of the motif in Egypt and amongst the Kurds.

P.S.—After going to press I came across the "Persian Tales" translated by D. L. R. and E. O. Lorimer (London,

¹ A somewhat different version of the song is found in the Prison Scene at the end of the first part of Goethe's *Faust*.

1919), which contain our story under the title "The story of the boy who became a Bulbul". It gives the song in a somewhat fuller version.

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S. HILLELSON.

THE ZAMZAMAH : AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY GUN

In the opening chapter of *Kim*, Kipling says: "Who hold Zamzamah, that fire-breathing dragon, hold the Punjab, for the great green-bronze piece is always first of the conqueror's loot."

It would be interesting to follow the history of this remarkable gun, which is to be seen at the Central Museum, Lahore, facing the Sadr Bazaar, in which position it was placed on the occasion of the Duke of Edinburgh's visit to Lahore in 1870. But when, where, by whom, and for whom was this great gun cast?

In the old Armenian cemetery at Agra, opened in A.D. 1611, there is the grave of an Armenian, who, according to the inscription in Armenian and Persian on his tombstone, was an expert in the art of casting cannons, and it was that Armenian expert who, in 1761, cast the famous gun, called Zamzamah,¹ for Ahmad Shah Durrani, the Afghan invader of the Punjab, after Nadir Shah, in the second half of the eighteenth century.

The Armenian inscription on the slab which covers the mortal remains of the Armenian Krüpp in India is as follows:—

ԱՅՍ Ի՛ ՏԱՊԱՆ ԳԼՅԻՂՈՒԼՆՅԻ ԱԼՅՈՒԻՐԻ՛
ՈՐԻ՛ ՎԼԻՊԱՆՏ ԹՕՓԵՆՈՂ ՈՒՍՏԵՅ ԵԼՆԵՂԱՐ
ԽԵՆԻՆ ՈՐ ԻՆԻ՛ ՄԵԼՈՒՄԻ ՓՈՅՆՅԱՐ ԱՌ
ՏԻՐ ԹԻՎՆ 1784 ԱՊՐԻԼ 25

¹ Zamzamah means humming or thundering. It also means a lion's roar.

It can be translated thus : “ This is the tomb of Ostad [master] Shah Nazar Khan, the son of Allaverdy of Qaiquli, who was an expert in the casting of cannons. He departed to the Lord with a good death on the 25th April in the year 1784.”

And on a perpendicular white marble slab, fixed at the head of the grave, there is an inscription in beautiful Persian verse, of which the following is a copy :—

شاه نظر خان آنکه نامش شهره آفاق بود
صنعتش در توپ ریزی عزت لقمان فزود
چونکه اورا با مسیحا بود حسن اعتقاد
رفته در بهر سجودش جانب چرخ کبود
هاتف غیب از سر حسرت پی تاریخ او
گفت پابوسی جناب حضرت عیسا نمود

It can be rendered into English thus : “ Shah Nazar Khan, he whose name was world-famed and in the craft of casting cannons, he even added to the excellence of Loqman.¹ Since he was a believer in the Messiah, he went for obeisance to the blue sky [heaven]. A voice from the unknown mournfully said the following, giving the date of his death : ‘ He has kissed the feet of Jesus.’ ”

According to the *abjad* system of reckoning, the date of the death of Shah Nazar Khan is to be found in the words “ pā bosī-i-janāb Hazrat ‘Īsā namūd”, which when calculated gives the year A.D. 1784, corresponding to the year given in the Armenian inscription.

There is an inscription round the muzzle of the gun as under :—

بامر دُر دوران شه ولی خان وزیر
ساخت توپ زمزمه نام قلعه گیر
عمل شاه نظر خان

¹ According to the Persians, Loqman is supposed to be the inventor of cannons.

It can be translated thus : "By order of the Emperor, Durr-a-Durran, Shah Wali Khan, the Vazir, made this gun, named Zamzamah, the capturer of strongholds. The work of Shah Nazar Khan."

For a fuller account of the gun and the long Persian inscription engraved upon it, see Syed Muhammad Latif's *History of Lahore*, 1892.

And about the same time that Shah Nazar Khan was casting terrible guns for his master, Ahmad Shah Durrani, his equally famous countryman, Gorgin Khan, the Armenian Minister and Commander-in-Chief of Nawab Mir Qasim of Bengal (1760-3), was casting equally formidable guns for his master at Monghyr, the then capital of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, which clearly shows that the Armenians, apart from being eminent merchants in India, have in the past achieved success in the art of war and in the manufacture of large and unique pieces of ordnance, like the "Zamzamah". This shows that the martial spirit of the race was still alive in them, despite the terrible persecutions which they had suffered in the land of their ancestors (Armenia) at the hands of the bloodthirsty Tartars, Saracens, Arabs, Persians, and Turks since the fall of their political independence in A.D. 1375.

Of the many big guns cast at Lahore and Agra by Shah Nazar Khan, the "Master Workman", as he is called, the only one in existence at the present day is the "Zamzamah", which, according to the long and interesting Persian inscription on the back of the gun, was "terrible as a dragon", "huge as a mountain", "a fire-raining dragon", and "a destroyer even of the strongholds of heaven". Kipling seems to have been quite impressed with that eighteenth-century gun, for he has used an illustration of it as a frontispiece to his *Kim*.

CALCUTTA.

9th April, 1937.

A CORRECTION TO "MIRABILIA DESCRIPTA" (THE WONDERS OF THE EAST). By FRIAR JORDANUS, *circa* 1330 ¹

In speaking of Armenia, Friar Jordanus says: "In this same Armenia the Greater a certain glorious Virgin suffered martyrdom. The daughter of a King and Scala by name." (p. 5.)

Colonel Sir Henry Yule in his notes in this book wrote: "The Virgin must be Rhipsime . . . etc." (p. 5.)

Sir Henry Yule was mistaken in his identification of the "Glorious Virgin Scala by name" mentioned by Friar Jordanus as having suffered martyrdom, for she was not Virgin Rhipsime, but a Virgin named Santukht, the daughter of the Armenian King Sanadrug. She was converted to Christianity by Judas-Thaddeus the Apostle, who, after the death of Christ, was sent to preach Christianity to the Armenians.

The Martyrdom of Santukht, as well as the historical reality of the Armenian King Sanadrug, is enveloped in so much darkness and the narrations about them are so old that they have almost become legendary. Although Sanadrug has no place in *de facto* Armenian History, nevertheless he has quite an important place in the history of the Christian Religion in Armenia. Incidentally, Santukht was not only the first female martyr in Armenia, but the first in the whole of Christendom, being killed by the order of her father Sanadrug, the King of Armenia, about the middle of the first century.

The Virgin Rhipsime, or, as the Armenians spell it, Hripsime, mentioned by Sir Henry Yule, was not the daughter of a king, as Friar Jordanus tells us the Glorious Virgin Scala's father was. Hripsime was martyred in Armenia in the third century.

The name of the martyred Virgin is given by Friar Jordanus as Scala, which in Latin as well as Italian means *scale*, and for which Webster's *Unabridged Dictionary* gives *scale* (*scala*) "A ladder; series of steps". In Armenian, scale is translated *santukh* (a ladder), which makes it seem that

¹ Printed by Hakluyt Society, Old or First Series, No. 31, 1863.

whoever told Friar Jordanus the story of this Armenian Virgin's martyrdom also gave the name *Santukht*, but to make it more easily remembered by Friar Jordanus, he tried to translate the name and called it *scala* (= scale = *santukh* = ladder), the original *Santukht* being a personal name, much used among Armenians to this day, and the second a word, *santukh*, which in Latin is *scala* and in English *scale*, a ladder.

The fact that these two words are so nearly alike, makes it easy for a person unfamiliar with the Armenian language to get them confused, even though they have no connection.

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H. KURDIAN.

AN UNKNOWN WORK ON ZOOLOGY

Lieut.-Col. J. Stephenson, in the introduction of his very useful edition of the zoological section of Ḥamdullāh Mustaufi's *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*,¹ states that "Arabic works on natural history were few, and Persian works non-existent, before the time of Mustaufi. There appears to be no systematic zoological treatise before the *Nuzhat* except the *Kitābu-l-Ḥayawān* of Jāḥiẓ (d. A.H. 255, A.D. 869) which, however (like that of ad-Damīrī later), is for the most part of philological and literary interest".² This statement is supported by the words of Dr. Max Meyerhof, "The only important Muslim work on *Zoology* is the *Life of Animals* by Muḥammad ad-Damīrī."³ In view of these judgments, it is of interest to record that there exists in the India Office Library⁴ a large fragment of what is evidently a scientific treatise on zoology written, most probably in Persia by a Persian, in the first half of the sixth

¹ Oriental Translation Fund, New Series, vol. xxx.

² pp. x-xi.

³ *Legacy of Islam*, p. 341. Cf. A. S. G. Jayakar's remarks in his translation of *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān* (Bombay, 1906), vol. i, p. xiv.

⁴ Delhi Arabic, 1949. Foll. 217; 31 × 18 cm. (script 22 × 13 cm.); ll. 12. Seals on the first and last folios attest that its present state of imperfection dates back at least two or three centuries.

century A.H.¹ This manuscript, though defective at both beginning and end, and therefore lacking all information as to authorship and correct title, has fortunately escaped the more serious depredations of ants, worms, and rodents which have worked havoc with so many valuable manuscripts housed at one time in Indian palaces.

As it is the intention of the present writer subsequently to make a more detailed study of the work, it will be sufficient here to state its general contents, which are given in the hope that some other scholar, seeing them, may be able to throw light on the important question of authorship. The book is divided into two main parts called *maqālāt*, so far at least as is preserved in this copy. The first *maqāla* treats of man, the human races, and the character and characteristics of man : in enumerating the various nations the author treats of the Persians first, and the Arabs last but two (he reserves the Abyssinians for the last place). The second *maqāla* deals with the animals, of which the first to be described, curiously enough, is the elephant.² The author's interest in animals is not philological, as is the case with Jāhiz, and to some extent with Damirī, but scientific. In some passages he records his own observations. Many names of animals occur which I have not seen in any other Islamic authority.

The copy itself is very old, probably of the twelfth century, possibly an autograph. The scribe has given diacritical points and some vocalizations for about the first third of the whole, but thereafter generally omits both points and vowels,

¹ A note in a late hand on the wrapper attributes the work (which it calls *Kiṭāb al-Ḥayawān*) to Sharaf al-Zamān (sc. al-Dīn) Muḥammad al-Ilāqī, the well-known pupil of Avicenna. This ascription is, of course, incorrect. On fol. 210b the author relates an event of his own lifetime which he dates 514 A.H.

² It may be noted that in the zoological section of 'Awfi's *Jawāmi' al-ḥikāyāt* the first animal to be described is also the elephant. This raises the possibility, though difficult to reconcile with certain historical data, that the present work is to be identified with the lost *Ṭabā'ī' al-ḥayawānāt* of Sharaf al-Zamān Tāhir al-Marwazī. See M. Nizāmu'd-Dīn, *Introduction to the Jawāmi'u'l-Ḥikāyāt*, pp. 88 f.

except that he invariably writes the names of animals carefully. The author's general outlook on life is illustrated by a remark on fol. 9b: "Among the characteristics of the (human) soul are generosity and miserliness. As for generosity, this is in our day like the *'anqā* of the west . . . one hears say of it, but no sign of it is ever seen; while as for miserliness, this is the common characteristic of all the people of this age, and more especially women."

A. J. ARBERRY.

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THE YEZIDI VILLAGES IN NORTHERN 'IRĀQ

Up till now we did not know the names of all the villages of Northern 'Irāq inhabited by the Yezidis or the so-called, although quite wrongly, Devil-worshippers. This gap in our knowledge about the sect has been filled up now by the Mesopotamian scholar 'Abbās al-'Azzāwī, who, in his valuable book published recently in Bagdād about the history, customs, manners and doctrines of the sect,¹ gives us a nearly complete list of the Yezidi villages in Ġebel Singār and in the surroundings of Mossul. Most of the names of those villages belong to the Kurdish language and only few of them are Arabic. As the text of al-'Azzāwī is not vocalized, it is not easy to determine in every case the right pronunciation of the Kurdish names. I therefore asked al-'Azzāwī to be so kind as to send me a vocalized list of the names of the villages published in his book. He very promptly acceded to my request, and was so kind as to send me immediately the vocalized names I had asked him for. It is a pleasure for me to be able to tender to him my hearty thanks for his kindness.

¹ The Arabic title runs as follows: *Ta'riḥ al-Yazīdiyyah wa. aṣl 'aqā'idihim*. The year of its publication is 1354 of the Hīrah and 1935 of the Christian era. The book has also a French title: *Histoire des Yezidis. Leur doctrine, leurs pays, leurs chefs d'après des documents inédits*, Baghdad, 1935. I have written on this book in "Nuovi documenti sui Yezidi", *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni*, xii (1936), 150-165.

There are some slight discrepancies between the list published in his book, to which I refer as A, and the vocalized one sent to me, B. Some differences may be due to misprint and some to scribal error.

The sources of the list of al-'Azzāwī are written or oral.

Only a few of the villages quoted in the list were known till now, to scholars who have written about the Yezidis. It is therefore worth while to publish a transliteration of the list and an English translation of the notes appended by the author to some of the names.

YEZIDI VILLAGES IN THE REGION OF SINGĀR ¹

1. Bāğass-sī or Bāğass. There are some of the Mandakān ² Yezidis and with them dwell some Muhammadans.
2. Bārah. Inhabited by the tribe of the Samūqah or Samūgah.³ This village lies on the summit of the mountain and in its neighbourhood lies the village of al-Ḥātūniyyah which now belongs to the French. There are no Yezidis in it. In it are only Arabs who are called al-Ḥawātinah.
3. Bāšūk. Inhabited by Mandakān and some Muhammadans.
4. Bardahlī. On the slope of the mountain towards the north, in the direction of Nišibīn and Mārdīn.
5. Bakrān.⁴ The majority of its inhabitants are Yezidis and few of them are Muslims. On the slope of the mountain as the preceding.
6. Bahbul or Gahbul (B). Also a village of which the inhabitants are Yezidis.
7. Tappah or Tabbah (B). An important village. Its inhabitants are mostly Yezidis, few are Muslims.
8. Tall Qaşab. Its inhabitants are Mandakān, and among them there are Yezidis and Muslims.

¹ al-'Azzāwī, loc. cit., p. 11-12.

² On the villages of this Kurdish tribe see al-'Azzāwī, loc. cit., 15.

³ al-'Azzāwī, loc. cit., 11.

⁴ al-'Azzāwī, loc. cit., 18.

9. Ġaddālah. They say that this village belongs to a Muslim and that Ḥamū Šarū moved from it.¹
10. Ġafriyyah.² Lies on the slope of the mountain towards the north, in the direction of Nišibīn and Mārdīn. Its inhabitants are Yezidis with a few Muslims.
11. Čal'ān. Also called Kūrkūrgah, but known by the name of Čal'ān.
12. Ḥānamiyyah or Ḥātamiyyah (B). Its inhabitants are Mandakān, and there are also Muslims and Yezidis.
13. Ḥallīqiyyah.³ Another of the villages on the northern slope of the mountain, facing the direction of Nišibīn and Mārdīn.
14. al-Ḥān or Ḥān (B). The inhabitants are Mandakān and there are also Yezidis and Muslims in it.
15. Dilūḥān. In it there are Mandakān and among them there are Muslims and Yezidis. In this village there is the family of the 'Izzah with the Mandakān and the Šahwān⁴: so Šeyḥ Ilyās ibn Šeyḥ Ḥidr⁵ has told me.
16. Rambūsiyyah. A village in the west of Balad Singār; its inhabitants are Yezidis.
17. Zīrwān. On the slope of the mountain. Inhabitants are mostly Yezidis with a few Muslims. It lies towards the north.
18. Sakīnī or Sakīniyyah.⁶ One of the villages on the south of Balad Singār, inhabited by the 'ašīrah of the Qīrān.⁷

¹ On Ḥamū Šarū or Ḥamū Šīrū see the passages of al-'Azzāwī quoted on p. 118, and Ismā'īl Beg Chol, *The Yazīdīs Past and present*, Beirut, 1934, p. 177: On the table facing p. 82 is to be seen a picture of Ḥamū Šarū, "chief of the Yezidis in Ġebel Singār."

² On this tribe see al-'Azzāwī, loc. cit., 98.

³ al-'Azzāwī, loc. cit., 98.

⁴ According to al-'Azzāwī, loc. cit., 99, this tribe is of Arabic origin.

⁵ This šeyḥ is the chief of the 'ašīrah Hakkāriyyah and has furnished to our author much information about the Yezidis. The tribe is Kurdish, but the šeyḥ speaks also Arabic, al-'Azzāwī, loc. cit., 99.

⁶ al-'Azzāwī, loc. cit., 99.

⁷ al-'Azzāwī, loc. cit., 99.

19. Sanūnī or Sanūn. One of the villages on the northern slope of the mountain. The majority of its inhabitants are Yezidis and few of them are Muslims.
20. Šikuftah or Iškuftah. One of the southern villages. Inhabitants are Yezidis and only a few are Muslims.
21. Taraf. On the northern slope of the mountain. Inhabitants are Yezidis and few of them are Muslims.
22. 'Āl Dīnah or Dīnā (B) or 'Alī Dīnah or 'Aldīnah. The same.
23. 'Ayn Fathī. One of the southern villages. Inhabitants are Mandakān with a few Muslims and Yezidis.
24. Qartāg 'Ulyā.
25. Qartāg Sufā. Both these villages are to the south. The inhabitants are Mandakān but among them there are Muslims and Yezidis.
26. Qizil Kand. On the west of Singār City.
27. Qasirkī. The same.
28. Quwaysī or Quways. On the northern slope of the mountain facing Mārdīn and Nišībīn.
29. Kursī. The seat of the Amīr.¹ On the slope of the mountain. In it dwells the *mudīr* of the *nāḥyah*.
30. Kūlgān (B), Kūlkān (A). On the slope north of the town of Mossul.
31. Garay (B), Karay (A) 'Arbah. Towards the north. Inhabitants are Yezidis : few of them are Muslims.
32. Gandah (B), Kandah (A) Gīlī. In the northern direction. Inhabitants are Yezidis : few of them are Muslims.
33. Maġnūniyyah. Here dwells the chief of the followers, *awlād*, of the Šeyḥ 'Abd al-Qādir.² The village lies on the west of Balad Singār. It was formerly called Ḥiyāl, but nowadays it is called by the name Maġnūniyyah or Maġnūnah, and its inhabitants know it by either name.

¹ That is to say, of the Yezidi Amīr of Ġebel Singār. There is also a Yezidi Amīr of Šeyḥān.

² Šeyḥ 'Abd al-Qādir was one of the brothers of Šeyḥ 'Adī, Furlani, *Testi religiosi dei Yezidi*, Bologna, 1930, 17 and 38.

34. Maharkān.¹ One of the villages south of Balad Singār. Inhabitants are Yezidis: few of them are Muslims. This village lies on the side of the mountain Galī Birīn.
35. Nugrī. Its inhabitants are Yezidis and few of them are Muslims. On the slope of the mountain in the northern district.
36. Nāranġūk. Here dwell the tribes Danādiyyah² and Šū'ān.³ It is one of the northern villages.
37. Yūsifān. In it dwell the tribes Danādiyyah and Šū'ān. It is one of the northern villages.
38. Yūsifkah or Tall Yūsifkā. One of the villages to the north. All are Yezidis and the Muslims among them are few.
39. Kānī Sārik.
40. Ačmā.
41. Rambūsi or Rambūsiyyah. A village on the west of Balad Singār. Its inhabitants are Yezidis.
42. Gābārah (B), Kābārah (A).
43. Wardiyyah.
44. Māmīs.
45. Malag.
46. Adīkā.
47. Paštġir (B), Paštķir (A).
48. Barānā.
49. 'Ayn Ġazāl.
50. Šārūk.
51. Šag'ū.
52. Šihābiyyah.
53. Namīl.
54. Hamdān.

al-'Azzāwī first gives a list of those of the above quoted villages which lie on the western side of Ġebel Singār, on p. ١٠٣, then another, of the villages lying on the northern

¹ al-'Azzāwī, loc. cit., ٩٥.

² al-'Azzāwī, loc. cit., ٩٤.

³ al-'Azzāwī, loc. cit., ٩٦.

slope, on pp. ١٠٣-١٠٤, and finally a list of the villages lying on the northern side from the west to the east. After a few remarks about the Muslims living on Ġebel Singār, he gives us the second of his lists of Yezidi villages in northern 'Irāq.

YEZIDI VILLAGES IN THE REGION OF MOSSUL

1. Ba'šiqah.¹ Yezidis, Muslims, and Christians. The Yezidis who inhabit it are called Ṭāẓiyyah (B).
2. Baḥzānī.² Yezidis, Muslims, and Christians. The majority are Yezidis. It is near Ba'šiqah. The same.
3. Mahad or Mahat. Yezidis.
4. Īsyān (A) or Īsbān (B).³ Yezidis.
5. 'Ayn Sufnī or Sifnī (B).⁴ The centre of a *qā'imma-qāmīyyah*. Yezidis and few Muslims and Christians. It is the centre of a *qaḍā'*.
6. Bā'adrā. Yezidis. The village of the Amīr.⁵
7. Būzān. Yezidis.
8. Ḥūrzah or Ḥūrzān. Yezidis.⁶
9. Maḥmūdān. Yezidis.
10. Taftiyān or Ṭaftiyān (B). Yezidis.
11. Ḥatārā.⁷ Yezidis. To be distinguished from Ḥatārā aṣ-Ṣuġrā, which has only Muslims.
12. Baybān.⁸ Yezidis.
13. Ġarrāḥiyyah. Yezidis.

¹ There is a tribe called Ba'šiqah, its chief is Šādiq ibn Rašīd. This tribe speaks Arabic, al-'Azzāwī, loc. cit., ١٨.

² The chief of the tribe Baḥzānī is a certain Ḥiḍr Āġā ibn 'Abdāl. This tribe, too, speaks Arabic, al-'Azzāwī, loc. cit., ١٨.

³ Īsbān seems to be the right spelling, and the first one, Īsyān, is very likely a misprint.

⁴ This village is mentioned in the subscriptions of the document presented by the Yezidis in the year 1872 to the Ottoman Government, Joseph, *AJSL*, xxv (1908), 156 and 247.

⁵ Of the Yezidi Amīr of Šeyḥān.

⁶ In the above-quoted document the name is spelled Ḥuzrān, Joseph, loc. cit., 155 and 247.

⁷ al-'Azzāwī, loc. cit., ١٧, it is a Kurdish tribe; Joseph, loc. cit., 155 and 247.

⁸ Joseph, loc. cit., 155 and 247.

14. Bāpīrah or Bābīrā.¹ Yezidis.
15. Garay Paḥan or Giray Pa'an (B) or Garaypān (A).²
Its meaning is "the wide hill". Yezidis and with them are a few Nestorians.
16. Kabartū.³ Yezidis. Some houses belong to Nestorians.
17. Rubaybī. Yezidis. There are some Nestorian houses.
18. Mām Šabān, Mām Šībān (A). (Meaning) "our uncle the shepherd". Yezidis.
19. Šūrkah. Yezidis.
20. Guṭbah or Kūdbā. Yezidis.
21. Zayniyyāt. Yezidis.
22. Čambarkāt. Yezidis.
23. Hānik. Yezidis.
24. Qabaq or Qabag. Yezidis. B says that this village and the preceding are *one* village.⁴
25. Dihkān. Yezidis.⁵
26. Huzšanah or Huršanah (B).⁶ Yezidis mixed with Nestorians.
27. Rakkābah. Yezidis.
28. Sīnah or Sīnā.⁷ Yezidis.
29. Šeyḥ Hudrī or Hudrī. Yezidis.
30. Šārī, Šāriyyah (A). Yezidis.
31. Dūgāt. Yezidis.
32. Sariškah or Saričkā. Yezidis.
33. Baqqāq. There are Tayyāriyyah, Muslims, and Yezidis.
34. Baybānī.⁸ Its inhabitants are Yezidis.
35. Kays Qal'ah or Čays Qalā. To the east of Mossul.
36. Ḥasaniyyah. To the east of Mossul.

¹ In this village there is a *šaḥs* of the Yezidi saint, Bāṭī. Furlani, "I santi dei Yezidi," *Orientalia*, v, 70.

² Joseph, loc. cit., 155 and 247.

³ Joseph, loc. cit., 156 and 247.

⁴ A makes a distinction between them.

⁵ Joseph, loc. cit., 155 and 247.

⁶ Joseph, loc. cit., 155 and 247. Huzrān is not the same name.

⁷ Joseph, loc. cit., 156 and 247.

⁸ This village is omitted by B; Joseph, loc. cit., 155 and 247.

37. Hūsābah.¹
38. Harāb Kūlk.
39. Dūgātā or Dūgāt or Dūgayt.² Its inhabitants are Yezidis.
40. Sandānak. Yezidi, but now its inhabitants are Muslims.
41. Šaraf Mirān (A). One of the villages of the (Gebel) Maqlūb. Its inhabitants are Muslims. B has Šaraf Hayrān.³
42. Šaraf Ğabrān (B).
43. 'Ayn Baqarah.
44. Gar Hāliš.
45. Mirgay, Mağarah (A), Mirgah (B).
46. Mūskān.⁴

FROM THE VILLAGES IN ŠEYHĀN

1. Bīrastak (B), Bīrīstak (A).
2. Kābārā (A), Ğābārah (B).⁴
3. Ğagānah or Ğagān.
4. Hirbah Šālīh.
5. Qašir Yazdīn.
6. Summayl. There are now no Yezidis (B).
7. Bāqasrā.⁴
8. Ğardānā (A), Ğarwānā (B).
9. Muqbil.
10. Kandālā.
11. Dūšiqān. With the meaning "two valleys" (B).
12. Milāčah Parā (A), Mil Čaparā (B).
13. Nuşayriyyah (A), Nuşayrī (B).
14. al-Mamān (A), Mamān (B).
15. Maşurfah or Maşurfī (B) or Maşurf (A).

¹ Joseph, loc. cit., 155 and 247; Furlani, loc. cit., 74.

² This name is omitted by B.

³ In Joseph, loc. cit., 156 and 247, we read Hayrū, but it is not the same name.

⁴ Joseph, loc. cit., 155 and 247.

FORMERLY YEZIDI VILLAGES

Names of some villages in which there were, in former times, Yezidis, but in which there are no more nowadays.

1. Šeyḥ Šiblī.
2. Sayfdīnān (B), Š.q.d.n.y.ān (A), on the Ḥāzīr, which is a river that flows into the Upper Zāb.
3. Šeyḥ Ḥāluk or Šeyḥukā.
4. Muḥammad Rašān. This is the right pronunciation of Mām Rašā.¹
5. Šeyḥ Bizaynī.
6. Mammūzayn.
7. Qaryah 'Abd al-'Azīz (B).²

The list of Yezidi villages gives us also the names of some Yezidi saints which can be added to the list we have made for *Orientalia*, v, under the title "I santi dei Yezidi".

Finally we wish to point out that the list of al-'Azzāwī is not exhaustive and omits the names of some Yezidi villages.

GIUSEPPE FURLANI.

¹ Joseph, loc. cit., 155 and 247; Furlani, loc. cit., 65, and note 2.

² 'Abd al-'Azīz was one of the brothers of Šeyḥ 'Adī. Furlani, *Testi*, 38.



REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Near East

ARABS OF CENTRAL IRAQ: THEIR HISTORY, ETHNOLOGY, AND PHYSICAL CHARACTERS. By HENRY FIELD, with Introduction by SIR ARTHUR KEITH. $12\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{3}{4}$, pp. 474, pls. 156, figs. 48, maps 3. Anthropological Memoirs, Vol. IV. Chicago Field Museum of Natural History, 1935.

Mr. Henry Field here brings the sheaves from his 1928 harvesting in the Middle Euphrates with calipers, anthropometer, and camera, and very welcome they are to the physical anthropologist whose Arab barn is comparatively empty. The Arabs of his measurements are shown to be "a highly differentiated race" displaying "tendency to variability in a marked degree". The explanation is in part due, perhaps, to Iraq's mixed racial inheritance—Sumerian, Babylonian, Cassite, Persian, Mongol, yet the variability is of a nature which Sir Arthur Keith, in the introduction, regards as representing an evolutionary factor of importance. Mr. Field's early researches under Dr. L. H. Dudley Buxton at Kish in 1926 are here continued in his own extensive field work. His subjects fall into three groups, (a) 398 Kish settled Arabs, (b) 38 Ba'ij beduin who roam the *jazīra* between the Two Rivers, and (c) 231 Iraqi soldiers recruited from up and down the land. For each individual, three measurements were made relating to stature, eleven to head features, and twenty-three other observations were noted. If pigmentation was left to eye-estimation rather than obtained by the regular standard colour-test, it is a single omission which serves to emphasize the meticulous care and exhaustiveness of the work as a whole. No less than nine indices are calculated for each individual—a stupendous task.

Mr. Field's analysis of his data follows his tabulated statistics (these take up the bulk of the monograph), and is clearly illustrated by excellent graphs showing comparative

indices of his three groups. Sir Arthur Keith's introduction, extending to 74 illuminating pages, is, in part, an empirical survey of the physical characters shown by the portraits (these consist of a beautiful series of 156 plates at the back of the book, a full-face and profile photograph of each individual measured, numbered to correspond with its particular table of statistics), and, in part, a synthesis of the data. In a series of charts, each important feature of one or other of Mr. Field's groups is taken in turn and correlated with its corresponding feature in groups of neighbouring peoples—Egyptians, Somalis, South Arabians, Armenoids, Chatris (United Provinces), and Pathans (Punjab).

Mr. Field, whose investigations were continued in 1934 in other areas and extended to pre-historic researches, holds the opinion that the Arabs of Central Iraq are predominantly Mediterraneans. The earliest known inhabitants of the North Arabian desert, he postulates, were dolicho-cephalic proto-Mediterraneans. Desiccation drove those not content with a nomadic existence east and west, the former to settle in the Euphrates valley, where, in the fifth millennium B.C. they were overcome by Sumerians, presumably a brachy-cephalic people, these latter, in turn, to be overrun by later waves of longheads—a theory he considers to fit in best with ancient skulls excavated by the archæologists (long-headed from Kish and Ur, round-headed as well from the former place) and ascribed to the fourth millennium B.C. The cranial capacity of these ancient skulls, it is of interest to note, is 100 c.c. bigger than that of the modern Arab.

Round headedness among his living Arabs—rare in Kish, with a tendency to increase in soldiers recruited from the Mosul area—is Armenoid in form (i.e. a characteristic flattened occiput and short post-auricular dimension) and thought to be intrusive. In this connection it has been noticed that the heads of rulers depicted on ancient South Arabian coins suggest that the intrusion was early and went deep (coast-wise?). On the other hand, the reviewer found the brachy-

cephaly of modern South Arabia to be not purely Armenoid in form, generally lacking the characteristic heavy and convex Caucasoid nose, and being curiously linked with frizzy hair (not negritic), deep pigmentation, and other Hamitic features. As the survivals of the ancient South Semitic tongues are to be found exclusively among this group of round-headed tribes, so different from Mr. Field's dolicho-cephalic Mediterranean man, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that in the south there survives a residue of Arabia's ancient stock : and hence the problem of evolution of variant types within the peninsula is fraught with complexities.

Mr. Field is to be warmly congratulated on this very notable contribution to the ethnology of Iraq—the word “history” seems to have got into the sub-title of this volume IV by mistake—and those interested in the problem of racial evolution of west Asiatic peoples will look forward, eagerly, to the publication of the results of his later field work (1934).

A. 755.

BERTRAM THOMAS.

Far East

TRAVELS OF A CHINESE POET. TU FU, GUEST OF RIVERS AND LAKES, A.D. 712-770. Vol. II, A.D. 759-770. By FLORENCE AYSCOUGH. $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$, pp. 350, ills. 17. London : Jonathan Cape, 1934. £1 1s.

In this, the second and concluding volume of Tu Fu's autobiography, Mrs. Ayscough has selected and translated those poems which most vividly tell the life-story of this famous poet-official of the Tang Dynasty. The first volume covered the periods of childhood, youth, and middle-age, and gave us a description of the brilliant court life at Chang An, where Tu Fu took part in affairs of state under Ming Hwang, the Bright Emperor. But in the volume under review the shadows begin to lengthen, and we see, as in a horizontal scroll, a tired traveller nearing the end of his journey through mist, rain, and storm.

Tu Fu, while holding office as Imperial Censor, had given offence to the Emperor Su Tsung, who caused him to be sent to far distant Hwa Chou as a minor official. He was only forty-seven years of age when he was finally driven from this last humble appointment by drought, famine, and rebellion. He compares himself to drifting thistledown and writes:

“For the remains of my life I will tarry by rivers and streams
Living familiar among woodcutters and fisherfolk.”

Eleven years spent as a “Guest of Rivers and Lakes” were productive of a large collection of poems. Pleasures of his earlier life reappear in such lines as

“Again leading lovely ladies we embark
In boats festooned with bright silk hangings.”

And there were occasions when the poet was fêted by high officials and enjoyed once more the reflected glory of the “Son of Heaven”; but most of the poems describe the simpler joys and sorrows of a wanderer seeking only shelter and food, and peace for himself and his little family.

“In mid-moon of Summer much water flows,
At bright hour of dawn I visit small garden.
Little boat slides across breadth of jade-grey stream,
On branches shine masses of scarlet fruit.
I come because hills and streams are peaceful,
Am driven, to avoid clamour from market well.

Fifty *mou* of vegetable fields wind round my thatched dwelling,
For ourselves there is enough to gladden the evening platter.”

Tu Fu died in A.D. 770 in poverty and exile; but, on the site of his small thatched dwelling by Washing Flowers Stream near Cheng Tu, there now stands a temple, a national memorial to honour the man who was not only an outstanding example of the incorruptible official, but a poet who ranks with Li Po

as one of the chief writers of the Tang Dynasty, the greatest period of Chinese literature.

The poems were translated from the *Tu Hsih Ching Ch'uan* — "Mirror which Reflects the knowledge and Estimates the Quality of Tu Fu's Poems." The task confronting the translator who attempts to render into English a Chinese poem can only be appreciated by a careful reading of the original text. The monosyllabic form of the language, the tones and rhythmic balance, the terse idiom and repetition of characters, together with the concentration of meaning and allusion in a single phrase, produce an effect which cannot be brought over into an alien tongue. Referring to some of these difficulties Mrs. Ayscough compares her work with the decoding of a modern cablegram and believes that "the translator should cling to the form, text, and idiom of the original as closely as possible". To accomplish this she has frequently omitted articles, conjunctions, and other "empty words" which do not appear in the Chinese text. The result in English is sometimes disturbing, but in this volume of word pictures, vivid and sincere, the reader must feel something of the emotion which inspired the poet when he wrote of rivers and streams, beside which, Confucius said, the wise man lives.

Mrs. Ayscough has rendered a real service in placing before us this large collection of eighth century poems. The book is well produced and attractively illustrated by Lucille Douglas.

A. 255.

HILDA ARTHURS STRONG.

ESSAI SUR LES GAMMES JAPONAISES. Par NOËL PERI.
Bibliothèque Musicale du Musée Guimet: Deuxième
Série, Tome I. 11 x 9, pp. v + 70. Paris: Paul
Geuthner, 1934. 25 Fr.

This is a work of importance. Although printed from an unfinished manuscript of the author, it contains a considerable amount of new material which enables us to apprehend the

theory and structure of Japanese music with greater ease than has hitherto been the case.

Until the appearance of this work, the most trustworthy analysis of Japanese music was Sir Francis Piggott's *Music and Musical Instruments of Japan* (2nd edit., 1909), and the earlier *Einige Notizen über die japanische Musik* of Dr. Müller which appeared in the *Mittheilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens* (1874-6). Not that the present work displaces either of these valuable books, which are still indispensable to students of the subject, but rather that it must be considered a necessary supplement to them.

The author, the late Noël Peri (1865-1922), was a French Roman Catholic missionary who spent sixteen years (1890-1906) in Japan. Being a trained musician possessing a thorough knowledge of Japanese he was invited to teach Western music at the Tokio Conservatory of Music, a position which he held for ten years (1896-1906). Although his missionary work and teaching must have left him with little leisure he seems to have found time to make an examination of the bases of Japanese music, the most important contribution to which is the present essay.

Noël Peri divides his essay into four parts: (1) *Le Gagaku*; (2) *Le Ritsu* populaire ou plagal; (3) *Le Zoku-gaku*; and (4) *Zoku-gaku* populaire, the last two parts being left unfinished by the author. Several fragments, also unfinished, have been introduced by the editors as appendices.

The book has been edited by M. Philippe Stern, the Assistant Director of the Musée Guimet, who has also added a table of the Japanese modes following the classification of Noël Peri. One feels, however, that the editing might have been improved by the addition of footnotes in many cases where the author's opinion is in conflict with other writers.

A short biography of the author has been contributed by M. Serge Elisseev and there is an excellent Bibliography. In the latter one misses the contribution of M. Maurice Courant

on Japanese Music to Lavignac's *Encyclopédie de la musique* (Paris, 1913), and there is also the omission of Hiroshi Endo's *Bibliography of Oriental and Primitive Music* (Tokio, 1929). Neither the bibliographer nor the biographer mentions Noël Peri's *Études sur le drame lyrique japonais* which appeared in the *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême Orient*, 1909.

A. 630.

HENRY GEORGE FARMER.

THE LAST OF THE EMPRESSES. By DANIELE VARE. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xiii + 258, ills. 13. London: John Murray, 1936. 15s.

The personality of the Old Buddha exercises a fascination over all who have written on the history of China in the nineteenth century. The writer of the present volume belongs, quite unashamedly, to judge from his preface, to the romantic group of biographers. His book gives a delightful and easily read picture of the part played by the great Dowager Empress. We are still too near the events to estimate exactly her historical position, but we have on the other hand still the advantage of the presence amongst us of so many survivors of the old Peking. Those who wish for a pleasant account of Yehonala, to give the great lady yet another name, will enjoy reading a very carefully written book, which throws quite a lot of light on many controversial problems.

A. 635.

L. H. D. BUXTON.

India

RECHERCHES ARCHÉOLOGIQUES AU COL DE KHAIR KHANEH PRÈS DE KĀBUL. Par J. HACKIN, avec la collaboration de J. CARL. Tome VII. Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan. pp. 38, pl. xxiv, ills. 14, map 1. Paris: Les Éditions d'Art et d'Histoire, 1936. Frs. 80.

This short but admirable Memoir contains an account of the excavation, during 1934, of a small group of remains on the hill-side above the Khair Khaneh Pass, some twelve

kilometres north-west of Kābul. The remains, which date from the fourth or fifth century A.D., comprise a shrine with three separate chambers surrounded by a *pradakṣhiṇā patha* under one roof, a few subsidiary buildings, and what is thought to have been an open-air altar with an enclosure approximately semicircular in plan, on one side of it. Among other objects found in the ruins of the shrine were a fine seated image of white marble representing Sūrya with two attendants and the pedestal of another statue of the same material, of which only the feet and the figure of the donor have survived. The unusual plan of this shrine has suggested to the authors a comparison with the small Śiva temple at Bhumara in Nāgod State, Central India, and with two other temples at Nachna-Kuthara and Deoguna respectively, in the same neighbourhood, but, so far as the first two temples are concerned, it is to be noted that the similarity extends only to the presence of a *pradakṣhiṇā-patha* around the *garbha-griha*, not to the presence of three separate chambers; and the *pradakṣhiṇā patha* is a feature which is common enough among Indian temples of the medieval period. On the strength of its peculiar tunic and head-dress, resembling the fashions of Shāpur II, Ardashir II, and Shāpur III (A.D. 309-388), the Sūrya statue is assigned by the authors, and no doubt rightly, to the fifth century A.D. *À propos* of it, they devote a most interesting chapter to a discussion of various Sūrya images and show how there were two distinct types in India: an earlier one of Indian (or should we rather say "Indo-Greek"?) origin, in which the Sun God is depicted in his chariot either alone or attended by his two women archers—as, for example, in the well-known relief of the first century B.C. at Bodh-Gayā; the other—a later Iranian type—in which he appears accompanied by his two male acolytes, Piṅgala and Daṇḍa—the one a bearded scribe, the other a beardless warrior. As to these acolytes, MM. Hackin and Carl also show—what had not previously been suspected—that they are directly traceable to a western origin, having their prototypes in Azizos and

Monimos (= Phosphoros and Hesperos), who stood beside the Sun God in his famous temple at Edessa, in the Dioscuri and in the Kabiri, who like Piṅgala and Daṇḍa are sometimes represented, the one bearded, the other beardless. The marble figure of a donor is clearly in the same style as some of the fifth century clay figures at Jauliāñ, near Taxila, and is no doubt a product of the same Indo-Afghān School. Judging by many similar articles of the first century A.D. from Sirkap, the toilet dish figured in pl. xxiii, 31, may be somewhat earlier than the date (second to third century A.D.) assigned to it by the authors. Like all its fellows in the same series, the Memoir is beautifully printed and illustrated.

A. 703.

JOHN MARSHALL.

BRHADĀRANYAKA-UPANIṢAD. Translated by ÉMILE SENART.

Collection ÉMILE SENART, vol. iii. 8 × 5½, pp. xxviii + 137. Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres", 1934.

The present translation of the *Bṛhadāranyaka-upaniṣad* is published as a posthumous work. A short analysis, less detailed than that devoted to Senart's rendering of the *Chāndogya-upaniṣad*, is added by A. Foucher, the editor, assisted by L. Renou and N. Stehoupak; and the editors have wisely printed the text and translation on opposite pages, so that the two may be readily compared. As is usual with this Upaniṣad, Senart had based his rendering on the Kāṇva recension of the text.

As all translations are interpretations, especially if they deal with the ambiguous language of Upaniṣadic Sanskrit, we are deeply interested in the many explanatory notes added by Senart himself. Most of his doubts about the subject matter and its adequate rendering fall inevitably under the common head that he, like all Western thinkers, has difficulty in following Indian logic, which is fundamentally based on a different mode of thought. Speaking roughly, it is physical

(ontological) logic, not the purely rational logic of Western tradition; for, as the editors suggest (p. xv), Indian thought is polar. The *neti-neti* definition of *brahman* (the "not-only-this" and the "not-only-that", i.e. the "all-in-one-being") is elucidated by the saying of Scotus Erigena, so strange to the general run of Western logic, that "*Deus propter excellentiam non immerito nihil vocatur*". India has on the whole an aversion to limits, definitions, separations, and thus to the importance of single facts and personalities, and sees the basic value in all that is not narrowed down to a definite size—the zero is the no-thing as well as indefiniteness or both in one (*ex-cellens* and *nihil*, cf. *abhvam* and *śūnya* "void", which cannot be dissociated from "*śūna*", "swollen", "immense"). See for further details of this interpretation my arguments in the *Proceedings of the XIX International Congress of Orientalists*, Rome, 1935.

In India's physical logic must be sought the explanation of facts such as the strange ambiguity of the term *satya*, the primary and predominant meaning of which is "existent", and as such is ontologically "true" (cf. Senart's notes, pp. 29, 67, and 94); the same interpretation is suggested by the whole sixth *prapāthaka* of the *Chāndogya-upaniṣad*. Senart hints again that the Indian basis of thought is not merely formal logic, when on p. 2 he translates *arkatvam* not as the abstract *idea* of *arka*, but as "the name *arka*", that is, name as the concrete and magical essence of the thing expressed.

His doubts as to the correct rendering of *upās* also tend to prove India's synopsis of functions and modes of thought which Western logic keeps carefully apart. Not accepting the translation of it by Boethlingk, Deussen, and others as merely "spiritual adoration", Senart renders it in most passages (cf. pp. 12, 16, 92) by "consider", because this term is also applied to the act of sexual intercourse (p. 112). Since then St. Schayer and J. Przyluski have taken this interpretation further, the latter rendering *upās* as "pay homage"

and "recognize" ("know"), while Schayer, stressing the magical and not the logical meaning of the word, interprets it as "gain for oneself". The literal translation of *upa-ās* is "sit towards" a thing, that is to insist on sharing in a thing in thought and thus in reality, to get hold of the thing in order to attain participation in it. In *Chānd. Up.*, VI, *upa-sad* (cf. *upa-ni-sad*) is similarly used to express the magical desire which, as in sacrifice, compels the realization of its aim as a result of the poured-out energy of mental concentration, an activity therefore (not merely passive adoration) which is bound to obtain the reaction it seeks. In this point, too, Indian thought is not confined to merely rational knowledge, but comprehends the vital forces as well.

Another crux for the Western mind lies in the manifold view which Indian thought takes of the relationship between various things. Similarity in quantity, or proximity in time or space may supply the basis for identifications in India, equally with logical or psychological connections. Hence the doubts expressed by Senart, pp. 92 and 110, as well as the difficulties which confront Western thinkers when they try to account for the manifold linkings of the Buddhist *pratītya-samutpāda*. This manner of identification becomes clear in some cases to Western interpreters as soon they realize India's different presuppositions with respect to the theory of perception. For according to Indian dogma it is, as a rule, not the sense-organ that grasps the thing, but the object that obtains physical and after that logical possession of the organ of reception. This explains the "strange" identification (Senart, p. 33) between the ocean as receptacle of all streams that flow into it and the skin, the organ of touch, the receptacle of all contacts. The activity does not arise from the organ (the *graha*), but from the object (the *ati-graha*, p. 44); as such, the *arthas* are treated in *Ka. Up.*, III, 10, as higher in rank than the merely receptive organs.

A most useful attempt has been made by Senart to trace the connections between the Upaniṣads and the later systems.

Thus he points out (p. 49) that the basic ideas of the *Sāṃkhya* system are already contained in the speculations on the *tantus*, i.e. *guṇas* (add the three *dhātus*, *rūpas*, *bījas*); and he sees the conception of the *mahābhūtas* in the early *bhūtas* of *Chānd. Up.* (pp. 78 and 88). We may add further indications of later *Sāṃkhya* ideas in *Chānd. Up.*, vi. The conception of the *sat* there is parallel to the later conceptions of the *pradhānam* or *avyaktam* (cf. Śāṅkara's explanation of *avyaktam* in *Ka. Up.*, III, 11, for which he employs the very simile of the *sat* of *Chānd. Up.*, VI: *avyaktam* is *śakti*, i.e. the potential productive power of the fig-tree (which is latent already in its kernel); furthermore, the emanation of the psychic organs from primeval matter is already conceived in *Chānd. Up.*, VI, and its idea of the threefold mixture of all manifested things anticipates the *Sāṃkhya* doctrine of the three *guṇas* as constituents of all forms, etc. The old Upaniṣads in fact laid the foundations of all the later systems, as may be seen when on p. 6 Senart finds the later Buddhist pessimism (not towards life, but towards its passing into death) in *Br. Up.*, or when on p. xviii S. or his editors emphasize that "as early as the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-upaniṣad* the *karma* theory was not a mystery to be lightly touched on in passing, but a fully developed dogma". A further anticipation of later systematics may be found in the use of the term *mīmāṃsaka* here, as well as in other early Upaniṣads.

It goes without saying that on some occasions it is not unreasonable to adopt a mode of translation (or interpretation) other than that followed by Senart. For instance his rendering of *pratirūpam* as "beau", "handsome", p. 25, seems less adequate than the simple and literal translation, "counter-form." The image in the waters may be compared with a son; both are "facsimiles" of the original form, the latter being a reflection of qualities inherited from his parents.

To sum up, India's polar view and consequent ambiguity will never admit of a definite and clear-cut Western interpretation, though Senart's translation may be considered the relatively most adequate.

B. HEIMANN.

THE BIRTH OF INDIAN PSYCHOLOGY AND ITS DEVELOPMENT
IN BUDDHISM. By Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$, pp. xii +
444. London : Luzac & Co., 1936.

In the twenty years that have elapsed since Mrs. Rhys Davids published her *Buddhist Psychology* in the Quest series, her views, as set out in a number of books and articles, have undergone substantial change, and the volume under review, as its title indicates, is an entirely rewritten version of the earlier work, enlarged by nine introductory chapters on psychology in earlier Indian literature. The first impression made by the book is the note of surprise running through it that her latest results have found so little acceptance among a younger generation of scholars; and, in view of the magnificent services she has rendered in the past to the cause of Buddhist research, she has surely earned the courtesy of an explanation, however brief, why this should be so.

Psychology, as a separate science attempting to give a complete account of man on his mental and emotional side, was unknown in India during the period under discussion, but several aspects of it were explored with objects in view which differed entirely from those of the modern psychologist. If the nature and extent of those inquiries are to be exactly appreciated, we must first form some conception of the historical order of development as well as of the purposes towards which they were directed. In these respects Mrs. Rhys Davids has this to her credit that she has been a pioneer in recognizing the existence of the problem and in attempting to find a solution; moreover she has collected many passages from the Pāli Canon and, in the present volume, from the Upaniṣads, which have not been adequately considered by others from this point of view. Yet the outcome to most of us is unconvincing. In part the love of the irregular in method, to which she admits, is to blame; and, as her treatment of the Upaniṣads is dependent on her views about Buddhism, my remarks are confined to the latter.

We are perhaps all agreed nowadays that the Pāli Canon, though often preserved in an older state than such fragments of the canons of other schools as have come down to us, contains little early and much late matter, and most of us believe that the separation of the older from the newer can only be achieved by minute and laborious inquiries, based on the principles of the higher criticism and on comparison with all the sources, including the Tibetan and Chinese translations, which are not yet adequately available to us. Mrs. Rhys Davids, however, whose detailed knowledge of the Pāli Canon is generally recognized to be unequalled, prefers to work by intuition, in order to determine the original teaching of the Buddha and the extent to which it was denatured by his followers; and thus she often believes herself able to distinguish in a sūtra those parts which represent old views from the later additions and to point out where the original text has been suppressed. The picture she thus suggests of the process by which the canon took its present shape is in many respects directly opposed to what we know of the manner in which sacred texts in India have been inflated through interpolation and addition, but inevitably in most cases absolute disproof of her assertions is as much out of the question as absolute proof. In one instance it is, however, possible to see to what mistaken results her methods can lead, namely in the remarks on pp. 185-6 on the closing sutta of the *Majjhima*. So far from its beginning being old and from its end being a later substitution for the original ending, the whole belongs to the same period and is one of the latest pieces in the collection; for, as I have pointed out elsewhere, the parallels in Brahmanical literature and the *Vibhāṣā* show the real issue to be the difference between the views of the Hīnayāna Buddhists and of the earlier teachers of Yoga on a disputed point in the practical working of yoga. It is impossible not to suspect similar misconceptions in many other cases where equally cogent proof is lacking.

This particular instance also contains its lesson for the

second aspect in which disagreement is often felt with Mrs. Rhys Davids' views. She looks on early Buddhism as a question of "Becoming", of "the More" and "the Less in Man", and denies, contrary to the general tendency of modern thought, that the practice of yoga was then an essential part of the system; thus she refuses, for instance, to see in the word *dhyāna* any technical significance till a much later age. It may be that she understands by yoga only the Yoga of the classical period; but I for one feel forced to hold, unless we are to deny all validity to the earliest, as well as to the latest parts of the canon, that some form of mystic meditation, to which no name but yoga can well be given, constituted an essential element of Buddhism from the start and was supposed to have certain effects that we should consider both psychical and physical. Thus her constructive formulation of the Buddha's doctrines appears to me to be at complete variance with all we know of Indian thought in the sixth century B.C. and to be too impregnated with modern ideas to offer a satisfying solution of a singularly difficult problem.

To sum up, this volume cannot be carefully studied without arousing in the reader admiration for Mrs. Rhys Davids' knowledge of the canon, nor without profiting him by compelling him to ponder on the true bearing of the evidence she brings forward; but it will also leave most of us with the conviction that for the correct understanding of such psychological ideas as were developed in India during this period other and stricter methods must be employed. Yet let me add that her book is not addressed solely to the captious race of scholars, and perhaps her teaching, however much it misrepresents the original significance of Buddhist thought, may prove an inspiration to Buddhists of the present day who seek to re-interpret the ancient tenets of their religion in the light of modern knowledge and modern conditions.

ENCYCLOPÆDIA MUNDARICA. By Rev. JOHN HOFFMANN, S.J., in collaboration with Rev. ARTHUR VAN EMELÉN. Vols. viii-x. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 2147-3173, letters K, L, M, N, and O. Patna : Supdt. Govt. Printing, Bihar and Orissa, 1933-4. Rs. 6, for each volume.

These volumes maintain the high standard of their predecessors. It is very unfortunate that not long after the publication of the work commenced the Rev. Fr. Hoffmann, who was its principal author, passed away, and quite recently his collaborator, the Rev. A. van Emelen, also suddenly died of heart failure. Fortunately, however, the materials had already been collected by the late Father Hoffmann with the help of his colleagues in the Catholic Mission of Chota Nagpur ; and the compilation of all the Parts was completed before Father van Emelen's sad death. What now remains to be done is only to see the remaining volumes through the press. We trust a competent hand will do this.

In respect of the meaning and scope of Muṇḍārī words, and the descriptions of objects and customs, the information contained in these volumes is generally accurate. But some inferences and opinions of the authors will not command general assent. Thus under the word " Kili ", the authors give a list of clan-names, many of which, as the authors admit, are names of animals, birds, fishes, reptiles, insects, trees and plants, minerals, etc. ; and although mention is made of certain taboos still connected with some of these, yet they go on to say that " Taboos can exist without totemism, and the mere existence among the Muṇḍas of a partial number of taboos, and mitigated ones at that, does not make their clans totemic, does not even prove that they had been so " (pp. 2429-2430). Later this statement is modified or explained as follows : " Our conclusion is, it cannot be proved that the Muṇḍa clans ever were totemic, and it cannot be proved they never were." No ethnologist, we think, can endorse this opinion in the face of the facts set forth by the authors themselves. In fact, when the authors go from facts to theories,

anthropologists cannot always see eye to eye with them. In the matter of facts, too, the authors' inquiries appear to have been limited to data obtainable in Chota Nagpur, or a part of it alone. Thus, under the word "Kharia", we are told that "there are two branches in the tribe, the elder and the younger . . . cow's flesh is taboo to the first, whilst the other may freely partake of it. Another tribe of aborigines, the Dhelkis, though speaking Kharia, are not, however, considered by the two branches as being true Kharias, for the reason that they tattoo their women". Here the Hill Kharia section of the tribe, whose principal centre is the Mayurbhanj State of Orissa, and who are also found in the Manbhum and Singbhum districts of Chota Nagpur, are altogether ignored. Nor is there sufficient reason for saying that the Dhelki section are not true Kharias. Not only language, but close similarity and, in many cases, identity of customs point to their being different branches of the same tribe.

Another defect is perhaps the prolixity of the discussions under a few words. In spite of these shortcomings, these volumes form a standing monument to the authors' industry, their intimate knowledge of the Muṇḍa language and customs, history, and traditions, and, last but not least, their keen sympathy with the Muṇḍas.

A. 401.

S. C. Roy.

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA: AN ETHNOLOGICAL STUDY. By G. J. HELD. 9½ × 6, pp. vii + 348. London: Kegan Paul, 1935.

This volume is described as an ethnological study; its purpose then is in the first place to determine and define the form of human society represented in the Epic. Only after this has been done will it be profitable to examine in detail the Epic itself.

What then is the social organization described? The author stresses the fact that the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas

are represented as brothers ; there was thus an intimate family relationship between the two contending parties :—

“ The relation between the two parties is undoubtedly pictured by the poet as a phratry-relation. . . . The Kauravas are the elder, the Pāṇḍavas the younger brothers. The Asuras are on the side of the Kauravas, the Devas on the side of the Pāṇḍavas. The Kauravas lose, the Pāṇḍavas gain in power. During the actual battle the Kauravas are drawn up in the east, their faces turned to the west ; so they fought with their faces backward (paśchānmukha) like the Daityas, the Pāṇḍavas fighting with their faces front (prānmukha) like the Devas. ‘ Śiva . . . lives with the Kurus.’ Kṛishṇa-Vishṇu belongs to the Pāṇḍavas. There is no mention . . . of a succession of royal dynasties, but simply of two separate groups related to each other as are the twin phratries of a tribe.”

The dice-playing episode, which is—as has been demonstrated by Mauss—nothing but an episode in a gigantic potlatch, is consistent with the idea of a group dualism. These groups the author refers to as phratries, and this is well enough, provided that the term phratry is not used in too precise a sense. If this be granted, the question arises whether a phratry relationship such as Dr. Held argues existed between the contending parties in the Epic can be considered to fit the social structure of India during the period of creation of the Epic. The author seems to have little doubt as to the answer, and without endorsing all that he writes about the potlatch it must be admitted that the following is very much to the point :—

“ In the . . . [potlatch] . . . opportunities present themselves of bringing about alterations in the social hierarchy. . . . On such occasions the rival parties encounter one another in ceremonial contests and even in hostile combat ; . . . they attempt to outrival one another and to make one another ‘ feel small ’ by displaying an excessive liberality and revelling in a forced extravagance.”

Moreover, Dr. Held believes that there is evidence that in

relatively primitive societies characters inherent in clan-organization still continue to exist after exogamy has given way to endogamy, i.e. there are groups within the society which continue to behave in some respects as if they were clans. Thus the older social structure, characterized by a phratry-like dualism, persists functionally after the phratries themselves have ceased to exist.

The discussion in the first chapter concerning caste, exogamy, and hypergamy, is particularly interesting. Caste is derived from the clan, one group (again the author uses the term phratry) is higher than the other. As exclusiveness becomes intensified, co-operation lessens, or at any rate assumes new forms, and this Dr. Held takes to be the dynamic element in the formation of castes.

As to the date of the Epic, Dr. Held claims that in broad outline the poem must have existed simultaneously with the social system it illustrates, which he considers is probably the period of the Brāhmaṇas.

A. 482.

C. G. SELIGMAN.

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF THE THIRD DYNASTY OF VIJAYANAGAR. By N. VENKATA RAMANAYYA. Madras University Historical Series, No. 11. $10\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$, pp. xxxvii + 537. Madras : University of Madras, 1935.

Of Tuluva history (the dynasty lasted but two generations) Dr. Venkata Ramanayya concerns himself only with the fourteen years following the death of Krishna Rāya, in the course of which the ambitions of wicked uncles reduced the royal lineage to impotence. This limitation enables him to deal squarely with the mass of material with which the historian of Vijayanagar is apt to be snowed under.

The reign of Krishna Rāya opens the "Augustan Age" of Telugu literature, the characteristic feature of which is the *prabandha*, a variety of *kāvya* enriched with allusions to contemporary political and social life. In these poems, *inter*

alia, Dr. Venkata Ramanayya finds a valuable "source" for his main theme, the administrative, social, and religious aspects of South Indian civilization in the early sixteenth century; provided always that it is checked with the evidence of inscriptions and contemporary writers such as Paes, Nuniz, and Barbosa, on which he freely draws.

Of the weakness of his sources he is well aware, for only a fraction of the literary and epigraphic material has been critically edited, the "Mackenzie MSS." are still pathetically neglected, and the architecture, painting, and sculpture of the period have not yet been seriously studied. He is discreet, however, in the selection of his facts, and orderly in their arrangement. Perhaps his chapter on taxation is the best, but in a book so well balanced it is hard to discriminate. He writes with detachment, untainted with advocacy, and he mercifully spares his readers citations from the Sanskrit scriptures of Northern India. His picture of Tuluva India is very like the South India of yesterday.

In an appendix he identifies the "Catuir" of Nuniz with Kāyattār in Tinnevely; in another he explodes the pretty story of the foundation of the Nāyaka dynasty of Madura. A map of administrative divisions would be helpful; the publications listed under "abbreviations" ought to be dated. On pp. 302, 382 the numbering of his "sections" has gone wrong.

A. 573.

F. J. RICHARDS.

THE CENTRAL STRUCTURE OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE AND ITS PRACTICAL WORKING UP TO THE YEAR 1657. By (†) IBN HASAN. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. ix + 398, pls. 4. London: Oxford University Press, 1936. 18s. net.

This substantial volume, a successful thesis for the London Ph.D., contains much good work and the promise of better work to come, a promise frustrated by the author's untimely death. Based on very wide reading, it reviews in succession

the activities of the emperor himself and of his principal ministers, as well as the judicial system of the time: the organization of the Imperial Service was reserved for separate treatment, but in other respects the survey is complete. With one exception the account of the various departments seems to me to be satisfactory, though the description of judicial procedure could have been strengthened by including the observations of the Dutch merchant Geleynssen de Jongh, of which I gave a version in the *Journal of Indian History* for April, 1925. The exception is the relation of the general with the revenue administration, where it seems to me that the author did not quite get to the root of the matter; but to explain this would require a lengthy disquisition, so I must content myself with a caveat and the suggestion that an examination of various passages containing the phrase *mulkā wa māli* would have carried the discussion further.

The author's attitude to his authorities is as a rule reasonable, but it seems to me that he overrated (p. 27) the compilation of de Laet, which he placed next to Monserrate among the European records, while he depreciated Roe, Terry, and Pelsaert, who are de Laet's most important sources for the Mughal court: the compiler is not above his sources except in the manner of presentation. The statement (p. 26) that Monserrate said *jāgirs* were hereditary is based on the published translation, but I have shown in the *Journal of Indian History* for April, 1936, that it does not appear in the text. A more general fault is the tendency to follow the original authorities too closely: a good deal of superfluous matter is thus carried over into the thesis, while Chapter III on *Farmāns* is nearly as difficult as the crabbed original. Such defects do not, however, detract materially from the value of the work. The book is well printed, and the only slip I have noticed is the omission of two ciphers in the equivalent given for a *kror* of *dāms* on p. 282.

LE DICT DE PADMA. PADMA THANG YIG. MS. de Lithang.
 Traduit du Thibétain par GUSTAVE-CHARLES TOUSSAINT.
 Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises.
 Vol. III, pp. 540. Paris : E. Leroux, 1933.

This work is a complete translation of the famous compilation in which the legend of Padmasambhava, the Guru Rin po c'e, as he is usually called in Tibet, has been set out at length. The work of course is not unique. Round the celebrated figure of the so-called founder of Lamaism centred a vast literature which has not yet been properly studied, but which is likely to throw great light upon the traditions and religious development of Tibet. M. Toussaint is to be congratulated upon attempting a full translation of such an extensive and difficult work as the *Urgyan Guru Pad ma abyun gnas kyi rnam t'ar rgyas pa gser gyi p'reñ pa t'ar lam gsal byed*.

But, as I had occasion to point out when reviewing in this Journal the translation of the biography of Nāropā¹ by the late Professor Grünwedel, it must be admitted that very few translators of Tibetan works seem to have as yet realized that mere knowledge of the Tibetan language is not enough for arriving at the proper meaning of these difficult texts, which are, as a rule, permeated with mystic ideas and continually refer to tantric practices or to esoteric doctrines, without a knowledge of which any attempt at translation can hardly be successful.

I quote the very beginning of the book. M. Toussaint translates :—

La princesse Mandāravā
 et Kālasiddhi de la ville Oū-macère-la-Laine
 et Çākyadevī la Nepālaise
 et Maṅgalā meneuse de chiens l'Himālayenne
 et encore Reine-de-la-Mer-de-Gnose
 elles cinq qui vinrent au cœur du Maître
 ayant en vue l'orientation de conquête

¹ Oct., 1935, pp. 677-688, *À propos* the legend of Naropa.

et la permanence des Trois Joyaux
 et l'accord des deux doctrines dissemblables
 ayant en vue les voies des Textes et des Formules et le
 dogme d'absolue sagesse,
 la propitiation par les charmes d'approche
 et l'intuition qui saisit les maximes de vérité,
 ont fixé pour l'avenir pur, puis déposé mystérieusement
 en dix mille neuf cents recensions, l'Histoire
 de l'œuvre vaste où se donna corps, verbe, esprit,
 le Maître d'Oḍḍiyāna Padmasambhava.

The translation should be as follows :—

The princess Mandāravā and Kālasiddhi of Bal-ābaṇs and Śākyadevī (printed text—*deva*) of Nepal and bkra śis k'ye adren ¹ the Mon and the woman Ye šes mts'o rgyal, these five women entered the heart of the Master ² ; (then desiring) to be the leaders of men having the Karmic capacity of being converted, to establish (the supremacy) of the three jewels and to compose all disagreement between the two kinds of teachings,³ and aiming at a proper understanding of the right meaning of the true revelation (contained) in the sūtra and the tantras (representing) the essential teaching of the gnosis (*prajñā*) and of the praxis (*upāya*) and in the appendices (formed) by the instructions concerning the secret *mantras* ⁴ they compiled 10,900 biographies of Padmasambhava, the Guru of Orgyan which expound fully his merits in the three

¹ All xylographs and manuscripts at my disposal read *k'ye adren* ; *K'ye* is the name of a disease. *Mon* is the generical name for the non-Tibetan tribes of the frontier.

² The five goddesses enter into Padmasambhava, here considered as the supreme reality, in order to be unified with his *vajrakāya* and to obtain from him the spiritual inspiration of the things which they will reveal. This is the usual process of tantric revelation. I may here refer to the beginning of the Guhyasamāja, where each of the five *tathāgatas* expounds his *vidyā* after entering the body of Mahāvajradhara and emanating again from him.

³ Viz. the two *yānas*.

⁴ This passage refers to the tantric classification of Mahāyāna literature into three groups : (a) Sūtras of the Prajñāpāramitā section ; (b) *mantra* section ; (c) *guhyamantra* section.

planes, the physical, the verbal, and the spiritual : adding to them the prophecies of the future ; they hid them.¹

Another example :—

A celui-là le ciel occidental Disposé-en-Lotus.

Se déclatant au sol en damiers d'or,

Il cherche et il ne trouve plus le nom éteint du Meru terrestre.

Étendant frondaisons et fleurs de l'arbre de l'Éveil,

il cherche et il ne trouve plus le nom éteint des plants fruitiers et des forêts.

Plongeant au Gange de la concentration,

il cherche et il ne trouve plus le nom éteint des ruis et des fleuves.

Dedans l'arc flamboyant de la sagesse comprise,

il cherche et il ne trouve plus le nom éteint du feu du monde.

This passage seems to me quite unintelligible, but the Tibetan text is quite clear and contains the description of the world in which the western Paradise is situated : “ There, in the western quarter there is a world called Padmavyūha : there with the exception of the golden surface appearing to the eyes even the name of (any other kind) of soil—mountains or rocks—is not known, and even if one searches for it one cannot find it. With the exception of the ripe fruits of the tree of illumination even the name of (other) gardens and fruit-trees is unknown, and even if one searches for them one cannot find them. With the exception of the flowing stream possessed of the eight qualities of meditation not even the name of (other) kind of water is known, and if one searches for it one cannot find it. With the exception of the flames of that fire which is the gnosis, not even the name of mundane fire is known, and if one searches for it one cannot find it.” ²

I have chosen these two examples out of many which I could easily find on every page. The conclusion is that the *Padma t'añ yig* still awaits a translator.

N. R. 41.

GIUSEPPE TUCCI.

¹ And owing to this fact they are called *gter ma*.

² This description is quite in accordance with that of the *Sukhāvatīvyūha*, pp. 36 ff.

THE BUDDHIST PHILOSOPHY OF UNIVERSAL FLUX. An exposition of the philosophy of critical realism as expounded by the school of Dignāga. By SATKARI MOOKERJEE. 10 × 6½, pp. xiv + 448. Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1935.

This essay is a university thesis which the writer was sufficiently wise to withhold from publication for some three years of revision. Had he made these thrice three he had been yet wiser. This is not to derogate from the merits of the work thus revised ; it is but the suggestion, that a theme so ambitious as this in religion or philosophy or both, should largely be the outcome of at least a decade of spiritual (not merely of intellectual and physical) maturing. The hothouse growth, engendered in preparing such a thesis for a degree, needs to be tested by a span of less artificially forced manuring. Had this been done, it is possible that, say by the year 1944, he might have come to see things in truer perspective.

Thus, restricting wisely enough his exposition, with regard to the extraordinary breadth of title of his chair, he has aimed at giving "without the historical side" (p. xxxvi) or "the purely idealistic side", the metaphysic and epistemology of Dignāga's Sautrantika philosophy, of about A.D. 500. Of this study we are invited to read over 440 pages. Now it will be perhaps called a Philistine view to say, that since there are not and probably never will be more than fifty persons in the whole world who are wanting to know what Dignāga, cross-legged, will have thought about these topics, it was not a profitable task to lay before us. The one thing it might be to our interest to know is just the *history* of Dignāga ; how, if at all, and why, is he a link in the human thought that eventually has brought us from the Veda poet, from Yājñavalkya, from Kapila, from Gotama of the Śākyas to us of to-day. We must, of course, know Dignāga's thought to answer this ; but a tithe of the 440 pages had sufficed for that. In the brief introduction the author flings himself with zest into the *tabu*-ed history, and we read gladly.

But it is as historical critic that he most shows need of that extra decade. The chapters on Nirvana are by no means confined to his special topic (pp. 236 ff.). And here we read about the "clarion voice of the Lord Buddha" calling it the *summum bonum*, when some of us know that the beloved chief co-worker Sāriputta is shown saying nothing of the sort, but calling it a cathartic in the gradual purging of *rāga*, *dosa*, *moha*, and when too we can see, without much insight called for, in the First Utterance, that, sharing the *summum* with three other rivals, nirvana is shown as having replaced the original term for the highest aim: the *attha*, the *attha* called *samparāyika*, "of other worlds." It is worth any amount of time and eyesight to study what helpers of man like these two thought and taught. But at the academician pure and simple we draw the line.

A. 588.

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

UTTARARĀMACARITA. Traduit et annoté par NADINE STCHOUPAK. Collection ÉMILE SENART, iv. 8 × 5, pp. lxxii + 167. Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres", 1935.

This is another of the admirable translations with text opposite, for which we are indebted to the Collection Émile Senart. Executed by a scholar who has made a special study of Bhavabhūti's works, the translation is sound and is accompanied by excellent notes with a number of parallels. A few minor points are open to criticism; thus should not *ussāvedi* on p. 51, glossed by *ucchvāsayati*, be taken rather as standing for *ucchrāpayati*, presuming the text to be correct? The introduction has an interesting section on the dramatist's language and style, but, to the reviewer's regret, does not deal at length with the question of the authenticity of the last two acts, a point which has been discussed occasionally in India of recent years and on which no one is in a better position than a translator to form definite views.

A. 616.

E. H. JOHNSTON.

BHĀRATĪYA ANUŚĪLANA. A Collection of Essays in Hindi, English, German, etc. Compiled and edited by the HINDĪ SĀHITYA SAMMELANA (Hindi Literary Conference). $12\frac{3}{4} \times 10$, pp. xix + 536, pls. 8. Allahabad: Hindi Literary Conference, 1934.

The book contains a collection of some sixty treatises on historical, literary, philological, and other subjects appertaining to India and is dedicated to that distinguished scholar and historian Mahamahopādhyāya Rai Bahādur Gaurīshankar Hirāchand Ojhā. A large number of the treatises are written in Hindī, the remainder in a variety of other languages, both European and Oriental; where the treatise is not in Hindī, a précis of the subject dealt with is given in that language.

The contributions are all of a scholarly and interesting nature and it would be invidious to single out any for particular comment. Owing to the fact that the book had to be rushed through the press, and that there was therefore not time for all the proofs to be checked, a certain number of printing errors occur; these do not, however, detract greatly from the usefulness of the work.

The book is a fitting tribute to a great scholar and cannot fail to be of value to those interested in Indian subjects.

A. 639.

E. HARCOURT.

TARKA TĀNPAVAM OF SRĪ VYĀSATĪRTHA with the commentary, NYĀYADĪPA OF SRĪ RĀGHAVĒNDRATĪRTHA. Edited by D. SRINIVASACHAR, VIDVAN V. MADHWACHAR, and VIDVAN A. VYASACHAR. $9 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, vol. i, pp. xlvī + 506, 1932. Rs. 3. Vol. ii, pp. iv + 402, 1935. Rs. 2. Mysore: Government Branch Press.

Except for Dr. Betty Heimann's able study of Mādhva in her edition of his commentary on the Kāṭha Upanishad, his system of *dvaitavāda* has been almost wholly neglected in Europe. The chief reason no doubt has been the lack of printed texts. Yet as the most thorough-going of the Indian

opponents of Śaṅkara and as a factor in the Vaiṣṇava movement, Mādhva deserves notice. Sir S. Radhakrishnan even suggests the influence of Christianity. One of his most important followers was Vyāsatīrtha or Vyāsarāja in the sixteenth century. The work here edited deals with the nature of proof, the divine origin of the Veda, the doctrine of *īśvara*, etc., and should be of great value for the study of the logical and epistemological aspects of the system. It contains an introduction in Sanskrit giving biographical details and an analysis of the first volume. The notes are confined to the record of variants, and a third volume will complete the work.

A. 652.

E. J. THOMAS.

THE VAISHNAVAS OF GUJARAT. Being a Study in Methods of Investigation of Social Phenomena. By N. A. THOOTHY. Regional and Sociological Studies (Mainly Indian). $9 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xvi + 489. Calcutta: Longmans, Green and Co., 1935.

This is the first volume in a new series on sociology inaugurated by the Reader in that subject to the University of Bombay. Though the survey is restricted, as indicated by the title, to the Vaiṣṇavas, the latter form so large a proportion of the total population of Gujarāt that for practical purposes we can take the study as covering the entire Hindu community. The book maintains a high standard throughout and the treatment is thorough, if at times erring a little on the side of discursiveness; Dr. Thoothy appears in fact to have an occasional weakness for the use of scientific jargon to disguise those points in which he has not dug into his matter deep enough to arrive at bedrock. Subject to this minor defect, he gives an extremely interesting account of the Vaiṣṇavas, and is at his best in describing the effect of religious doctrines on their social organization. A novel point to me is his description of the actual manner in which

the legal principles of *strīdhana* work (pp. 151 ff.); students of the present position of women in India would be well advised to ponder on it. The excellence of the book on the religious side is due in great part to the manner in which the author, though a Pārsī, succeeds in identifying himself with the Vaiṣṇavas, even to the extent of absorbing their prejudices.

This preoccupation with the religious motif has, however, to some degree obscured his handling of the subject in its political and economic aspects; though his account of Gujarātī society as it was is not much damaged thereby, yet his hand does lose some sureness of touch, when he comes to deal with the revolutionary social changes now in progress. The organization of castes and urban guilds owed its peculiar toughness in part to the non-existence of governments which could ensure stable political and economic conditions for the people at large; and it is significant that Dr. Thoothi finds an earlier movement towards the reformation of the structure during the period when the Mughal government was able to guarantee some degree of such stability. It would have been better, therefore, if he had studied in detail the effects of British rule on the social organization with regard to the Government's assumption of functions previously performed by the castes and to the action (or inaction) of the law courts where the enforcement of caste regulations is concerned. But, though I find this part of his work somewhat inconclusive, I fully recognize the difficulty of ascertaining the facts and of interpreting them correctly, and trust that he will be successful in keeping the further volumes of the series up to the level he has attained.

A. 736.

E. H. JOHNSTON.

THE ENGLISH FACTORIES IN INDIA, 1670-1677. By SIR CHARLES FAWCETT. Vol. I (New Series): The Western Presidency. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, pp. xxviii + 389, pls. 10, map 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936. 18s.

The continuation of the work of Sir William Foster, whose publications of the early records of the East India Company are well known to all students of Indian history, has now been entrusted to Sir Charles Fawcett, of the Indian Civil Service. On retiring from the High Court in Bombay, this officer wrote a history of the origin and early days of that institution. He has, therefore, special qualifications for the work now in hand.

The present volume deals with the Western Presidency. Much of the material has already been utilized in previous works dealing with Bombay City and the Presidency of Bombay. It will therefore be already familiar ground to the reader.

It is interesting to note that, among many other points that arrest the student's attention, the compiler (see p. 300, footnote) has not been able to establish the truth of the tradition to which Campbell, following Hamilton, gives currency regarding the destruction of the Bhatkal factory and all its members by an infuriated Hindu mob on account of an accident to a sacred cow for which the factory was held responsible. Further research may yet reveal the facts which gave rise to this tradition.

These pages are full of interesting details, and yield an accurate picture of the struggles and vicissitudes of the company's representatives in its early days. The notes are useful, and the illustrations, though few in number, excellent of their kind.

Further volumes will be awaited with gratitude to the editor for the skilful way in which he is discharging his task.

THE GAIKWADS OF BARODA. Edited by J. H. GENSE and D. R. BANAJI. English Documents. Vol. i. Pilaji and Damaji Gaikwads (1720-1768). 10 × 7, pp. xxiv + 174, pl. 1. Bombay : D. B. Taraporewala, 1936. Rs. 4.

This is an important collection of English documents, and it will be useful to any writer dealing with particular events connected with the history of Surat and Gujarāt and the gradual growth of the Marāṭhā power in this part of India, or concerned with the beginnings of the present Gāikwād dynasty of Baroda. To the general student of Indian history it is of much less use, for it deals only with details which appear to have little bearing on the general development of main events. These details can indeed hardly be understood without an extensive knowledge of surrounding circumstances, and the ordinary reader may be excused if he thinks that Messrs. Gense and Banaji's compilation would have been improved if each section had contained a more detailed exposition of the historical conditions of the time. The authors appear to recognize this, for they write in their rather flowery foreword that the study of their documents "will contribute towards the foundation of the historical edifice that some enthusiastic worker may be (at)tempted to erect". The book is, in fact, one for which a future historian of detailed Gujarāt history will be grateful. One can easily imagine cases where doubtful points will be cleared up by these genuine contemporary documents, and their publication is a service to the cause of historical truth, for which we must be grateful.

The section dealing with the capture of Surat Castle contains many interesting and important documents which were possibly not all available to the late Sir James Campbell when he compiled the volume of the *Bombay Gazetteer* dealing with the District of Surat. But that distinguished writer certainly had access to some of these papers, for he refers to Surat Diaries and Surat Papers as his authority for certain descriptions. In the introduction to this section Messrs. Gense

and Banaji refer to the part played by the Marāṭhās in frustrating the first plan to take Surat Castle. This is quite clearly recognized by Campbell, and by Grant Duff before him, and it, at least, is not one of the "new vistas, the very existence of which is not even hinted at in the *Gazetteer*". The *Gazetteer* necessarily avoids details, but we cannot conclude that such details could not have been given had there been room for them.

The Introduction gives an interesting account of the Gāikwād family down to the accession of the present Mahārāja of Baroda in 1875. But the documents cited are almost wholly concerned with events occurring during the lifetime of Dāmāji Gāikwād, who died more than a century before 1875, and it is not easy to see the relevancy of the material offered to the Gāikwād history subsequent to Dāmāji's death. Even the extract from Duncan's valuable minute of 1798 only deals with Surat affairs down to the surrender of the castle in 1759.

The book is well arranged and has been admirably printed. The index is, perhaps, inadequate.

A. 751.

C. N. SEDDON.

EVEREST : THE CHALLENGE. By SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND.

9 × 6½, pp. ix + 243, ill. 16, maps 4. London : Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1936. 12s. 6d.

As long ago as 1907 Dr. T. G. Longstaff, Brig.-Gen. the Hon. C. G. Bruce, and the late A. L. Mumm sought permission to explore the approaches to Mount Everest and if possible attempt the summit, but it was not until after the War, when Sir Francis Younghusband succeeded to the Presidency of the Royal Geographical Society, that the idea took definite shape and the Mount Everest Committee was formed with Sir Francis as its first chairman. Since 1921 there have been six expeditions, of which two were reconnaissances and four "full dress" attempts to reach the summit. That so much has been done is largely due to the

original enthusiasm and support given to the project by Sir Francis, and there is, therefore, no one better qualified to write of one of the last great adventures left to mankind on the surface of this Earth.

In this book Sir Francis, although making Everest his principal theme, deals generally with Himalayan mountaineering and traces the development of a technique, mental as well as physical, that must one day lead to the conquest of the greatest Himalayan peaks, including as he confidently believes, Everest.

Among these expeditions are the attempts on Kangchenjunga and on Nanga Parbat by German expeditions, and various British expeditions including Shipton's and Tilman's exploration of the Nanda Devi basin, the Kamet expedition, the Marco Pallis expedition, and the second ascent of Trisul by Captain P. R. Oliver, all of which, and many others, have accumulated knowledge in the special technique of high altitude mountaineering and the problems of equipment and portorage which are equally vital to success on Everest.

As this book abundantly shows, Sir Francis sees far more than a mere physical challenge in a lofty Himalayan peak, and in his chapter "Unity with Nature" he strives to define, not unsuccessfully, the explorer's spiritual relationship with his majestic environment, a relationship which finds a practical expression in the Hindu pilgrimages to the sources of the Ganges and the sacred peak of Kailas in Tibet. From the Hindu sage who meditated on the Himalayas and wrote, "as the dew is dried up by the morning sun so are the sins of man by the sight of Himāchal," to the climber on Everest at his last gasp, cursing the weather, the cold, the food, and the discomfort, may seem a long journey for the human mind, but Sir Francis is at pains to prove that the connection is very real and the journey, in reality, very short. Thus, his book may be divided into action and reflection, the two being inevitably associated in the Everest adventure, where "acclimatization of both mind and body" are necessary.

The Himalayas in all their aspects, from the sterile slopes of Everest to the luxuriant valleys on the Indian side, with their teeming wild life, their flowerful alps, and happy contented peoples are revealed in the latter half of the book, and to cap all there is a delightful chapter on "Starry nights", which must bring to the minds of all Himalayan travellers memories of the glory of the firmament viewed through the moistureless atmosphere of great altitudes.

The original edition, published in the spring of 1936, has been brought up to date with an account of the 1936 Everest Expedition. Sir Francis treads debatable ground when he suggests a final camp on the final pyramid, as it would not be possible to retreat in the event of even a slight snowfall. To what degree are climbers entitled to risk their lives *and* those of their porters? That Everest cannot be climbed without risk, goes without saying, but with the terrible tragedy of Nanga Parbat still fresh in memory, and the reckless throwing away of lives on the North Wall of the Eiger, it behoves British mountaineers to set an irreproachable standard of sanity and maintain their sense of responsibility towards the gallant Sherpas who so cheerfully entrust their lives to them. It is the belief of Everest climbers that Everest can be climbed without descending to any degrading "do or die" methods, so sadly apparent in certain Continental climbing circles to-day. It is often braver to turn back than go forward on a mountain.

Many of the misprints in the original edition have been corrected, but there still remain a few.

Sir Francis has had as his object "to attract the attention of the world to the Himalaya", and there is no doubt that many who read this book will feel themselves drawn towards the grandest and most beautiful region of the Earth.

NAGPUR UNIVERSITY JOURNAL. No. 1, December, 1935.

10 × 7½, pp. 84. Nagpur : Bangalore Press, 1935. Rs. 5.

Following the example set by several of the older universities in India, the Nagpur University has started a journal of its own, which it is proposed at present to publish annually. This first issue comprises an assemblage of seven papers on a wide range of subjects, from epigraphy, linguistics, and history to the yield and mineral composition of pasture grasses, and a detailed report of excavations at the Dorothy Deep Rock-shelter No. 1 in the Mahadeo Hills.

The format is convenient and the printing clear, and the personnel of the editorial board should guarantee efficient editing. We wish the journal a successful future.

A. 724.

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

Art, Archaeology, Anthropology

THE MIRROR OF GESTURE. Being the *Abhinaya Darpana* of Nandikeśvara. Translated by ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY and DUGGIRĀLA GOPĀLAKRISHNĀYYA. 9½ × 6½, pp. 81, pls. 20. New York : E. Weyhe, 1936. \$5.00.

The first edition of this book appeared in 1917, and this, the second, edition differs from it by various minor improvements and additions which need not be particularized. A useful, if somewhat dry, introduction to the subject for those who wish to study the technique of Indian dancing, it would have been far easier to consult if Dr. Coomaraswamy had added an index of the Sanskrit technical terms explained in it.

A. 759.

E. H. JOHNSTON.

THE BRITISH MUSEUM QUARTERLY. Vols. viii-xi, Part 1. 10 × 7½, pp. (average per part) 32, pls. 16. London : Published by the Trustees, 1933-6. Each part 2s. 6d.

It is impossible to give any proportionate survey of this Quarterly which records the additions of greater or less importance that are continuously being made to the British Museum. It must suffice to say that it is admirably printed and illustrated, adequately indexed according to the different

Departments, and that it includes Recent Publications, Post Cards, and Appointments. A new department was formed in 1933, combining portions of the existing Departments of Ceramics and Ethnography, and of Prints and Drawings; it is a step in the direction of a Central Museum of Asiatic Art and Antiquities and an independent Department or Museum of Ethnology (vol. viii, p. 60).

Out of the numerous items the following may be specially mentioned: an account of the Codex Sinaiticus with plates (vol. viii, No. 77), the official pamphlet on it (*ibid.*, p. 163), the binding of the Codex (vol. x, pp. 180 sqq.), and three letters of Tischendorf (vol. ix, No. 21). A remarkable fragment of what is regarded as a hitherto unknown Gospel, though one apparently related to the Fourth Gospel, is heralded in vol. ix, No. 49. In the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities may be noted an early painted vase (vol. viii, No. 39), the Babylonian frog amulet (vol. x, No. 4), the account of the result of a fresh examination of one of the sculptures discovered long ago by Layard (vol. x, No. 29), and a summary of the British Museum excavations at Tall Chager Bazar, 1935 (*ibid.*, No. 67). Among Egyptian items may be mentioned an important addition to the collection of demotic papyri from the Saïte and Persian periods (vol. ix, No. 93), and a useful statement of the results of the application of infra-red photography to the decipherment of illegible leather MSS. In the Department of Oriental MSS. numerous additions of Persian MSS. are recorded (especially vol. viii, No. 112; vol. ix, Nos. 23, 24); and a hitherto unknown commentary on the Mishnah is described (vol. ix, No. 43). Among the various "Commemorations" are included those of Firdausi (vol. ix, p. 65 sq.) and Maimonides (vol. x, pp. 39 sqq.).

With its clear print, its numerous plates and illustrations, and its almost unlimited range of contents this really fascinating Quarterly is indispensable to all who are at all seriously interested in any of the subjects covered by the Departments of the British Museum.

Biblical Archaeology

ABRAHAM. Recent Discoveries and Hebrew Origins. By

SIR LEONARD WOOLLEY. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 299, map 1.

London: Faber & Faber, 1936. 7s. 6d.

In this work the distinguished excavator of Ur seeks to show (a) what the Hebrews, through Abraham, owed to the Sumerian city, and (b) how the Biblical story of the patriarch might be read in the light of modern archaeological discoveries.

Sir Leonard thinks that the Hebrews received a good deal of their most ancient cosmology and mythology from Ur, and that the influence of Sumeria can be detected in the early chapters of Genesis. In this part of his study he treads familiar ground, but adds many illuminating and arresting points to previous conclusions. Thus, a good point is made when it is observed that the narratives of Genesis cannot be contemporary with the events they record, since nobody wrote that kind of literature until a much later age. Similarly, Sir Leonard performs a valuable service in calling attention to the Horites (or Hurrians) as an important, but hitherto neglected, influence in the evolution of Hebrew culture. Following up earlier observations by Father Burrows, he shows that the story of Noah may well have come through a Horite medium, since in the Horite story of the Flood the hero is called by the similar name of Naḥ-mol-el.

There are some details in this part of the work, however, to which objection may be taken and which seem to depend upon errors of method. Thus, following eminent predecessors, Sir Leonard asserts that a trace of Sumerian origin may be detected in Genesis i, in the equation of the Hebrew word *tehom* (deep) with the Babylonian Tiamat—dragon of primeval chaos. To this it may at once be objected that because a word derives from a piece of ancient mythology this does not prove that every subsequent use of it is inspired thereby. Our English word "trivial", for instance, derives from a Roman superstition about the meeting of three ways, and our English word "tawdry" from the festival of St. Audrey, yet who

would assert that every modern use of them is really inspired by these ancient connections? Moreover, the Ras Shamra texts, in which the word simply means "ocean", show that *tehom* had already lost any earlier mythological meaning by the fourteenth century B.C.

Again, in discussing the story of the Flood, Sir Leonard says that the mention of bitumen (Genesis xi, 3) and of Ararat (i.e. Armenia) alike evidence a Mesopotamian provenance, yet neither point is really conclusive. Bituminous pits are mentioned in Genesis xiv, 10, as situated by the Dead Sea, whilst Ararat may have been mentioned merely to suggest remoteness, just as we speak of Timbuctoo. In one of the Ras Shamra texts, far-away districts near the land of Na'iri seem to be mentioned with similar intent.

Whilst his chapters make absorbing reading, Sir Leonard seems to have laid too much emphasis upon Ur and too little upon the later migration of Abraham to the south of Palestine. It is in these southern traditions that we should doubtless see the origin of many a Biblical story, since the Israelite confederation, whose literature the Bible is, seems to have been composed in large measure from southern tribes. The fact that Israelite saga had to bring the Sumerian-born patriarch to the south shows clearly that southern connections bulked largely in the popular consciousness. This is somewhat illuminated by the Ras Shamra texts, one of which describes a war in the south between the Terachites (i.e. a moon-worshipping horde identical with the Abrahamic Hebrews?) and the prince of Zidon.

With regard to Abraham himself, Sir Leonard presents a novel solution of the difficulty that the patriarch is said to have lived for 175 years. As Sir Leonard remarks, this unconscionable age is all right for older semi-mythological ancestors, but not for so historic a character as Abraham. He therefore thinks that in an early list of ancestors, in which only the leading figure of each generation was named, an earlier Abram and a later Abraham had been telescoped

together, the sum total of the years of their two or more generations being then taken as the age of a single person! Analogies from Sumerian King-lists are adduced in support of this. The solution is certainly novel, but it may be suggested alternatively that Abram and Abraham represent northern (i.e. Sumerian) and southern variations of the same name, and that since the traditions often conflicted in the matter of chronology it was necessary to make the patriarch live an extra long life in order to cover the discrepancies.

Lastly, Sir Leonard has some illuminating remarks upon the possible sources of the Biblical stories in ancient legal records and similar documents. That some of these sources were written in syllabic cuneiform has already been shown by Sayce (*JRAS.*, 1931, p. 785, n. 1). Only thus can we account for such variants as, e.g., *Mil-cah* and *Is-cah* in Genesis xi, 29. The present writer believes that the stories also contain distorted explanations of several ancient expressions and *termini technici*, the true meaning of which was lost to the more recent writers.

Further, it is to be observed that several of the motifs attached to Abraham in the Israelitic story are attached to the chieftain Teraḥ in the Ras Shamra story of how the Terachids invaded the south of Palestine. This shows that in popular saga Abraham replaced some older hero, or rather some ideal hero of antiquity variously identified by the several tribes and caravans which went to make up Israel. Thus, the Biblical story of Abraham is but an attempt to make connected history out of several duplicate and often overlapping tales, all derived from a common source.

Despite the few points to which objection may be taken, this is an illuminating and fascinating book. The description of Ur is especially interesting, whilst the candour and frank approach to difficulties which characterize the entire volume will commend it both to serious students and to the general public. Sir Leonard is to be thanked for a timely work.

DIE ZWÖLF KLEINEN PROPHETEN, HOSEA BIS MICHA. By THEODORE H. ROBINSON. Handbuch zum Alten Testament. Erste Reihe 14. 10 × 7. pp. 160. Tübingen: F. C. B. Mohr-Paul Siebeck, 1936.

The appearance of the work of an English scholar in a commentary under German editorship is most welcome. This Lieferung (but for the last few pages) contains nothing but Professor Robinson's work. The difficulty of saying anything new in a commentary on the Old Testament is notorious: therefore the reader will be the more interested in the discussion which the author devotes to the theory (first suggested by Dr. Oesterley, I think), that there was a considerable migration of northern Israelites to Egypt in Hosea's day, and that these may have formed the nucleus of the Jewish community at Elephantine. Again, the suggestion that Hosea vi, 1-3, and xiv, 2-8, were penitential liturgies is worthy of note.

The plan of the series is to give a revised translation of the Hebrew text with critical and philological notes and a discussion of the meaning of paragraphs which appear to form a single context. On the whole the author appears to take a more pessimistic view of the state of the Hebrew text of Hosea than is justified, and some of his emendations seem somewhat arbitrary. For instance, it is sometimes the idiom of the Hebrew poets to write מִצָּא without an object (cf. Hosea v, 6); but the author breaks up the forceful וּבִקְשָׁתָם וְלֹא תִמְצָא into וּבִקְשָׁה אוֹתָם וְלֹא תִמְצָאָם. Then in v, 8, where the prophet writes, "Behind thee, O Benjamin," i.e. Guard, or Look to, thy rear! the commentator proposes to read הִדְרִירִי. But אֲדַרְיִךְ is an exclamatory accusative like the Arabic ورائك and should be allowed to stand. A reference to Arabic, too, would have rendered unnecessary the suggestion to alter the word זִרְקָה in vii, 9, from the Qal to a Pual or a passive Qal, as the word does not mean *einsprengen*, but "to be white or grey". In ix, 1, אֵל תִּגִּיל is proposed; but the

form more commonly used is the jussive. Lastly, the proposal to read $\text{לֹא חָכַם בְּלֵא נָח}$ for לֹא חָכַם in xiii, 13, seems to lack point, as the parallels cited in defence of the emendation refer to the mother, not to the offspring. On the other hand an interesting emendation for ix, 6, is suggested.

So far as Amos is concerned, Robertson Smith and Driver had a high opinion of his poetry, and it may be doubted whether many will be willing to follow Professor Robinson in applying the word *dürftig* to the prophet's style. However, mere details like the above will not obscure the expository and exegetical excellence of this work.

A. 686.

ALFRED GUILLAUME.

ERANOS JAHRBUCH. 8 × 6. Zürich: Rhein-Verlag, 1935.

The Asiatic matter contained in this volume consists of (1) an article by Mrs. Rhys Davids on *Der Mensch, die Suche und Nirvana*; (2) one by Erwin Rousselle on *Lau-dsi's Gang durch Seele, Geschichte und Welt*; and (3) a treatise by Robert Eisler on *das Rätsel des Johannesevangeliums*. Some account of Dr. Eisler's theory recently appeared in *The Times*, on which a correspondent advised the readers to suspend judgment till it had received the approval of at least two experts. According to Eisler the "disciple whom Jesus loved", and in consequence the author of a portion of the Gospel, is Lazarus, who is also to be identified with the possessor of great riches who asked what he should do to inherit eternal life, and whom according to Mark x, 21, "Jesus loved," as according to John x, 5, He loved "Martha and her sister and Lazarus". Since in John xiii, 1, it is stated that "having loved His own which were in the world He loved them to the end", this identification cannot be accepted. Next he is identified with an Eleazar mentioned by Josephus as a captain of brigands, who after plundering the land for twenty years was captured in A.D. 60 by Felix. The promised Paraclete is identified with Simon Magus, who according to Cyril of

Jerusalem assumed that among other titles. His views were put forth in a Gospel by Cerinthus, some of which was combined with the Gospel of Lazarus to form the Fourth Gospel. In doing this (it would seem) Marcion had a hand.

The printer would seem to have had no Greek type, whence the citations in that language are transliterated into Latin characters. Hebrew type is used for the observation that the difficulties of vi, 51, "the bread which I shall give is my flesh," disappear like mist before the sun if we retranslate into Aramaic, in which **בשרא** "flesh" is indistinguishable from the same group meaning "gospel". The mists gather again when we suspect that the latter word has no existence, the Jewish form being **בשורא**, the Christian **סברתא**. Biesenthal's suggestion that in Hebrews v, 7, "in the days of His flesh" is a mistranslation of a Hebrew "of His preaching" is decidedly more scholarly.

This treatise is certainly *anregend*, but it is doubtful whether the expert advocates will put in an appearance.

A. 612.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

BY LIGHT, LIGHT. THE MYSTIC GOSPEL OF HELLENISTIC JUDAISM. By ERWIN R. GOODENOUGH. xv + 436 pp. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1935.

This is a remarkable book. For the author, investigating anew the history of the mysteries, seeks to show that alongside the Greek, there ran Jewish tales also, seemingly parallel, but in reality divergent, and offering contrast, not comparison. For once the Biblical stories—like other ancient tales—had become material for esoteric reinterpretation, their heroes were turned into priests-of-mystery, able to guide the souls of the initiated to the Higher Plane, by means of the light-ray emanating from the Fountain of Life, God Himself.

Professor Goodenough regards Philo as the best exponent of these Jewish mysteries, and his treatment of the philosopher's work is entirely new. Hitherto, Philonic study was

limited to source-investigation, and to the tracing of "parallels" in the writings of Plato, Pythagoras, and the later Neo-Pythagoreans. Very suggestive is this treatment, and many, doubtless, will be encouraged to read their Philo in a new "light". He represents, of course, a higher stage in the development of Græco-Jewish mysteries, the beginnings of which, though hard to determine with exactitude, can scarcely be later than the early growth of Hellenism itself. Illustrative fragments have been preserved by Polyhistor and by Eusebius.

In several chapters our author exhibits Moses and the Patriarchs, transformed in mysterious light. Another section of his work is devoted to liturgical study—on similar lines. Yet another to the consideration of literary fragments in the same spirit. But the present volume, we are told, is but one of a series, all designed to facilitate the ultimate inquiry, a mystic's search into New Testament Truth.

Individual judgments aside, Professor Goodenough must be credited with profound knowledge of Philo's work, as indeed of many movements of the Spirit among Jews of the Hellenic era.

A. 441.

M. GASTER.

Cuneiform

ALTBABYLONISCHE PERSONENMIETE UND ERNTEARBEITER-
VERTRÄGE. By JULIUS GEORG LAUTNER. *Studia et
Documenta ad Jura Orientis Antiqui Pertinentia*. Vol. 1,
9 $\frac{3}{4}$ \times 6 $\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xx + 262, fig. 1. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
1936. Guilders 10.

With this worthy beginning is inaugurated a new series of studies and documents bearing upon the jurisprudence of the ancient Near East, and the distinction of the editors warrants confidence that succeeding volumes will be of no less scientific value and interest than the first. In another sense, however, this book is only the last of a number of recent treatises, mostly German, which have of late years

transformed the study of the laws and legal documents of Western Asia into a highly organized and minutely surveyed discipline, in much the same way as other workers have simultaneously explored the resources of ancient Babylonian mathematics. Indeed, this book furnishes a curious instance of contact between these two branches of learning, for if, before completing pp. 62 and 63, the author had inquired in the mathematical classroom (its address, for the present purpose, is *R.A.*, xxxii, 188), he would have been spared some perplexity, a wilful emendation, and an unconvincing conjecture. As being in the direct line of the studies above mentioned this book has all their merits of exhaustive command of the material and professional awareness of the legal issues involved, while it is probably no defect that it does not make much use of modern comparisons, which can be misleading.

It must be admitted, however, that Dr. Lautner's work is not exempt from some of the disadvantages which attend so elaborate a treatment of a single sub-division of what is itself only a single class of cuneiform texts. Some 250 closely-printed pages on such a subject bespeak an attention to detail which is almost microscopic, and nearly all of them are copiously fringed (some, indeed, principally occupied) with learned footnotes, to the sad confusion of the reader who is thus set the impossible task of reading as it were two books at once, and that on an occasion when the main theme is itself of a nature to require his close application. The result is that a clear understanding either of the general course or the detail of the argument can be obtained only by constantly turning back from innumerable byways and retracing each time a few of the preceding steps along the main road; in a familiar phrase, it is unusually hard to see the wood for the trees. Even if it may be assumed that the number and length of the 680 footnotes are never superfluous (and an early example on page 8 might suggest a doubt about this) it seems evident that much clarity would have been gained by some other

arrangement, even were it only the mechanical device of grouping them all together at the end of the book so as to be withdrawn from their distracting competition with the text. And a few summaries, comprising the various sections and the whole discussion, would have been most helpful. Since, therefore, by its arrangement the book seems destined to be a quarry of details rather than the exposition of an argument we must be grateful for a *Sachregister* while perhaps regretting that it does not include more Babylonian words.

The criticisms of which this notice has up to here mainly consisted should not be allowed to suggest that the author's encyclopædic knowledge of his subject and the justice of his conclusions are not appreciated; neither the one nor the other can be called in question. I would not venture, where he has not thought fit, to outline the divisions of the subject as he has treated it. These must be left to the title of the book and the page of contents at the beginning. Particular interest, however, attaches to his examination of the *šimdat šarri* clause, and there is a remarkably valuable section which extracts a deal of information from such unpromising documents as lists of labourers. It is not a light task to work through this book, but none who undertakes it need fear that his reward will ultimately be inadequate.

A. 714.

C. J. GADD.

UR EXCAVATION TEXTS. II, ARCHAIC TEXTS. By ERIC BURROWS. Publications of the Joint Expedition of the British Museum and of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, to Mesopotamia. 13 × 9½, pp. vii + 67, pls. London: British Museum. 35s.

The author was epigraphist to the expedition during part of its long and successful work at Ur. It has fallen to him to edit the earliest tablets found there; mostly below the Royal Cemetery and of date roughly between 3000 B.C. and 2500 B.C. A most laborious task most successfully accomplished. He has reproduced in firm copy 425 tablets and

pieces. A comparison of his copies with the photographs (six plates) of originals gives some idea of the difficulties of his task. The rest of the volume is based on the tablets, which have been studied from every angle, and the results are set down with a minimum of theory and a very satisfying amount of fact and comment.

The sign list of 420 signs and 32 numerical representations is accompanied by references to the Ur tablets in the present collection and often by comparative references to the forms of the sign on tablets found at Jemdet Nasr and at Fara, between which types many of the Ur signs are a bridge. It may perhaps be safe to say that we can now trace the history of many signs from their origin in picture to their fixation in the Assyrian wedge-form; from drawing to diagram. More than fifty Ur signs are in form new, and cannot as yet be correlated with any Jemdet Nasr or Fara or later Sumerian sign.

In the matter of grammar, the tablets offer little. Of verbal suffixes there is a small advance on Jemdet Nasr but not so much as at Fara. Devices of writing such as determinatives and phonetic complements are here; the latter fairly often, the former, such as *dingir*, *ki*, *še*, apparently only when clarity demands them.

At this time there would seem to have been no king at Ur; he was represented by the *sangu*. Society was well organized. Land tenure was already of the three sorts known to us at the later time of Urukagina of Lagash: land for the support of the temple; land for the support of the temple personnel; and tenant-farm land. The cereals were barley, emmer, and wheat; whence the products meal, bread, malt, and beer. These were the staple supports of a population of farmers, landmen, fishermen, craftsmen (smith, carpenter, potter, image-maker, builder), herdsmen of sheep, oxen, and asses, and slaves, though these last occur seldom, and under the forms *arad* (? better Sumerian *urda* or *erî*), *gîm* and *edin-bar*, which, according to Fr. Burrows, is "man of the desert".

The merchant or usurer (*dam-gar*) and the judge (*di-kud*) are not mentioned.

Religious data include feasts, offerings, temples, and gods, or rather goddesses, for Fr. Burrows points out that "in the list of gods nearly every intelligible name, except of animals and things, is that of a goddess". Occupied with religion are the exorcist, the priest, the oracle-priest, and the slaughterer (*sag-tun*). There is an excellent note on *sangu* in the sign-list.

A supplement contains fifty pieces of early date but rather later than that of the main collection. From these are taken ten month-names, most of which have the grammatical ending *-ka*. It is interesting to recall that in the later month-names of Ur III *-ka* is hardly ever written. A rare if not unique instance of its use at Drehem is an unpublished B.M. tablet (No. 103414): *itu u₅-bil-lu-kú-ka*.

Fr. Burrows' comments on the various products and trees are always illuminating. Indeed every page is just the thing.

A. 593.

T. FISH.

VORARBEITEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DER KEILSCHRIFTLITERATUR,
DIE ASSYRISCHEN KÖNIGSINSCHRIFTEN VOR 722. DER
SCHREIBGEBRAUCH. By ALBERT SCHOTT. Bonner
Orientalistische Studien, Heft 13. 8½ × 12, pp. xvii +
158. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1936. RM. 13.50.

Professor Schott begins a series of monographs in which, by devoting various investigations to epigraphy, phonetics, philology, and *die bewegenden Gedanken eines Zeitalters* (the characteristic ideas of a given period), he hopes to formulate principles for dating literary cuneiform documents, tracing them through the various ages of their successive editions to the periods of their origins, and even to determine the cities in which they were written. He has planned five sections of this great investigation. The book under review is confined to the peculiarities of the *script* of one period,

one country, and one class of literature as seen from the title, a class of literature which can always be dated, and consequently the forms of the cuneiform signs and variant spellings can be historically arranged. He proceeds, as a general introduction, to give a list of books in which list of signs for various groups of texts of various periods are given. The earliest known list of signs from Jemdet Nasr, OECT. VII, is omitted.¹ There are also lists of the principal works on grammar and philology, and here Weir's *Lexicon of the Babylonian and Assyrian prayers* and Ehelolf's *Wortfolge-princip im Assyrisch-Babylonischen* are not mentioned.

The author has made statistics for the writing of all syllables of the form designated *coc*, i.e. consonant + vowel + consonant, and by this means he is sometimes able to determine the period of a text by distinguishing between the manners of writing a syllable, for example *ban* or *ba-an*, *nin*, or *ni-in*. The system is extremely complicated by use of forty different symbols which makes his work as difficult to understand as an advanced algebraic problem. Moreover there is no index of the signs discussed. As an example of the patient compilation of statistics this great undertaking beats anything ever written on Assyriology. A few new and revised readings are established in the critical notes.

A. 665.

†S. LANGDON.

The thanks of the Society are also due for the following volumes :—

CHINESE SHADOW SHOW. By GENEVIEVE WIMSATT.

Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard University Press, 1936.

AIR OVER EDEN. By "H. W." and SIDNEY HAY. London : Hutchinson, 1937. 18s.

INDIAN STATES IN THE FEDERATION. By N. D. VARADACHARIAR. London : Humphrey Milford, 1936. 5s.

¹ Since this review was written a still earlier list of signs from Uruk has been published by Falkenstein.

KÖNIGTUM GOTTES. By MARTIN BUBER. Berlin : Schocken Verlag, 1936.

INDIAN PEEPSHOW. By HENRY NEWMAN. London : G. Bell and Sons, 1937. 7s. 6d.

FAR EAST IN FERMENT. By GUENTHER STEIN. London : Methuen, 1936. 10s. 6d.

THE WAR IN ABYSSINIA : A brief military history. By EDWARD HAMILTON. London : John Heritage, 1936. 5s.

AL-BUKHARI : a collection of Muhammad's Authentic Tradition. By I. H. EL-MOUGY. Cairo : Al-Azhar University, 1936.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

20th May, 1937

Professor Margoliouth, M.A., D.Litt., F.B.A., President, in the chair.

The proceedings began with the reading and confirmation of the Minutes of the last Anniversary General Meeting on 14th May, 1936.

We have but lately welcomed to the throne our present patron, His Majesty King George VI, among whose titles is that of "Emperor of India". Upon the occasion of his accession, the following address of loyalty to Their Majesties, as approved by the Council on 14th January, was signed by your President and transmitted to His Majesty's Private Secretary at Buckingham Palace.

"To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

"The humble Address of the President, Council, and Members of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

"May it please Your Majesty,

"The President and Council of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland offer their cordial thanks to Your Majesty for graciously consenting to continue that Patronage with which they have been honoured by the Sovereigns since the foundation of their Society. They would also desire to assure Your Majesty of their loyalty and respectful attachment to your person, of their recognition of the services which Your Majesty has rendered to the British Commonwealth of Nations, and their hope that your reign may be long, happy and glorious.

"On behalf of the Council and Members of the Royal Asiatic Society. 27th January, 1937. (Sd.) D. S. Margoliouth, President."

The gracious message printed below, in which His Majesty consented to continue the royal patronage extended to this Society since its inception was delivered to the Society shortly

after His Majesty's accession. It marks the kindly thoughtfulness of His Majesty in his desire to avoid the necessity and consequent expense to Royal Societies throughout the United Kingdom, of submitting further costly addresses of loyalty to the Throne.

"Privy Purse Office,
"Buckingham Palace, S.W.

"Memorandum

"The Keeper of the Privy Purse is commanded by The King to state that His Majesty is pleased to intimate to those Societies and Institutions which were recently granted Patronage by King Edward VIII that they may continue to show the Sovereign as their Patron during the present reign, unless otherwise notified. 14th December, 1936."

A previous message from His Majesty King Edward VIII had been received as shown below.

"Privy Purse Office,
"Buckingham Palace, S.W.

"Dear Sir,

"18th June, 1936.

"I am commanded by The King to inform you that His Majesty has been graciously pleased to grant his Patronage to the Royal Asiatic Society.

"Yours truly,
"(sd.) Wigram.

"Keeper of the Privy Purse.

"The President, Royal Asiatic Society,
"74 Grosvenor Street, W. 1."

We regret to announce the death of the following Honorary Members and others since the last Anniversary Meeting: their loss will be deeply felt by the Society.

Professor S. H. Langdon
Sir James Stewart Lockhart
Professor R. Gottheil
Professor Snouck Hurgronje
Khan Bahadur M. H. Khan
Professor Antoine Meillet

Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra
Major G. H. Rooke
Mr. W. S. Talbot
Professor Moritz Winternitz
Professor J. H. Woods

In Sir James Stewart Lockhart the Society has lost a member of nearly sixty years' standing, a Member of Council for many years, and Honorary Secretary for seven. He represented the Society on many Congresses and Committees, and on the Governing Body of the School of Oriental Studies for ten years. It was through his influence that the Chinese Library was catalogued and rendered more convenient for purposes of reference. In him the Society has lost a devoted friend and the Council a kindly and shrewd adviser.

The following Members have resigned :—

Mrs. Beaumont (Miss D. Varley)	Mr. R. N. Mathur
Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar	Professor R. K. Mathur
Rev. T. W. Castle	Rev. W. Munn
Mr. S. P. Chaudhury	Mr. P. S. Noble
Sir William Hornell	Dr. J. D. Pavry
Mr. S. N. Joshi	Rai Bahadur L. Sita Ram
Mr. H. Jowett	Mr. B. Rubenstein
Mr. A. S. Kent	Seyyid R. Said-Ruete
Wing-Cr. R. T. Leather	Mr. C. D. P. Sharma
Mr. H. Loewe	Mr. L. Wynch

The following have taken up their election :—

As Resident Members

Miss E. L. Beckingsale	The Hon. Desmond Parsons
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As Non-Resident Members

Mr. K. S. R. Acharya	Mr. A. B. M. Habibullah
Mr. S. D. Ahmad	Rev. H. St. J. Hart
Mr. Y. D. Ahuja	Khawaja A. Haye
Rai Bahadur K. L. Barua	Mr. E. B. Howell
Professor M. A. Bhaskaranand	Mr. M. A. Husain
Mr. R. C. Bhattacharyya	Dr. C. Inostrantsev
Mr. C. Siva Bushanam	Rai Bahadur Pandit D. Joshi
Mr. Iqbal Din	M. Adrien Maisonneuve
Mrs. E. S. Drower	Mr. K. S. Mathur
Mr. W. le B. Egerton	U Nyun Maung
Mr. G. B. Gardner	Mr. H. S. Mordia
Mr. N. N. Ghosh	Mr. B. R. Pearn

Mr. A. N. Poliak	Mr. C. Sarawgi
Mr. Indra Prakash	Mr. V. Stoloff
Professor V. A. Riasanovsky	Dr. W. W. Tarn
Mr. J. S. D. Thornton	

As Library Associates

Rai Bahadur Professor S. K. Bhuyan	Mr. S. H. Hansford
	Miss A. C. Hayter

As Student Associates

Mr. V. R. Deorars	Miss Rose Quong
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As Resident Member compounding for Subscription

Baron Edward von der Heydt.

The President and Council have elected—

Professor Carl Brocke'mann, of Breslau

Professor Jules Bloch, of Paris

Professor Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, of Leiden

to take the places of Professor Snouck Hurgronje, of Leiden, Professor Antoine Meillet, of Paris, and Professor Dr. Moritz Winternitz, of Prague, as Honorary Members of the Society.

Under the terms of Rule 25, 37 persons ceased to be Members of the Society owing to non-payment of their annual subscription. In 1935 the number was 28. The total number of Members is 751 : this shows an increase of 3 during the year. The number of subscribing libraries is 244, that is to say, six less than last year. In cases where resignations have occurred the reason given is generally that expenses must be reduced as a result of world conditions. The number of Library Associates, under Rule 16*a*, has increased to 25 and Student Associates to 5, thanks to the thoughtful help of Professor Yetts, Dr. Margaret Smith, the Staff of the School of Oriental Studies, and others, who have brought the Society's Library to the notice of their students. As has been mentioned above, they seem to be taking full advantage of their privileges.

Unhappily the uncertainty of the political and economic outlook and the resulting paucity of new members and

supporters, have again rendered it impossible to increase the size of the *Journal*. It will be remembered that it was decreased to 900 pages in 1934, and to 800 pages in 1935. Though this has had no effect in diminishing the matter submitted for publication, it has forced the Council to return papers which would otherwise have been considered, and to invite contributors to curtail their contributions.

Owing to the same causes, the annual grant for maintenance of the Library has had to be limited as in the last three or four years. For instance, the binding of volumes in need of repair has been strictly limited to such as have been sent away on loan to other libraries, and new purchases have been reduced to a minimum, though the Library is badly in need of financial assistance in both these departments. The number of scholars using the library and the number of books found for them, as well as the number of books borrowed from, or lent to, outside libraries is continuously increasing. All this means a corresponding increase in the assistance which is given to readers. So that a small allotment is still essential for assistance to the Librarian, who has also to continue work upon the preparation of the Library Catalogue for printing.

The number of visits paid to the Library by students has been maintained at 940. The average before 1933 was about 500 ; it rose to 730 in 1934, and 945 in 1935. The number of books lent out rose to 830, as against 613 in 1934 and 816 in 1935. 122 books were lent to affiliated libraries through the National Central Library, and 84 were borrowed by Members of the Society through the same agency. From this it will be seen that more use is being made of the facilities offered by the Library of the Society to students of Oriental subjects.

In addition to such use of the Library, the Society is being approached more and more for information and advice on all kinds of subjects connected with the East.

Four manuscripts have been sent on loan to University Libraries at Birmingham and Utrecht, for the use of Oriental research students. Three have been returned, while the loan

of the fourth was extended by permission of your Council. Photostat copies of three MSS. were made and sent to students abroad, two to India and one to Japan. A set of photographs was also made of the inscription upon the Stone of Chandra Devi in the possession of the Society, for the Archæological Department of Mayurbanj State, Orissa, India.

During the year the Council authorized mutual exchanges with four other Societies in America, Germany, India, and Palestine.

The University of Madras is organizing the publication of a "complete up-to-date Catalogus Catalogorum of Sanskrit Manuscripts", and a notice was received from the Editor in Chief, asking for information. This has been sent.

Permission was accorded by your Council for the following extracts to be published from certain of the Society's publications :—

To Dr. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri : Extracts from O.T.F. xiv and xv, "On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, A.D. 629-645."

To Miss Delia de Leon : Extracts from O.T.F. vii, "The Kādambarī of Bāṇa," and xvi, "The Lawā'ih of Jāmī."

To the Director of B. T. Batsford, Ltd. : Extract from O.T.F., xvi, "The Lawā'ih of Jāmī."

Also to Dr. I. S. Stehoukine for the reproduction, in a volume on Persian Painting, of certain miniatures from the *Jāmī'al-Tawārīkh of Rashīd al-Dīn*.

Professor H. H. Dodwell has been appointed by your Council to represent the Society at the forthcoming VIIIth International Congress of Historical Sciences at Zurich next year.

Lectures.—A feature of the activities of the Society is the holding of lectures on different Oriental subjects, some of which are of a purely scientific character and some of a more general nature. The undermentioned lectures were given before the Society during the past session ; almost all were illustrated by lantern slides :—

"The International Exhibition of Chinese Art." By Mr. F. St. G. Spendlove.

"The Ruins of Koh-i-Khwaja and their Wall Paintings." By Professor Dr. Ernst Herzfeld.

"Shauqi and Hafiz Ibrahim." By Dr. A. J. Arberry.

"The Burusho of Hunza in the Karakoram." By Lieut.-Col. D. L. R. Lorimer, in the Hall of the Royal Geographical Society.

"Some Biblical Records in the light of Recent Excavations in Palestine." By Dr. A. S. Yahuda.

"The Exploration of Śrī Deva, an Ancient Indian City in Indo-China." By Dr. H. G. Quaritch Wales, Field Director of the Expedition (with India Soc. and School of Or. Studies).

"Some Aspects of Muhammadanism in the Sudan." By Mr. S. Hillelson.

"Mutanabbi: The Man and the Poet." By Professor R. A. Nicholson.

"The Meaning of Sacrifices in the Psalms." By Dr. Samuel Daiches.

"Indian Art of the Buddhist Period, with particular reference to the paintings of Ajanta." By Mr. Ghulam Yazdani.

"Symbolism in Nepalese and Tibetan Art." By Mrs. Alexander Scott.

"Chinese Bronze Mirrors." By Professor W. Perceval Yetts.

"The *Hisba*: Law and Order under Islam." By Dr. R. Levy.

"The Decline of the Medieval Sinhalese Kingdom." By Mr. Humphrey W. Codrington.

"The Culture of the Shang Dynasty." By Dr. Li Chi.

"Further Excavations in the Indus Valley." By Dr. Ernest Mackay.

During the year there occurred the 1,000th Anniversary of the Arab poet Mutanabbi. He has been described as "al-Motanabbi, one of the greatest Arabian poets who ever lived" and "the Shakespeare of the Desert". His works are still read by all classes of Arabian Society. His millenary was

celebrated in many parts of the world, and here, in London, it was felt that some fitting tribute might be paid to his name and reputation by a combined commemoration under the auspices of the representatives of Oriental Governments and Societies with Arabian interests. A committee was appointed to make the arrangements, and receptions were given by the Government representatives mentioned above at the Royal Egyptian Legation, and by the Royal Asiatic Society. The latter took place at the London Museum and was attended by the representatives referred to above. After the reception the lecture on "Mutanabbi, the Man and the Poet", mentioned above was given by Professor R. A. Nicholson.

The subject chosen for the Universities Prize Essay Competition for 1936 was "The Portuguese in India". The prize of £20 with a diploma was won by Mr. Dennis Wood of Bristol University. Since its inception the competition has been won by a student from Oxford, a student from Cambridge, and by two students from Bristol.

The following work was published by the Society during the year: Royal Asiatic Society Monographs, 22, Fischel, W. J., *Jews in the Economic and Political Life of Medieval Islam*.

During the year the final arrangements were made for the organization of a new publication fund under the auspices of the Society. It has been founded by the generosity of Dr. Bimala Churn Law, of Calcutta, for the publication of monographs on Buddhism, Jainism and Ancient Indian History and Geography up to the end of the thirteenth century A.D. Information concerning it has been published in the *Journal* and in the Press. Monographs may be submitted by any Oriental scholar in the world, and the first period during which they may be received will extend from 1st January, 1937, to 31st December, 1938. It is hoped to publish the best work received every two years, in "The Dr. B.C. Law Trust Series".

Another foreign Oriental Society, the Asiatic Society of Japan, has obtained permission under Rule 103 to be admitted

as an Associate Society of the Royal Asiatic Society. The necessary authority was given by the vote of a Special General Meeting held on 12th November, 1936.

The Society is greatly indebted to Professor Shelley Wang for so kindly completing the catalogue of its Chinese Library, consisting of over six hundred volumes, which are accommodated in a separate room. All these works are in Chinese, and are quite distinct from the large number of books in the library, on Sinological subjects, but written in European languages, mostly in English. In recognition of his valuable work in classifying and marking these Chinese volumes, Professor Wang has been invited by your Council to accept a life membership of the Society.

The congratulations of the Society are offered to Dr. L. D. Barnett upon the distinction conferred upon him by His Majesty among the Birthday Honours, when he was awarded a C.B. ; also to Professor R. L. Turner, upon his appointment to the Directorate of the School of Oriental Studies in succession to Sir Denison Ross. Our old and meritorious colleague, Haham M. Gaster, was presented with a Festschrift of unusual dimensions on his eightieth birthday. The thanks of the Society are also due to Mr. G. A. Yates for his kind assistance to the Editor of the *Journal*.

By Rules 28-38 of the Society certain changes occur annually in the constitution of the members of your Council. Rule 29 lays down that the President and the Director shall each be appointed to hold office for three years. Unhappily this term has been reached by Professor Margoliouth, as President, and by Sir Denison Ross, as Director, both of whom were appointed in 1934. They have both given freely their time and thought for the benefit of the Society's needs, and their advice has ever been ready to solve those difficult problems which the present state of affairs forces upon us to our increasing perplexity. It is recommended by your Council that these vacancies be filled by the election, through the appointed method, of Baron Hailey of Shahpur and Newport

Pagnell, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., as President, and the retiring President, Professor D. S. Margoliouth, as Director.

In the same way Sir William Foster, as the Senior Vice-President of not less than four years' standing, retires, and the present Director, Sir Denison Ross, has been recommended to fill the vacancy. The following three Honorary Officers as required by the Rules must each retire, but are eligible for re-election: Mr. Ellis as Honorary Librarian, Mr. Oldham as Honorary Secretary, and Mr. Perowne as Honorary Treasurer, have earned the gratitude of the Society for their labours on our behalf. They are recommended by your Council for re-election to their respective offices. The Rev. Dr. A. Guillaume has unavoidably had to offer his resignation from the Council owing to his onerous duties as Principal of Culham College. He finds that he is unable to spare time to attend the Council meetings every month, but desires to help in any other way possible. It is recommended that his place be taken by Sir William Foster. Owing to the fact that so many of the Councillors had to resign for various reasons in 1934, 1935, and 1936, none of the Ordinary Members of the Council will have four years' service in May, 1937; consequently there are no more vacancies on the Council to be filled at present.

At one time it appeared that ill-health might deprive us of the services upon the Council of Dr. Blagden and Sir John Marshall, but both of them now hope to be able to attend the meetings later on. It is earnestly hoped that they may soon be restored to their accustomed strength and vigour.

The Society's accounts for 1936 have been audited as usual, first in a professional way and then by a board of auditors. The board on this occasion consisted of Dr. E. H. Johnston (for the Council), Sir Richard Burn (for the Society), and Sir Nicholas Waterhouse. The meeting was held on 9th March, and the auditors reported as follows:—

“The Professional Auditors explained the accounts to us,

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS

RECEIPTS

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
SUBSCRIPTIONS—						
Resident Members	233	2	0			
Non-Resident Members	737	8	0			
Resident Compounders	25	4	0			
Non-Resident Compounders	12	12	0			
Students and Miscellaneous	37	4	4			
				1,045	10	4
RENTS RECEIVED				651	17	6
GRANTS—						
Government of India	315	0	0			
" Federated Malay States	20	0	0			
" Straits Settlements	20	0	0			
" Hong Kong	25	0	0			
				380	0	0
SUNDRY DONATIONS				10	10	0
SPECIAL DONATION				100	0	0
JOURNAL ACCOUNT—						
Subscriptions	444	2	0			
Additional Copies sold	33	14	0			
Pamphlets sold	4	11	2			
				482	7	2
DIVIDENDS				83	4	0
CENTENARY VOLUME SALES				1	2	8
CENTENARY SUPPLEMENT SALES					5	8
COMMISSION ON SALE OF BOOKS.				5	16	4
INTEREST ON POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANK ACCOUNT					7	3
SUNDRY RECEIPTS				50	4	7

£2,811 5 6

INVESTMENTS

£350 3½ per cent War Loan.
 £1,426 1s. 10d. Local Loans 3 per cent Stock.
 £777 1s. 1d. 4 per cent Funding Stock 1960-90.

FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st DECEMBER, 1936

PAYMENTS

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
BALANCE AT 31st DECEMBER, 1935						
Over-Expenditure on General Account	834	19	10			
Less: Carnegie Grant for printing Catalogue £250 0 0						
Compounded Subscriptions £572 15 3						
	822	15	3			
				12	4	7
HOUSE ACCOUNT—						
Rent and Land Tax	498	19	9			
Rates, less contributed by Tenants	132	8	2			
Gas and Light, do.	87	3	7			
Coal and Coke, do.	47	6	4			
Telephone	14	1	0			
Cleaning	10	5	3			
Insurance	35	6	6			
Repairs and Renewals	57	1	2			
				882	11	9
LEASEHOLD REDEMPTION FUND				30	0	0
SALARIES AND WAGES				809	2	6
PRINTING AND STATIONERY				61	9	0
JOURNAL ACCOUNT—						
Printing	588	7	11			
Postage	55	0	0			
				643	7	11
LIBRARY EXPENDITURE				65	0	8
GENERAL POSTAGE				47	12	10
AUDIT FEE				5	5	0
SUNDRY EXPENSES—						
Teas	20	1	3			
Lectures	30	8	6			
National Health and Unemployment Insurance	18	0	4			
Other General Expenditure	57	0	0			
				125	10	1
BALANCE AT 31st DECEMBER, 1936						
Carnegie Grant for printing catalogue	250	0	0			
Compounded Subscriptions Account	610	11	3			
	860	11	3			
Less: Over-expenditure on General Account	731	10	1			
				129	1	2
Represented by:						
Cash at Bank on General Account	119	8	5			
Cash at Post Office Savings Bank		5	7			
Cash in hand		9	7			
	129	1	2			
				£2,811	5	6

I have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the Books and Vouchers of the Society, and have verified the Investments therein described, and hereby certify the said Abstract to be true and correct.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.

Countersigned { E. H. JOHNSTON, Auditor for the Council.
 { RICHARD BURN, Auditor for the Society.

9th March, 1937.

SPECIAL FUNDS

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND

RECEIPTS			PAYMENTS		
1936. Jan. 1.	£	s. d.	1936. Dec. 31.	£	s. d.
BALANCE	220	2 5	STORAGE OF STOCK	3	3 5
SALES (NET)	67	10 10	BINDING 25 VOLS. XIV		
INTEREST ON DEPOSIT	1	4 10	AND XV		2 10 0
			BALANCE CARRIED TO	283	4 8
			SUMMARY		
	<u>£288</u>	<u>18 1</u>		<u>£288</u>	<u>18 1</u>

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY MONOGRAPH FUND

Jan. 1.	£	s. d.	Dec. 31.	£	s. d.
BALANCE	159	2 6	BALANCE CARRIED TO	167	17 3
SALES (NET)	8	14 9	SUMMARY		
	<u>£167</u>	<u>17 3</u>		<u>£167</u>	<u>17 3</u>

SUMMARY OF SPECIAL FUND BALANCES

Dec. 31.	£	s. d.	Dec. 31.	£	s. d.
ORIENTAL TRANSLATIONS FUND	283	4 8	CASH AT BANK—		
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY MONOGRAPH FUND	167	17 3	On Current Account	201	1 11
	<u>£451</u>	<u>1 11</u>	On Deposit Account	250	0 0
				451	1 11
				<u>£451</u>	<u>1 11</u>

LEASEHOLD REDEMPTION FUND

Jan. 1.	£	s. d.	Dec. 31.	£	s. d.
BALANCE	436	9 1	BALANCE REPRESENTED BY £451 9s. 5d. 3½%	466	9 1
TRANSFER FROM GENERAL ACCOUNT	30	0 0	Cash at Bank	15	16 0
DIVIDENDS TO BE RE-INVESTED	15	16 0		482	5 1
	<u>£482</u>	<u>5 1</u>		<u>£482</u>	<u>5 1</u>

TRUST FUNDS

PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND

1936. Jan. 1	£	s. d.	1936. Dec. 31.	£	s. d.
BALANCE	110	4 9	BINDING 25 VOLS. XIII		
SALES (NET)	21	10 1	AND XIV		2 10 0
DIVIDENDS	18	0 0	BALANCE CARRIED TO	147	4 10
	<u>£149</u>	<u>14 10</u>	SUMMARY		
				<u>£149</u>	<u>14 10</u>

GOLD MEDAL FUND

Jan. 1.	£	s. d.	Dec. 31.	£	s. d.
BALANCE	40	10 11	BALANCE CARRIED TO	50	5 11
DIVIDENDS	9	15 0	SUMMARY		
	<u>£50</u>	<u>5 11</u>		<u>£50</u>	<u>5 11</u>

UNIVERSITIES PRIZE ESSAY FUND

Jan. 1.	£	s. d.	Dec. 31.	£	s. d.
BALANCE	137	18 10	CASH PRIZE	20	0 0
DIVIDENDS	20	15 4	BALANCE CARRIED TO	138	14 2
	<u>£158</u>	<u>14 2</u>	SUMMARY		
				<u>£158</u>	<u>14 2</u>

DR. B. C. LAW TRUST ACCOUNT

Dec. 31.	£ s. d.	Dec. 31.	£ s. d.
DIVIDENDS . . .	<u>£9 10 8</u>	BALANCE CARRIED TO SUMMARY . . .	<u>£9 10 8</u>

SUMMARY OF TRUST FUND BALANCES

Dec. 31.		Dec. 31.	
PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND	147 4 10	CASH AT BANK ON CURRENT ACCOUNT . . .	345 15 7
GOLD MEDAL FUND . .	50 5 11		
UNIVERSITIES PRIZE ESSAY FUND . . .	138 14 2		
DR. B. C. LAW TRUST ACCOUNT . . .	9 10 8		
	<u>£345 15 7</u>		<u>£345 15 7</u>

TRUST FUND INVESTMENTS.

£600 Nottingham Corporation Irredeemable "B" Stock (Prize Publication Fund).
 £325 Nottingham Corporation Irredeemable "A" Stock (Gold Medal Fund).
 £645 11s. 2d. Nottingham Corporation Irredeemable "B" Stock (Universities Prize Essay Fund).
 £40 3½ per cent Conversion Stock (Universities Prize Essay Fund).
 Rs. 12,000 ¾% Government of India Promissory Note No. 034904 of 1879 (Dr. B. C. Law Trust Account).

I have examined the above Statements with the books and vouchers, and hereby certify the same to be correct. I have also had produced to me certificates in verification of the Investments and Bank Balances.

Countersigned { N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.
 E. H. JOHNSTON, Auditor for the Council.
 RICHARD BURN, Auditor for the Society.

9th March, 1937.

BURTON MEMORIAL FUND

RECEIPTS.	PAYMENTS.
1936. Jan. 1.	1936. Dec. 31.
BALANCE . . .	CASH AT BANK ON CURRENT ACCOUNT . . .
DIVIDENDS . . .	
	9 16 8
<u>£9 16 8</u>	<u>£9 16 8</u>

INVESTMENT—
 £49 0s. 10d. 3% Local Loans.

JAMES G. B. FORLONG FUND

Jan. 1.		Dec. 31.	
BALANCE . . .	125 8 8	10% COMMISSION ON 1935 SALES . . .	5 16 4
SALES (NET) . . .	57 11 11	SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES—Scholarship.	50 0 0
DIVIDENDS . . .	203 0 4	FEE FOR RECOVERY OF INCOME TAX . . .	4 4 0
GRANT RETURNED . .	50 6 2	BALANCE, CASH AT BANK ON CURRENT ACCOUNT	376 6 9
	<u>£436 7 1</u>		<u>£436 7 1</u>

INVESTMENTS

£1,005 14s. 7d. New South Wales 4 per cent Inscribed Stock 1942-62.
 £1,015 16s. 3d. South Australian Government 4 per cent Inscribed Stock 1940-60.
 £1,010 Bengal-Nagpur Railway 4 per cent Debenture Stock.
 £1,143 6s. 3d. India 3½ per cent Inscribed Stock.
 £700 ¾ per cent. Conversion Loan
 £45 East India Railway Co. Annuity Class "B".
 £253 18s. 4d. 3½ per cent War Loan.

I have examined the above Abstracts of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society and have verified the Investments therein described, and I certify the said Abstracts to be true and correct.

Countersigned { N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.
 E. H. JOHNSTON, Auditor for the Council.
 RICHARD BURN, Auditor for the Society.

9th March, 1937.

and as usual complimented the officials of the Society on their accuracy and completeness.

"As was noted last year, the statement of receipts and expenditure does not indicate at first sight the real situation. There has been an accumulated over-expenditure of £730, and in addition the receipts include a special donation of £100, while the payments do not include the bill for the last number of the *Journal*, amounting to £180. The Society is thus about £1,010 to the bad.

"E. H. JOHNSTON (for the Council).

"RICHARD BURN (for the Society).

"*9th March, 1937.*"

Under Rule 81 the Professional Auditors, Messrs. Price Waterhouse and Co., retire but, being eligible, offer themselves for re-election. It is recommended that the Auditors for the ensuing session should be Mr. Enthoven for the Council, Mr. Seddon for the Members, and Messrs. Price Waterhouse and Co. as the Professional Auditors.

The thanks of the Society are due to our Honorary Solicitor Mr. D. H. Bramall, of Messrs. T. L. Wilson and Co., for so kindly looking after our legal affairs and giving us the benefit of his advice whenever it has been asked for.

All our rooms have been satisfactorily let during the last year; the lease of the flat at the top of the house will, however, terminate on next September Quarter Day.

Some alterations have been made in two of the rooms in the premises of the Society to allow the Chinese Library to be conveniently housed in a room in the basement. This arrangement enabled a room upstairs to be suitably altered for letting purposes. It has since been let.

The President then called upon the Hon. Treasurer for his annual statement of the Society's accounts.

HON. TREASURER: Mr. President, Ladies, and Gentlemen, I will try and be brief to-day. The total receipts, as you will see from the Annual Report and Accounts in your hands, are £2,811 5s. 6d. The total payments are £2,682 4s. 4d., including

the debit balance of £12 4s. 7d. brought forward. That leaves an apparent credit of £129 4s. 2d. on the year's receipts and payments. I say "apparent" because it is not the fact. The receipts include £100 earmarked as a special donation, which cannot be counted as ordinary receipts and payments of the Society, and that has since been paid, so that the real balance is £29 1s. 2d. And yet not even that, because, as a matter of fact, we really owed, and ought to have paid, some £180 for the October *Journal*, which is usually paid before the end of the year. That has since been liquidated also, so that I think we ought to consider it as an item in last year's account. If, therefore, you deduct the £29 1s. 2d. credit balance from £180 you have a real debit of about £150 as between ordinary receipts and payments on the year. I mention this because the Auditors' Report, set out in the Council's Report, mentions these points.

This is just about equal to the debit on the previous year, so we were able to maintain our position in spite of the great fall in receipts which I will talk about presently. The Auditors' last sentence in their report reads: "The Society is thus about £1,010 to the bad," meaning the accumulated debits of the last few years. I accept the round figure at any rate, and, although it is bad enough, after all it is money which we really owe to ourselves, so to speak, and not to a third party, because it is money which we should otherwise have had to raise out of the sale of investments. This £1,000 which has come to us in various ways, and which we have utilized, we hope to repay one day and credit back to capital to which it belongs.

Now I pass to the details of the accounts themselves. I have made here a sort of comparison between 1936 and 1935, which latter I may remind you was rather a poor year. Receipts have been falling for some years now, but last year (1936) we had a total of subscriptions of £1,045 10s. 4d. only. That shows a heavy fall of about £130 as compared with 1935, a decrease in every branch except resident compounders, where there was an increase of about £6. Our rents, on the

other hand, are about £35 more, and this comes because, as you will notice in the report, all our rooms are now let, and we get a full income from them, but the lease of the top flat comes to an end next September, so, allowing for the rates we pay on it, we shall lose about £200 per annum unless we can find another lessee.

As regards the Governments' grants, they remain as in the previous year, except that the Federated Malay States have only given us £20 instead of £40, the usual amount for years past. I am glad to say they have promised to increase the grant again to £40 this year.

The *Journal*, and this is really a happy point, gives a very satisfactory increase of about £50 as between 1936 and 1935, showing that our publications are still maintaining their "always has been" value in the world of scholars.

The sundry receipts are also about £10 more than the previous year, so that on the whole, although there are a good many decreases, we have had some increases, and this accounts for our total being this year £2,811. But from that we ought to deduct, to show what our real income is, the £100 which, I have already said, was earmarked for a special donation: thus making £2,711 5s. 6d. for ordinary receipts, as against £2,779 15s. 4d. in the previous year, showing a decrease of about £68 9s. 10d.

On the payment side we bring forward first a debit of £12 4s. 7d.—that was to equalize the receipts and payments on the previous account. Under the heading of the House account, rates are some £28 more than last year, a good deal of which is paid in respect of the top flat, as before mentioned. Gas is £18 more, coal £14 more, and the repairs about £25 more. The total of the house account is therefore something like £75 in excess of what the previous year's account was.

The printing is £6 more, which is negligible. The *Journal* is about £280 less on the face of it, but here you see we have only paid for three quarters instead of the fourth quarter, which I have just told you about, which was unpaid at the

end of the year, so in fairness we ought to add on the £180, which will make a total of £768 which our *Journal* cost us last year, which is in any event £100 less than the year before, so we have been able to reduce that somewhat.

The Library account, which during the last two or three years we have only been able to allow at £70, is down to £65 because in the previous year the £70 was overspent by £5, so that equalizes it.

When we examine the Sundry Expenses we find that our teas have cost us a little less, lectures more—there are two special lectures included, both of which are mentioned in the Report. Under the general expenditure of £57 as against £52, is included £11 for a new typewriter, which was badly wanted.

To sum up, the ordinary receipts last year were £2,711 5s. 6d., and the payments, after including the £12 4s. 7d. debit brought forward, and deducting the balance of £129 brought forward, are £2,669 19s. 9d., considerably less than the expenses of the year before. Hence our real credit balance at the end of last year was about £41, but if we take into account the £180 owing for the October *Journal* the real position as between receipts and payments is, as I have said, a debit of £150. That is the general statement of last year's accounts.

For the rest you will find in the Report all the other items of importance which I need not here reiterate, namely as regards the numbers of members, the *Journal*, why the cost of this has decreased, the Library, and so on.

The prospects for the current year seem to be a little better. We started the year a little better, and are rather maintaining that, and may therefore wind up on the more hopeful note and exclaim "Now is the winter of our discontent" beginning to dissolve under what we hope is the springtime of the melting ice of our frozen subscriptions.

Before I sit down let me once more give a word of thanks to Mrs. Davis for all the help which she has unreservedly given me throughout the course of the year.

PRESIDENT: I am grateful to Mr. Perowne for the trouble

which he takes over our financial affairs, and I feel it is a great pleasure to him to be rather more cheerful on the subject than he has been in recent years.

I will now ask Mr. le May to propose the adoption of the Report.

DR. LE MAY: Mr. President, I assume that everybody has read the Report, and there is not much to comment on from my point of view.

We have had a good many lectures of interest, but on the whole it has been a quiet year up to the time of the Coronation and receptions. If I may say so for myself coming from the Far East, I should like to see more interest given by the Society to Far Eastern affairs. It may be a little invidious to say so, but it seems to me that great interest is taken in India, Egypt and Arabia, and I should like to see, if possible, more interest taken in the Far East. Of course, we have the China Society and the Japan Society to contend with, but I should like to see some effort made on the part of members to induce more people to join who are interested in China and Chinese affairs, Japanese, Burmese, Siamese, and Javanese affairs. It occurs to me, on looking through our list of members, that we have not enough support from the Far East. I hope my own associations with it do not colour my thoughts unduly, but I do feel that, and I think the Society would gain in many respects if we could induce more members to join from the Far East.

As regards our *Journal* I am frankly a heretic, and almost, indeed, a Bolshevik. I feel that something must be done to try and make it more interesting—and I use the word “interesting” here particularly—to our non-resident members. Of course, it is the old vicious circle—a question of expense: if you enlarge it or if you use photographic material, it becomes more expensive to produce, but I do feel myself that there are so many of our members who are non-resident—and I have lived abroad myself for many years—and as the only contact with the Society is through the *Journal* it is very difficult for a man who is living, shall we

say, in China, India, or Burma, to find a sufficient amount of interest in very abstruse and scholarly papers on subjects of which he has no knowledge—I won't say no interest, but no knowledge at all. I have no desire myself to lower the standard of the *Journal*: I do not think we ought to do that. Is it not possible for us to try and enlarge the scope of it and also to make it more up to date, as one might say? I once made the remark that I personally did not like its format: I was then told that it was a hundred years old, and I said that perhaps that was the reason why I did not like the format. I know I am speaking in a Bolshevistic way to many of our members, but I must say what I feel. We, the Society, are now, I think, at rather a critical period of our existence, and we have so many competitors even here in London itself. It seems to me that we must take some very important steps to try and show that we are up to date. It is not a question, to my mind, of lowering our standard, but of being up-to-date (we have, I believe, nearly 500 non-resident members) and I feel we can only do that through the medium of our *Journal*; even if we have to spend much more money than we do to-day, I believe we could make it of much greater interest to many of our members outside.

As regards the meetings of the Society they have proved of great interest to all of us, and I personally find them very instructive. We have had a number of speakers from many countries and in that way I think we do here, as far as we possibly can, fulfil our functions, but that only applies to our resident members, who can come and visit this building. It does not really touch the heart of our problem.

And with that I should like to propose the adoption of the Annual Report and Accounts for 1937.

PRESIDENT: I will now call upon Sir Arnold Wilson to second the adoption of the Report and Accounts.

SIR ARNOLD WILSON: Mr. President, Ladies, and Gentlemen, I have very much pleasure in seconding the adoption of the Report and the Accounts.

I am tempted to indulge in a controversy with Mr. le May on the respective values of high scholarship and the more popular items which he would like to include in our programme, but this is not the moment. As to the format of the *Journal*, its size is that of the Proceedings of a number of learned Societies and is almost ideal, in the interests of shelf-space and legibility ; and when I was investigating the question of scientific societies and their journals a few years ago the Royal Asiatic Society approached very nearly to the optimum standards laid down by a former inquiry into the legibility of print. (Here it was asked if this remark applied also to photographic material, and Sir Arnold replied that he could not deal with this point without notice.) I am no scholar. I can think of no learned journal from which I get better value. To be brought to realize the great depths of one's own ignorance and the vast erudition of others is, in itself, an education.

There is much that we should all like to see published regarding the lands of which we have special knowledge, but our *Journal* remains the only one of interest in this country in which it is possible to publish the results of scholarship, and I hope that its high standard will be maintained.

I agree entirely with Mr. le May that more attention should be paid to the problems of the Far East. They are fundamental to our civilization ; China and Japan, like India, have something to teach us as well as we to learn from them. I should like to see Asia regarded as being in some sense a unity and deserving of far more intensive study than we have yet seen fit to give to it.

I had hoped, not many years ago, that it might be possible to raise funds to enable the Royal Asiatic Society to establish itself in larger premises, joining in the occupation of one building, with some of the other learned societies which have common objects, and I am not without hope that that may one day happen. We should have far more support from commercial firms in the Far East than we are getting at present.

It is our duty to maintain the Society as a living growth and influence. The part that England and, indeed, Europe will have to play in Asia during the next hundred years will, in my view, be more nearly related to the conception of scholarship and scientific knowledge than of administrative capacity. Executive activities will be more and more transferred to the nationalist hands, but scholarship will, for many a long year, be our prerogative; and it is in many quarters a very great influence, as I know by experience in Persia and in Arabia. Politicians respect and admire scholarship, even when they do not understand it. They realize it to be something of permanent value, and the very detachment of a scholar from the pretty controversies and current emergencies gives him a certain standing, and I believe that the Council of Foreign Relations, of which Lord Eustace Percy is the head would do well to make far more use of our scholars if it wished to create a favourable impression abroad. I have a vivid recollection of the visit of your President to Baghdad immediately after the War, and of the impression caused amongst the Arabian notables of Baghdad by the arrival from England of one who knew their literature, their language, their classical language, better than most of them, and who studied modern problems *sub specie aeternitatis*—from a detached standpoint which they envied even though they could not follow it. There was very real fruit from Professor Margoliouth's visit to Baghdad, and I have seen similar results from the visits of other scholars to countries which they have seldom visited but have long studied.

We all wish this Society a prosperous year and a future yet greater than its past. We have here one of the most valuable instruments for the promotion of fundamental understanding and of good will that any nation possesses. We know what use the French and the Germans make of their own cultural institutions. Let us hope that we may, in the future, make far more use of this, the most influential of our own cultural bonds with Asiatic peoples.

The Report was then adopted and the recommendation accepted for the election of a President, the re-election of the honorary officers, the filling of vacancies on the Council and the appointment of auditors for the ensuing session.

THE PRESIDENT: Ladies and Gentlemen, sixteen years ago, on the death of Lord Reay, who had been our President for twenty-eight years, during which he had given us the advantage of his experience, his wisdom and his wide acquaintance with men and things, and whose qualifications for such a post were attested by his being selected to be the first President of the British Academy, founded in 1901, it was decided to follow the example of some other institutions and limit the tenure of the Presidency to a term of years. Ours, which is three years, is somewhat longer than that of the Royal Geographical Society, which is only two. We believed that the change was in the interest of the Society and of the Presidents. The office is not a sinecure: during my tenure of it I have expected every morning's post to bring me a communication from one of the permanent officers requiring an answer. It seemed to us that it would be easier to get suitable persons to undertake it if they could regard the office as temporary rather than as permanent. And further there would be more opportunity for the introduction of new ideas and the trial of experiments. Those forecasts have been realized by all who have occupied the post between the death of Lord Reay and my own occupation of it.

My term of three years is now concluded, and I wish to express my gratitude to many persons. First to the Society itself for letting my name appear in a list which contains those of men distinguished for services to Oriental Literature or to the state in connection with its Oriental possessions, or to both. A list which contains such names as those of Horace Hayman Wilson, Sir Henry Rawlinson, Sir William Muir, Sir Bartle Frere, is one to which admission resembles election to a very exclusive club. Next, I may in the name of the Council and of the Society thank Lord Hailey for accepting

the succession. Our connection with India is so close and our Indian membership so large that no more suitable head of the Society could be found than one who has held high office in that country and, indeed, been governor of more than one of its provinces.

I have next to express my personal gratitude to those on whose counsel I have had to rely, in the first place two of our number, the hon. secretary, Mr. Oldham, and the Director, Sir E. D. Ross. The latter is retiring from his headship of the School of Oriental Studies, to be succeeded by another member of our Council, Professor Turner. The statesmanly gift of selecting the right men for posts was never more felicitously displayed than when Sir Denison Ross was chosen for the first principal of that institution. Only a man combining, as he does, extraordinary linguistic gifts with no less extraordinary skill in administration, could have made of that School the success which he has achieved. We will wish him many years of well-earned leisure, which will doubtless be employed in no less distinguished service than that which he has rendered during the busy years of his headship.

One other person to whose advice I had frequently to resort is no longer with us. Events that were unforeseen when I accepted the Presidency were the death of the patron of the Society, King George V, the accession and abdication of his successor, and the accession of the sovereign whose Coronation we are still celebrating. For the etiquette to be observed in the attitude of the President towards the Royal Patron of the Society I solicited the guidance of Sir Percy Cox, then President of the Royal Geographical Society. In furnishing that guidance he exhibited a quality emphasized in the obituary notice of him in *The Times*. His answers to questions were invariably based on accurate ascertainment of what was correct. By his death the country has lost one of the most gifted and one of the most meritorious of her public servants.

One of the very gravest that our Society could sustain occurred only yesterday, that of a man who has rendered

long, manifold, and important service to us, who might well have looked forward to many more years of scientific activity, and who since he joined the staff of Oxford University in 1908 has been an intimate and valued friend of my own. The sudden death of Stephen Langdon communicated to me by telephone yesterday evening will be deplored here and in the United States, in the countries of the European continent, in Iraq and elsewhere, as that of a master of the cuneiform languages and of Semitic philology. In him Oxford loses one of its most successful and original researchers, an indefatigable worker, a planner of great enterprises and a pioneer.

This brings me to say a word about the losses which our own Society has sustained during the year. Our Report rightly places at the beginning of its list the name of Sir James Stewart Lockhart, whose practical acquaintance with the Far East was of great value to our deliberations, and who also held the by no means easy post of Honorary Secretary. Among the members whom we miss, two were personal friends of my own—Professor Gottheil, of New York, well known for his contributions to Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic philology, and our Honorary Member, Professor C. Snouck Hurgronje, of Leiden, unquestionably the leader of Islamic studies in Europe. Dr. Winternitz was also known to me personally, having spent some time in Oxford, among whose many services to Oriental literature was his elaborate Index to the Oxford series called Sacred Books of the East. Of Honorary Members we may quote Vergil's well-known lines.

Primo avulso non deficit alter

Aureus et simili frondescit virga metallo.

The gentlemen who have accepted honorary membership in lieu of those whom we have lost will add no less lustre to our Society than their predecessors.

Among features of the past three years on which we congratulate ourselves are the interest and co-operation which Ministers of Oriental states have taken in our activities. This was notably the case in the Mutanabbi celebrations, wherein

this Society and the Poetry Society were summoned to co-operate with the representatives of the governments of Egypt, Iraq and Sa'udiyah Arabia. It was not long since the Iranian Minister gave us his assistance with the millenary celebration of Firdausi.

For the success of both the reception in honour of Mutanabbi and that which took place on the sixth of this month when we were gratified by the presence of the Secretary of State for India, a former President of this Society, and large numbers of distinguished visitors from the Oriental sections of the British Commonwealth of Nations, we were greatly indebted to the efforts of our Secretary, Colonel Hoysted, and our Assistant Secretary, Mrs. Davis. Thanks are also due to Professor Yettis, who designed and provided the invitation card, and to the Committee of Invitation, Sir E. D. Ross, Mr. Oldham, and Sir E. Maclagan. Without their special knowledge we might have been bewildered.

Something must be said about the financial condition of the Society as described by the Honorary Treasurer, to whom we owe so much for the care and thought which he bestows on our incomings and outgoings, and the firmness with which he resists all projects which savour of extravagance. His report is less pessimistic than I had feared : but as it is still somewhat gloomy I will base my attempts at consolation on classical models. Most treatises of consolation find the most copious source of comfort in showing that other people are worse off. Hence it may soothe us to be told that whereas our membership totals 732, that of the Société Asiatique of Paris, according to the latest figures at my disposal, those for 1935, totals 410, not much more than half. Their income for that year came to 75,000 francs, about £1,000 at the time, with expenditure 81,000 francs. The German Oriental Society publishes no annual list of members ; but whereas its receipts for 1929 were 60,314 RM., those for 1930 were 35,396 RM., and those for 1935, the last to which I have access, 20,821 RM. During these six years the income of that Society according to

these figures was reduced by two-thirds. Ours, which in 1929 was 4,220, and is now 2,881, shows a reduction of not more than one-third.

Both these Societies suffer from the same disadvantages as render recruiting difficult in our case. (1) Our principles prevent us from being popular; the *Journal Asiatique* is somewhat more technical than our own. (2) Owing to the variety of the subjects with which we deal, much of each number of the *Journal* is of little interest to whole groups of our members; the time when an Orientalist could, like Francis Bacon, take all knowledge for his department is long past. (3) There are competitors, whom perhaps we should rather call colleagues, both in this country and abroad, who draw away possible members of our Societies. The second of these ought to be less serious than the others. It ought not to be hard to convince those who complain of only a moderate amount of the space in our *Journal* being given to their special subject that only by joining forces can we maintain an organ for the advancement of Oriental learning at all.

The chief reason for the financial strain is, however, a matter over which we have no control, again a commonplace of those who write letters of consolation. Our numbers have not fallen off since pre-War times, when we were prosperous; in the Report for 1913 when the *Journal* was of 1,200 pages, the membership was 646 against the present total 732, and the income £2,561 against the present £2,881. On the other hand, both have fallen off seriously since 1930 when the former was 968 and the latter £4,220. Doubtless the financial crisis, which dates from that period, and the rise in prices are responsible for the decline.

Hence we have had to send round the hat; and whether it will return laden with a golden or even what is euphemistically called a silver collection cannot be forecast, though I fear that hearts are hardened by the number of appeals of all sorts issued which the post brings each morning with the regularity of the daily newspaper. Hence we must increase our efforts

to attract new members and, in doing so, can emphasize what we have pointed out in our leaflet, viz. that several of our activities are calculated to be useful to persons who have no time or taste to become Orientalists in the stricter sense. In our Report we have expressed our appreciation of the service rendered us by Professor Yetts and Dr. Margaret Smith in swelling the list of our Library members; and I will conclude with the hope that next year's figures may show a turn in the right direction, and that lost ground has been more than recovered.

Burton Memorial Medal and Lecture

RICHARD BURTON

The Burton Memorial Lecture was delivered on 27th May, 1937, before the Society, at 74 Grosvenor Street, S.W. 1, by Lieut.-Col. Sir Arnold Wilson, to whom the Society's Burton Memorial Medal was presented by Mr. Bertram Thomas.

In presenting the medal,

Mr. Bertram Thomas said that while it would be an honour for anyone to present the Burton Memorial Medal of the Royal Asiatic Society to such a distinguished man as Sir Arnold Wilson, for the speaker it was more. He had, as a young man, had the privilege of serving in the Middle East under Sir Arnold, and he quickly came to have the greatest admiration for him. That admiration was shared by every young officer who came under the same good influence. Sir Arnold was an inspiration to youth. He had those qualities, common to most big men, which inspired confidence and respect, loyalty and devotion. But it would show a want of proportion, in the speaker, to enlarge, before so learned an audience, upon Sir Arnold's gifts of mind and spirit—these were common knowledge. It was more fitting on the day on which they were commemorating that adventurous spirit, Richard Burton, that he should touch on one or two of Sir Arnold's own adventures as a young man.

Lieutenant Wilson, as a young subaltern living on his pay, made his way home on his first leave, travelling as cheaply as he could from the Persian Gulf to the Caspian. A more historic trip was to follow when, as Boundary Commissioner, he passed from Fao to Ararat and thence to London by way of Archangel, for the great War had broken out. He had earned the MacGregor Medal for exploration and the C.M.G.—of which he was for some years the youngest recipient—in his travels in the wildest parts of Persia. He returned to Basrah in 1914 to take part in the Mesopotamian campaign. Mr. Thomas recounted some of Captain Wilson's thrilling experiences as a ground scout with the small but gallant force that fought and won its way through the Euphrates marshes, and quoted from *Loyalties* and *A Clash of Loyalties*, Sir Arnold's two classic volumes which covered the whole of that great and terrible episode in our military history.

The speaker concluded with the opinion that of one thing they could all be quite sure, and that was that Sir Richard Burton would have been proud in the man that their Society delighted to honour, in his name, that day.

Sir Arnold Wilson, having expressed his appreciation of the honour thus conferred on him by the Society and of the language used by Mr. Bertram Thomas who, both in exploration and in scholarship, had far outstripped all his tutors of his early days in the Services, proceeded to give a summary of his address, which has been printed in full.¹ He had obtained, he said, from the Public Record Office, copies of two hitherto unpublished documents of interest to Arabists—Burton's account of the departure of the Mecca Caravan from Damascus in 1870 and 1871, which would be found annexed to his address, as also a despatch of the greatest interest from Fernando Po, in which Burton gave a vivid account of conditions as he found them on the Gold Coast. Burton, he said, was one of the most proficient linguists born

¹ Oxford University Press, 2s.

in this country of whom we have authentic records. His works of travel number over fourscore, and cover four continents, ranging from India and Arabia to East and West Africa, and from South America to Italy. His translations include the *Lusiads* of Camoens, some of the fairy tales of India, and *erotica* of Arabia. "His rendering of Camoens was a masterly performance, abounding with the most recondite and learned annotations. His literal translation of *The Arabian Nights* is the work of an accomplished Eastern scholar who could treat the curious questions suggested by these stories . . . with the frankness, and some of the recklessness, of science." He was a classical scholar, a competent archaeologist, and an observer with a passion for accuracy. In Arabia and Africa he could, with complete success, disguise his appearance, but not his opinions of his superiors or of the world in which he lived. Only once was his claim to be a *bona-fide* traveller contested—by a barmaid at the Zoo. His worth as a close and accurate observer of men and of women, wherever he was, is well established, but the soundness of his judgments and the value of his work was not always appraised at its full worth by his countrymen or by officials whose vision, like that of the barmaid, was limited by the nature of their office, and their confidence in humanity more undermined than that of most barmaids by constant preoccupation with a routine which brought them into contact, even by correspondence, with few men of his calibre.

Richard Burton was honoured by no university and, until he turned to translations of Oriental *erotica*, his immense literary output attracted comparatively little attention outside a small circle. His object was neither fame nor money, but an honourable desire to place fully on record all he knew and could discover upon any subject which interested him. His interests were as varied as the countries in which he dwelt, as an official of the Government of India, and, later, as a Consul. Those who followed in his footsteps had borne witness to his conscientious adherence to geographical truth.

His career as an explorer began in 1852, when he undertook, in the disguise of a Pathan, his famous journey to Medina and Mecca. His life henceforth, until he settled down as Consul at Trieste, was an almost uninterrupted series of exploring expeditions. He never lost touch with the results of Eastern scholarship, and was a member of this Society from 1860 till his death in 1890. Soon after his marriage to Isabel, of the family of Arundell of Wardour, he was sent, in August, 1861, as Consul to Fernando Po, on the West Coast of Africa, then notorious as "the Foreign Office grave". The town consisted largely of mat-huts. There was no Consulate building, the Treasury having refused to incur the expense of erecting one, finding it cheaper, we may presume, to send fairly senior men there and let them die. Burton's predecessor had erected in 1856 a single-storey bungalow of wood and mats which, when Burton arrived, was uninhabitable. His application to spend £322 in repairing it can be seen in the Public Record Office. On the back are the brief official minutes of his official superiors.

I

Is there any precedent for this in Fernando Po ?

II.

No.

He was accordingly told that Government would incur no expense on erecting a building : he could rent a residence and an office in the town.

He was not encouraged to explore. His application for surveying instruments made shortly after his arrival at his post, was endorsed as follows at the Foreign Office :—

I

Is there any precedent ?

II

No ; I think it objectionable that our Consuls should be furnished with such things.

He was instructed accordingly !

His *Wit and Wisdom from W. Africa* merits republication

to-day : it includes some 2,268 proverbs and idioms, in the Wolof, Kanuri, Oji and Fan tongues, and the Ga, or Accra, Yoruba and Efik languages, throwing much light on contemporary habits and superstitions, and is as valuable in its way as *Roebuck's Oriental Proverbs*, which equally deserves such immortality as a reprint can afford. He had no desire to administer, but rather to guide, Eastern and African people, and foretold accurately much that has come to pass in the social and political development of certain Eastern nations.

His translation of the *1,001 Nights*, published in 1885, gave him a chance of placing on record what he knew upon many subjects, and it brought in money which was an absolute necessity. The demand for it surprised him. The technical excellence of his translation is undisputed : to the value to scholars and psychiatrists of his learned notes all workers in this field have testified. He described it as a work of scholarship published in order that the rulers of the East should understand the mainsprings of Eastern life. Were such a work to be published to-day it would arouse less shocked comment, and perhaps be more widely read.

"March at the head of the ideas of your time," wrote Louis Napoleon from the prison of Ham, in 1841, "and they will follow and sustain you. Follow them and they will carry you along. Oppose them and they will crush you." Burton opposed the ideas of his time. In some respects he was better fitted for official life in the present day, when his ideals of indirect rule are being rediscovered. But we may say of him with confidence, as Firdausi says of himself in the concluding couplets of the *Shah Namah* :—

All men of prudence, faith and rede shall give
Applause to me, when I have ceased to live,
But live I shall, for seeds of words have I
Flung broadcast, and, henceforth I shall not die.

Notices

FORTHCOMING EVENTS

December 1937.—At Trivandrum, the Ninth All-India Oriental Conference will meet under the patronage of His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore.

We offer our congratulations to Professor D. S. Margoliouth, our Director, who has recently been elected an Honorary Member of the American Oriental Society.

On 24th June the Rt. Hon. Sir Akbar Hydari, P.C., Kt., LL.D., made an announcement in connection with a very generous gift to our library from H.E.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad. In commemoration of his Silver Jubilee, His Exalted Highness has signified his desire to present to the Society a set of the Arabic and Persian books published by the Da'irat al-Ma'arif, under his direction. Lord Hailey, the President of the Society, in accepting the gift, desired Sir Akbar Hydari to convey to His Exalted Highness the very grateful thanks of the Society for his munificent bequest.

On account of the summer vacation, it would be greatly appreciated if correspondence could be reduced to a minimum during the months of August and September.

Members and subscribing libraries are reminded that by Rule 24 the annual subscriptions for the coming year are due on 1st January, without application from the Society. A great saving would be effected if all members would kindly comply with this rule.

Students are requested to note that the Students' Room of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities on the upper floor of the British Museum opened on Monday,

10th May, 1937, and is now available, with the exception of the usual holidays, for the use of students of Egyptian papyri and Assyrian and Babylonian tablets. Other classes of written documents and the archaeological material will be made available as the rearrangement of the collections is completed.

Students who desire to continue their use of the room should renew their tickets immediately, and are requested to give notice of their requirements before presenting themselves.

Dr. B. C. Law Trust Series

The first period during which MSS. may be submitted by competitors for publication in the above series, lately founded by Dr. Bimala Churn Law, of Calcutta, will close on 31st December, 1938. Details are given in the loose sheet enclosed in this number of the *Journal*. They may also be obtained on application to: The Secretary, Royal Asiatic Society, 74 Grosvenor Street, London, W. 1.

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No. 5121, of June 12, contains a further description by Professor Sami Gabra, Director of the Egyptian University, of the excavations at Hermopolis West (see also 8th June, 1935) showing a park and subterranean mausoleum for the sacred Ibis, made in honour of Thoth.

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PART IV.—OCTOBER

Shafta d Pishra d Ainia

(A MANDÆAN MAGICAL TEXT

TRANSLATED AND TRANSLITERATED BY E. S. DROWER)

Marai mshaba. Bliba dakia blishania bpuma tushbihta.

Kushṭa asinkhun

TRANSLITERATION

o	= A.
h	= B.
g	= G or Gh.
ḏ	= D or Dh.
h	= H (hard and soft).
u	= W, U, or V.
z	= Z.
o	= (a final possessive 3rd person termination) ḥ.
ṭ	= T.
y	= Y or I.
k	= K or Kh.
l	= L.
m	= M.
n	= N.
s	= S.

- 𐬀 = 'Ain. But in Mandæan never guttural, and can replace "a". Followed by "u" or "i" it takes on the long "ū" or "ī" sound.
 𐬁 = P.
 𐬂 = Š.
 𐬃 = Q.
 𐬄 = R.
 𐬅 = Sh.
 𐬆 = T or Th.
 𐬇 = Ad, or Ed. The possessive particle and relative particle d.
 𐬈 = A.
 𐬉 = Kth i.e. "like" or "as".

- Bshumaihun d hiia rbia qadmaia nukhraia mn almia d
 nhura yatiria d 'lawia kulhun 'ubadia asutha uzakutha
 hathamta uzarazta unatarta rabtia d sharara nhuilia ldilia Plan
 br Plana uzawai ubnai ubnathai uaurai hikhelai ukulh binianai
 mn hiia umn Manda d hiia asia maraihun d kulhun asawatha
 'zha u'tazha aina bishtha ukabihta waina zruqtia waina
 (10) bruqtia waina kbishtia waina qliqtia waina 'kiltia kth abun
 Bil nsib mia urmh lrishia qirib rma 'l kwakiatha unsab tagha
 wathnh brishia uzaina tla 'l kadf h huṭra d mura b'dh (or
 b'adia) am qarbala (?) lauma kulh bgumra ¹ tagha nad unfal mn
 rishia uzaina nfal mn kadf h huṭra d mura nfal mn 'dh urishia
 (20) smar ubarsa nfal gibta d gaubat 'lh usilqit [sic] shgibun [sic]
 bshuba shibiahia kth taghaiun traslun brishaihun uzaina tlilia
 lkadfaun huṭra d mura nfal mn 'daihun umdabrania lalma
 kulh bgumura huṭra d mura nfal mn 'daihun urishaihun smar
 ubarsa nfal gibta d gabat 'lh usilqit [sic] upagibun [sic] byama
 (30) kth mlia mia wazlia mia bgauh warbita piria u'nbia u'lania d
 'lawia rauzia wamarat kma shapiria yama ushapiria d masgin
 bgauh d 'bdiṭ piria u'nbia u'lania d 'lawih rauzia wamarat

¹ Later on (p. 2) "unidabr h lalma kulh bgumra".

kma shapiria yama ushapiria d masgin bgauh d rbita piria
 u'nbia u'lania d 'lawih şba gibta d gabat 'lawaihun usilqat
 pagibun baqnia d hush raiia ushapir bnaion ubnathun ushapiria (40)
 baqaria d masgin abathraiun aqnia lgaţ pumaiun mn miria
 ubnaiun lgaţ pumaiun mn mimaş waramatha la masgin
 abathraiun gubta d gaubat 'lawaihun usilqat pagibun btauria
 d pirun malka d mişraia wamrat kma shapiria tauria d pirun
 malka d mişraia shapiria ubnaiun ubnathun ushapiria baqaria
 d masgin abathraiun tauria lgaţ pumaiun mn miriai ubnaiun (50)
 lgaţ pumaiun mn mimaş ubaqaria tkalal unfil lknaf tauraiun
 usilqat shkitun ubkitun udnitun 'l qudam hiia rbia qadmaia
hash hiia uprash hiia u'tafrash hiia kth yatbia bathira kasia
bshkhinathun ubziwa rba dilun d nafshaiun ubanhura rba
 kabira wamar hazin qala d man mn tibil qala rama d mn (60)
 'ubdunia titaiia d hshukha umn mia siawia 'siria gmitia
 unsisia malil d nimarhun maraihun d nafshaihun ya yaduiia
 d yaditun 'l mahu mshailitun hazin qala d aina bishta ukawihta
 umarirtia d baqat usilqat mn 'umqia d yama umn taum
 taumia titaiia d hshukha umn mia siawia hţima haţam
 mkairia bruhia unishmatha d bnat anasha washkath 'l P. br (70)
 P. umhath urmath bhana d 'mh lgaţ ainh mn mihzia upumh
 mn mikal u'dh mn mibad ulighrh mn masguiia hash hiia
uprash hiia u'tafrash hiia kth yatbia bshkhinathun bziwa rba
 dilun d nafshaihun banhura rba ukabira uqiriuia lman d
 asia wamarulh qum nsub shaba mkadfia d parzla ushaba (80)
 silwania mn shaba talia d ziqla ziburia ushuba shibia mn
shuba rishia nhuth 'l 'umqia d yamia ulyama d 'isiria hţimia
 gmitia nsisia lughtuia 'l aina bishta ukawihta umarirtia d
 mhata 'l P. br P. umihuia bakla rba d ziwa ubnarga rba d
shir'atha ubgurmaiza d nura bshaba mkadfai d parzla ushuba (90)
 salawatha mn shuba talia d ziqla ziburia ushuba shibia mn
shuba rishia unhuth ulghutia 'l aina bishta ukawihta baufia
rishia bsbasia d himiania bshanhia d shifula titaiia d lighrh
 urumuih bit zban uladan dukta d dudia utafan lglala urahta
 aina bishta u'kilta utinihta utimalil utimarh kabra d kabralh (100)
 mn 'nisha asia d nithia gabra d la hash ulahshukh ulaprash

- wamar bminiltakh mishtaiina bpra manakh d nisab mia mn
 pum frash ziwa umisha br shushma hiwara umihla pth pshar
 gufna umihla şatra şita ushmaia umia mn yardna rba d mia
 (110) hia wadkhar hazin pugdama 'lh ushuph bpaghra d P. br P.
 utipshar utifuq minh aina bishta ukawihta umarirtia waina
 zruqtia waina bruqtia waina kbishtia waina qliqtia kth
shamish b'shumia ukth ziqa banania ukth şifra gadfa d
 pashar unafiq mn qinh ukth tata d pashra unafqa mn dibnh
 ukth mihla d pashra unafqa bmia ukth hiuta d pashra
 (120) unafqa d barqa bminilta d qarh wamarlia 'zil hazin shutha
adkharlh 'l bil ab d nisab taghh unitriş brishia unisab zainh
 unitlia bkadfh huţra d mura nilguţ b'dh unidabrhh lalma
 kulh bgumra wamarlh 'zil hazin shutha adkharlun 'l shuba
shibiahia uninisbun taghaiun unitirşnun brishaiun uninisbun
 (130) zainaiun unitlun bkadfaun huţra d mura niligtun b'daihun
 unidabrunh lalma kulh bgumra 'zil hazin shutha adkharlh
 lyama kth mlia mia ununia udilfunia nasgun bgauh d 'rbita
 piria u'mbia u'lania 'lawh niriuzun 'zil hazin shutha adkharlh
 laqna d hush raiia aqua nishtria pumaiun lmiria ubnaiun
 nishtria lmimaş waramatha nasgun abathraiun 'zil hazin
 (140) shutha adkhar ltaura d pirun malka d misraiia tauria
 nishtria pumaihun lmaria [sic] ubnaiun nishtria pumaiun
 lmimaş ubaqaria nasgun abathraiun 'zil hazin shutha adkharlh
 'l P. br P. d tipshar utifuq minh aina bishta ukawihta waina
 zruqtia waina bruqtia waina 'kumtia kth shamish bshumia
 (150) ukth ziqa banania ukth sifar gadfa d pashar unafiq mn
 qinh ukth tata d pashra unafqa mn dibnh ukth mihla
 d pashra unafqa bmia wasutha tihuilia 'l P. br P. uzawh ubnh
 ubnathh udaurh hiklh ubinianh basutha d manda d hia asia
 wamar aina d abuk bsana waina d shibabia bishia bibnaiun
 (160) waina d azla waina d athia waina d rahiqa waina d qaribia
 waina d dardiqunia waina d dirdiquniatha waina d zanai
 waina d zamar waina d kulh tibil waina d mhata 'l P. br
 P. ninisbh 'urba unisaq ldiqla lihdaia nitib lgidma uniparta
 bi prata d parit minh nandia bnandia minh nafil baqnia d
 tauria nidrikhubh utata nidrikhubh utitin utitbahat utibţul

aina bishta ukawihtha mn paghra d P. br P. kth 'ntha d yatba (170)
 aqama ham uhamath wartat ubihtat akwath aqar unhut
 anat aina bishta d mahialh 'l P. br P. umshabin hiia

Bshumaihun d hiia rbia asutha tihuilia 'l P. br P. hda d aina
 utartin d ainia uthalth d ainai warbia d ainia hamish d ainia
 ushit d ainia ushuba d ainia waina zruqtia waina msustia (180)
 waina qliqtia waina hamranita waina 'kiltia waina d azla
 waina d athia waina d qaima waina d yatba waina d rahiqa
 waina d qaribia waina d zanai waina d zamar waina d 'l
 aramatha yatba waina d 'l rqiha rmiia 'lia d 'l azlit anat aina
 d 'usfar uniwal hawit 'l ahia azlit ahia mn hddia gatlit 'u (190)
 'l 'umamatha azlit 'umamatha mn hddia parshit aqrug mn
 baitha upaghra d P. br P. miqar ziqla mn bagha urigluk mirgal
 qaina lburia utiriukh mitria baitha mn glala kibshukh mikbash
 libna bbiniana utibukh abara birbita arbikukh ushiriukh 'l kiffa
 d prat udiglat arbikikh almana bzaina uparasha bqasht (200)
 urashikh raiia baqnih ubaqara btaurih usab sida bimsana
 unisbikh aria 'l bnh udiba 'l shithl sifra lqinh usartana 'lniqubh
 unisbuia 'l aina bishta ukawihtha d mhata 'l P. br P. utipshar
 utifuq minh kth mihla d pashra unafqa bmia ukth hufia mn
 puma d kasa ukth hamra mn puma d shataia ukth shinta mn (210)
 aina d shakhiba ninisbh 'urba unisaq 'l ziqla unishifh bsilwa
 sharira 'kisit umakisit anat aina bishta ukawihtha d mhata
 d (? 'l) P. br P. utipshar utifuq minh kth mihla d pashra
 unafqa bmiia 'kisit umakisit anat aina bishta ukawihtha d
 mhata 'l P. br P. aqar shuhsh ubhut utbal uniramia 'kurikh (220)
 umiia qariria umshabin hiia

Abgan shuma rba wabgan mimra rba qadmaia 'l aina
 shgishtia u'l aina mrastia u'l aina qliqtia 'l aina zruqtia u'l aina
 hamranita u'laina d yatba 'l qiqilta u'laina d aila baitha
 unafqa baitha u'l aina d saida d sliq mn agma u'l aina d (230)
 raiia d sliq mn aqua aina d hismat waina d rabat tbarat
 kth pilqa wawadt u'thambalt kth 'urnasa wamaralh kth lau
 aina hasumtia ulau raiubtia ana 'dilma aina hasumtia raiubtia
 qiritulia wamaralh hazin d la haisit hazin d la raibit d athit (240)

- upagatbh bhikla d bit malka ushurba rba d gubria rurbania
 baina mhitainun u'l 'uhrikh 'tkamart hikla d bit malka
 nfal ushurba rba d gubria rurbania 'tbarat shahbia şardia d
 bgawaihun aina hasumtia waina raiubtia 'tbarat kth pilqa
 wawadt w'thambalt kth 'urnasa wamralh kth lau aina
 (250) hasumtia ulau aina raiubtia ana 'dilma aina hasumtia waina
 raiubtia qaritulia wamarlh hazin d lahasit hazin d la raibit
 d athit upagatbh bipdana d shita tauria ushita 'karia d zira
 ubazira barqa ramın dalit ainikh urmitibun wamart kma
shapiria 'pdania ushapiria 'karia d bgawaihun baina mhitainun
 (260) u'l 'uhrikh 'tkamart 'pdana [sic], psiq ushanziria psiq tauria rhiṭ
 'lagma u'karia rhiṭ 'l mathh zira ubazira mn arqa psagt aina
 hasumtia waina raiubtia 'tbarat kth 'urnasa wamralh kth lau
 aina hasumtia ulau aina raiubtia ana 'dilma aina hasumtia
 waina raiubtia qaritulia wamarlh hazin d la haisit hazin d
 (270) la raiubit d athit upagatbh bbaita d shita ahia ushita
 'umamatha d bihda baitha yatbia ubihda sala akhlin u'l hda
 tanura qaimin u'l hda asita mhabshin dalit ainikh urmtaibun
 wamart kma shapiria ahia bnia hdadia u'umamatha alwath
 (280) hdadia lanashin baina mhitainun u'l 'uhrikh 'tkamart ahia 'l
 hdadia nfal u'umamatha 'l hdadia nfal shigsha uṭirqa rmit
 bnataihun aina hasumtia waina raiubtia 'tbarat kth pilqa
 wawadt 'thambalt kth 'urnasa wamralh kth lau aina hasumtia
 ulau aina raiubtia ana 'dilma aina hasumtia waina raiubtia
 (290) qaritulia wamarlh hazin d la haisit hazin d laraibit d athit
 upagitbh bniula d arba shapiratha dalit ainikh urmitibun
 wamart kma shapiria shapiratha ushapiria karkuria d 'daihun
 baina mhitainun u'l 'uhrikh 'tkamart 'laiia 'tbar u'laiia
 utitaiia 'tbar shapiratha bakian ubnaiun alin shigsha uṭirqa
 (300) rmit binaihun aina hasumtia waina raiubtia 'tbar kth pilqa
 uawadt u'thambalt kth 'urnasa bhut ufuq mn hazin paghra
 d P. br P. kth 'ntha 'sira d bukta nisbat 'l kadfh rmat
 wazlat lmimlia mia wathun upagubh ham uhamath d 'rusa
 'tigid kanfh u'taram lrishh u'tgihnāt uniffat bukta minh
 u'tibrat u'tbihtat akwath bhut unfuq anat aina bishta
 (310) mn paghra d P. br P. aina d rabat 'tbarat kth pilqa

uawadat u'thambalt kth 'urnasa bhut ufuq mn hazin
 paghra d P. br P. umn baithh hiklh utaurh utaurathh umn
 kish uqinianh umshabin hiia zakhin
 Bshumaihun d hiia rbia asutha tihuilia IP. br
 P. 'kisa makisa ainaihun d shaba harashatha mn baitha upaghra (320)
 d P. br P. mn zawh ubnh ubnathh umn hiwaniathh uqinianh
 wana P. br P. ainai bianhura ulighrai bishrara wana P. br P.
 wanatun harshia latutai wana P. br P. 'lawaiikhun pshar ushria
 mn P. br P. bshuma d hardbi'il malakha ushria bshuma d
 gadfi'il malakha ushria bshuma d hamgi'il malakha pshar (330)
 harshia bishia usadania 'pikia waina bishta ukawhta mn
 paghra d P. br P. bshum abukhun ugadfaikhun 'lawaiikhun
 pshar ushria miniltaikhun bdardaria 'umamathkhun mn paghra
 d P. br P. uzawh ubnh ubnathh pshar ushria mn magalta
 udiuta umitras trisa 'shumia lqudamh d P. br P. umitras (340)
 trisa arqa lqudamh d P. br P. wasutha tihuilia 'l P. br P.
 bhalin minilta d nhura hiia zakhin lkulhun 'ubadia

Raza d hazin pugdama shrita lman d 'sir umtanaf bharshia
 d kdubalh 'ltasa d anka wabara shrita tihuilia ulzibnh ulzibnh
 qrih lkuza d mia wazla lnafsiakh ulbaitha u'l zibnakh
 u'lzbunakh tum titiksia ainaihun d shaba bishia d harashatha
 usharir umnasai (350)

'sira usdima 'sfar uniwal aina zruqtia 'sira usdima aina
 msustia 'sira usdima aina qliqtia 'sira usdima aina 'kumtia
 'sira usdima aina qdurtia 'sira usdima aina qburtia 'sira usdima
 aina hlultia 'sira usdima aina d 'l turia qaima 'sira usdima aina
 d 'l aramatha yatba 'sira usdima aina d 'l rqiha rmiia 'sira (360)
 usdima aina d 'l rish 'ibad umabad qaimna ana P. br P. lilai
 wanatun harshia latutia wana 'lawaiikhun pshiria harshia
 bishia usadania 'pikia pshiria harshia usdimia hrimia uksisia
 'kisia umakisia umshamtia umbatlia zihia umazihia zimia
 umazimia bshuma d pashrun ziwa gabra pashura d pashar
 btaninia d yardna nhura hua lihshukha pishra hua lharshia (370)
 sidama hua lruṭna shaina hua uṣhaina hawia rwaha hua
 urwaha hawia ṭabutha huat uṭabutha hawia unhura hua

unhura hawia sdima shqahit aina zruqtia sdimia tihuat aina
 mşuştia sdima huat aina qliqtia sdima şarşit aina 'kaltia
 sdima shafafit aina qburtia sdima skakit unitar aina qdurtia
 (380) d 'lhinun ukarkuma adunai şbabuth ukrukh utabaria ushania
 waqur ugamar mishqal shqilta ushqilta nishqul girba u'shata
 mn paghra d P. br P. mibrakh brikhia umbarukhia lalam almia
 hiia zakhin

'sira usdima upshira umaziha aina zruqtia d shamish
 umşuştia d libat uqliqtia d nbu u'kiltia d sin hlultia d kiwan
 (390) uqburtia d bil uqdurtia d nirig waina d 'l aramatha yatba
 waina d 'l rqiha rm'ia waina d ananai wasutha tihuilia 'l
 P. br P. hiia zakhin
 Raza rba para uparta qrih 'lawaihun kdub lmagalta d tabia
 utlilh bşaura

'sira hthima umaziha shqahit aina zruqtia d shamish 'sira
 umaziha amamit aina mşuştia d libat 'sira umaziha şarhit
 (400) aina qliqtia d nbu 'sira umaziha şarşit aina 'kiltia d sin 'sira
 umaziha aina hlultia d kiwan 'sira umaziha shafafit aina
 qburtia d bil 'sira umaziha skakit unitar aina qdurtia d
 nirigh sdima umaziha sam usaf raza d ananai sdim haq umaq
 raza d sdim kuf raza urimza uraza sdim shirsha kulh d
hshukha umia siawia sdimia hrimia malkaiun mbatlan
 (410) mhashabathun 'siritun usdimitun hthimitun umshamitun
 umbatlitun zimitun umazimitun lbar mn paghra d P. br
 P. bshuma d hahu rishaga qashisha nibtul hshukha unizkia
 nhura d qinan d tartin usrin shurbatha d bit simiail satana
 nibtul hshukha unizkhia nhura wasutha tihuilia 'l P. br P.
 mn hiia rbia qadmaia umn manda d hiia hiia zakhin

(420) Banana rabtia d nhura yatibna ana hu hibil ziwa zadiq br
 athra d nhura br daura taqna br mdinat 'uthria ana u'uthria
 ahai bnia nhura d qaimia qudamai anush zuṭa qaiim 'l smal'ai
 ushitil qaiim lyaminai hinun ulbushaih d minai qaiminin
 umshabinalh lanana rabtia d nhura d minh 'tinşibnin haizakh
 (430) shaminin qala d P. br P. anasha d aina mhath ukiwihta nsabth

ulibh āta uruiana 'shtagash wana hibil ziwa zadiqa wamarnalun
 'l 'uthria ahai bnia nhura d yatbia bkisia wamarnalun nhut
 'l tibil arqa wasutha mindam tibidulh 'l P. br P. gabra u'ntha
 wamarnalun 'l bhiria zidqa gbilia bisra uzma sab hazin
 pugdama kdublh 'l P. br P. anasha d aina mhath ukawihta
 nsabth ulibh āta uruiana 'shtagash wasutha tihuilh 'l P. br (440)
 P. bshuma d manda d hiia asia maraihun d asawatha hiia
 zakhin

THE SCROLL FOR THE EXORCISM OF THE EYES

My Lord be Praised !

With a Pure Heart !

On my tongue and in my mouth (be) praise ! ¹

In the name of the Great, First, Strange ² Life, from worlds
 of light abounding, which is above all (created) works; healing,
 purity, armed-readiness, sealing and the great security of
 soundness ³ shall be mine, N. son of N., and my wife's, my
 sons' and my daughters', and (protect) my dwelling, and the
 enclosed ground about it ⁴ and all my buildings. From the
 Life and from Manda d Hiia, healers, lords of all healings.

Tremble ! be scared off, Evil Eye and Dimmed (or blinded)
 (Eye) and Blue Eye ⁵ and Eye with white cataract and Shut (10)
 Eye and Eye with a film on it, and Corroded Eye !

When their father Bel took water and threw it on his head,
 advanced, threw on his teeth (?) and took a crown and set it

¹ Should be this. Careless copying.

² *Nukraia* Mandæans translate "coming from a distance of time or space", hence "ancient". I follow Lidzbarski.

³ *Shrara*. Soundness of body and mind. L. sometimes translates *shrara* "truth".

⁴ *Hikla*. Mandæans say "the ground about the house", i.e. the compound wall. Literally "that enclosed by a boundary line drawn about it". (Cf. *hql*.) Hence hall, temple, nave (of church), etc.

⁵ Priests translate "eye that glances to and fro". I suspect that priests, amongst whom blue eyes are common, are biased. It is just possible (cf. P.-S. ٥١١); however, blue eyes are commonly thought baleful.

on his head, a mulberry (or pastoral) staff in his hand, with a shield on his fore-arm ; all was in perfect order. . . . The crown shook and fell from his head and the armour fell from his shoulder, the mulberry staff fell from his hand, and his head was confused and he fell on his bed (by) the snare (20) which She ¹ wove upon him.

And She rose and strayed amongst the Seven Planets. When they put their crowns on their heads and hung armour on their shoulders the mulberry staff fell from their hands ² and the Fatebringers, all of them, were in their perfection. The mulberry staff fell from their hands and their heads were confused and they fell on their couches (by) the spell which she wove upon them. And she rose (" and met ", see below) them (those) in the sea (or great lake) when the water was high, and water flowed into it, and the spring herbage, fruits (30) and grapes and trees that were by it flourished.

And she said, " How beautiful the sea is, and how beautiful are those who go about in it, of (and ?) the spring herbage, the fruits, and the trees that are by it (lit. above it) (*bis*). He thought (she thought ?) the snare which she wove upon them. And she rose and met sheep tended by shepherds, and beautiful were the lambs, male and female, and beautiful the herdsmen (40) who followed behind them. She restrained the mouths of the sheep from the pastures and their lambs' mouths from sucking, and they ³ went not (on ?) the hills after them (the dams). A snare that she wove upon them. And she went up and met the bulls of Pharaoh, King of the Egyptians, and she said, " How beautiful are the bulls of Pharaoh, King of the Egyptians, and their calves, male and female ; and beautiful are the herdsmen who walk behind them ! " She withheld (50) the mouths of the bulls from the pastures and the mouths of their calves from sucking, and the herdsmen became few and fell beside their bulls. And she rose . . . And ye were

¹ " She " is the Eye throughout.

² Another miscopying, as is evident from the context.

³ The lambs.

brought low and wept and were abased before the Great Life. The Life was cognizant, and understood and took counsel within itself as it sat in the Secret Place, in its abiding-place, and in the great glory which is its own, and in the mighty great light. And it spoke this saying that (it might be ?) uttered by those on earth,¹ so that from the Lower Abaddon of darkness and from the black waters the bound, the oppressed and the sick spoke, and said to their own lords : " O ye who know that which ye know, wherefore did ye not silence the voice of the Evil Eye and the Blind and the Sick (Eye) that tortured (us) and rose up from the depths of the sea and from the limit of the dwellers in the nether regions of darkness and from the black waters, causing uncleanness² and marring the spirits and souls of the daughters of men ? " (60)

And She found N. son of N. and struck him and threw him into the lap of his mother. She prevented his eye from seeing and his mouth from eating and his hand from doing and his legs from walking.

The Life took cognizance, and reflected and took counsel of itself as it sat in its dwelling, in its own great radiancy, in the great and mighty light, and called to him who is the healer and said (to him), " Rise, take seven iron shoulder-pieces and seven thorns (lances ?) from seven strong young palm-shoots and seven bundles-of-reeds³ with seven heads (plumes). Descend to the depths of the seas and to the sea of those who are bound, unclean, fettered and sick. Grasp the Evil Eye and the Dimmed (Eye) and the Sore (Eye) which struck N. son of N. Strike them with a great hammer of radiance and with a great axe of exorcisms,⁴ and with a mace of fire, with the seven shoulder-pieces of iron and the seven shafts of seven young palm-shoots of a strong palm-tree⁵ and (90)

¹ Obscure. Freely translated.

² Hifel *tma* "to be unclean".

³ Lower written *shibia*. I think this is the *shebba*, modern colloquial for the reed-bundle used in the construction of reed-huts.

⁴ *Shiriatha* "rays", "exorcisms".

⁵ A priest translates *ziburia* "male".

seven reed-sheaves¹ with seven heads. And descend and seize the Evil Eye and the Dim (Eye) by the hair² of their heads, by the tassels of their girdles, by the extreme edge of the lower hem of their legs, and cast them into the house of my time and moment,³ the place of fetters and manacles, into captivity and supervision."

- (100) The Evil Eye and the Corroded (Eye) groans, and speaks and talks to the powerful one who afflicts her, from (to ?) the healing man who comes, the man who was untroubled, and was not gloomy⁴ and said: "Thy word I speak! In thy⁵ take (*nsub* ?) water from the mouth of the Light-Euphrates, and oil, child of white sesame; and salt, daughter of Melting (exorcism); a plant; and salt; wild thyme; olive oil; and wax, and water from the great
- (110) yardna of living water. And pronounce this command over them, and rub them into the body of N. son of N." ⁶ And thou shalt be exorcised and depart from him, Evil Eye, and Dim (Eye), and Sore, and Blue Eye and Eye with Cataract, and Closed Eye, and Whitened Eye, like Shamish in the heavens, and like the wind amongst the clouds, and like a winged bird

¹ See note 3, page 599.

² *Aufia*. Literally "foliage". In the Diwan Abathur supernatural beings are portrayed with leaves for hair. A priest (unreliable) translates "plaits".

³ This probably read *urumuia bzban uladan ldukth* "and throw them at my time and moment into the place", etc.

⁴ i.e. the exorcist.

⁵ *bpramanakh* "in thy (ritual) face-covering" ? (cf. פְּרָמָא). The usual word for the Mandæan ritual face-bandage, which covers the lower part of the face only, is the *pandama*. It is also called the *païman*. These forms recall the Pahlevi and Parsi *padân*, and the Pazend *panam* or *penum*. The Avestan (see Modi: *Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees*, p. 56) is *paitidâna*. Jastrow gives פְּרָמָא and פְּרָמָא, i.e. "rag used as a mask". The addition of the suffix *an* or *ana* is common in Mandæan. Hence the "praman" is probably the ritual face-bandage which any Mandæan priest puts on when performing ritual. (The Zoroastrian priest wears a *padân* before the fire-altar). The Euphrates, not the Tigris, is the holy river for Mandæans. "The mouth of the Light-Euphrates" is (nowadays) the junction of that river with the Tigris at Qurna. The junction of two rivers has been thought curative and life-bestowing since Babylonian times. (Cf. R. Campbell-Thompson's *Semitic Magic*, p. li.)

⁶ The Eye is compelled to give the recipe for her own exorcism.

which is loosed and goes forth from her nest, and like
¹ which is loosed and goes forth from its
² and like salt which is loosed and dissolves
 in water, and like a creature which is loosed and comes forth
 which was in the earth, by the word which he said to them. (120)

“Go! pronounce this saying upon Bel, my father, that he
 may take his crown, and set it on his head, and may take his
 armour and hang it on his shoulder, and a mulberry staff and
 grasp it in his hand and arrange the whole world in perfec-
 tion.”

And he said to him, “Go, pronounce this saying upon the
 seven Planets, and they shall take their crowns and set them
 on their heads and shall take their armour and hang it on
 their shoulders, and the mulberry staff and grasp it with their (130)
 hands and order the whole world in perfection. Go,
 pronounce this saying upon the sea, when it is full of water³
 and fishes and dolphins go about in it, so that spring herbage,
 fruits, grapes, and trees may flourish over it. Go, pronounce
 this saying upon the sheep tended by shepherds: the sheep
 shall loosen their mouths to the pasture and their young be
 free to suck and go behind them (on ?) the hills. Go, pronounce (140)
 this saying on the bull(s) of King Pharaoh of the Egyptians:
 the mouths of the bulls shall be loosened to the pasture,
 and the mouths of their young shall be loosened to suck, and
 the herdsman shall go behind them. Go, pronounce this saying
 upon N. son of N., that the Evil Eye and Dim (Eye) and Blue
 Eye, and Eye with Cataract, and Darkened Eye may be
 exorcized and depart from him, like Shamish in the skies,
 and like wind in the clouds and like a winged bird that is (150)
 loosed and goes forth from her nest, and like a⁴
 which is freed and goes forth from⁵ and like salt

¹ *Tata*. A priest suggests “silkworm”, but this is *tulia*.

² *Dibna*. The same man says “cocoon”. Nöldeke translates “sheep-
 fold”, and a priest gives “reed enclosure for sheep”.

³ An inland freshwater sea is indicated full in the time of flood and rain.

⁴ See note 1 above: *tata*.

⁵ See note 2 above: *dibna*.

that is dissolved and goes out in water. And health shall be upon N. son of N., and his wife and sons and daughters and and dwelling and enclosure and buildings, in the health of Manda d Hiia, the Healer." And he said, "The contemptuous ¹ eye of your father and the eye of evil neighbours and their sons and the eye of those who go and the eye of those who come and the eye of those who depart and the eye of those who approach, and the eye of boys and the eye of girls and the eye of *zanai* ² and the eye of *zamar* ³ and the eye of all the earth, and the Eye which struck N. son of N. We will remove the willow and set up the date-palm.⁴ What is loathsome ⁵ amongst the loathsome shall fall away from him who sits by himself and is sundered by separation.

(170) We will pronounce it amongst the sheep and the bulls and the⁶ And thou, Evil and Diseased Eye, shalt be smoked out (?) and shalt be shamed and become impotent (and depart) from the body of N. son of N., like a woman who sat before her father-in-law and mother-in-law and trembled, and was ashamed, as if a-cold. And be abased, thou Evil Eye, which strikes N. son of N. And Life be praised.

(180) In the name of the Great Life, health shall be unto N. son of N. One of the Eye, and Two of the Eyes and Three of my Eye and Four of Eyes and Five of Eyes and Six of Eyes and Seven of Eyes. And the Blue Eye and the Dried-up Eye and the Whitened Eye and the Parched Eye and the Consumed Eye and the eye of a coming (person) and the eye of a going, and the eye of a sitting (person) and the eye of the going-away and the eye of the approaching, and the eye of *zanai* and the eye of *zamar* ² and the eye (of him ?) sitting

¹ *Bsana*.

² *Zanai uzmar* a common expression in exorcisms. "My whore and singing-boy" is possible, but improbable.

³ See note 2.

⁴ Play on words: 'uir meaning "blind" and *diq* "seeing".

⁵ ? *nandia*.

⁶ *Tata* or *tatha*, see note 1, page 601.

on the heights and the eye cast upon the high firmament that upon . . . (?). Thou camest, Eye that withers and torments (lit. that was a witherer and torment) to brothers. Thou camest to brothers, and the brothers began to strike ¹ each other. And to mothers thou didst come, and didst divide (190) the mothers against each other. Turn thee from the house and body of N. son of N. The date-palm is uprooted from his garden (i.e. his sight is gone). And a fetter has fettered thee : the reed into the reed mat (*text seems defective*). And rain beats thee down (or, "a flail beats thee down") a stone house crushes thee flat, the mud brick in the building ² Amongst the spring herbage thou art forced to kneel and cast down on the bank of the Euphrates and Tigris by the youth with his armour and the archer with his bow : (200) the shepherds with their sheep crushed thee and the herdsman with his bulls ³ with his shoe. And the lion takes thee to his cub, and the wolf to its litter, the bird to its nest, and the crab to its mate, and they shall take away the Evil Eye and Dimmed (Eye) which has struck N. son of N. And She shall melt away and depart from him like salt melts and goes forth into the water and like vapours ⁴ from the mouth of a bowl and like wine from the mouth of those drinking it, (210) and like slumber from the eye of a sleeper. We will take away the willow and set up the date-palm ⁵ and set it with a firm stem (?).⁶ Thou art brought to ignominy and utterly confounded and brought to nought, Evil Eye and Dimmed that has struck N. son of N. : thou art exorcised and goest forth from him like salt melteth and goeth forth in the waters. Thou art confounded and brought to nought Evil Eye and Dimmed that has struck N. son of N. Be rooted (220) out! ⁷ be shamed ! and confounded ! And we

¹ *Gil* sometimes used for "beat".

² *Uṭibukh abara* hardly makes sense.

³ *Usab sida* "and ate their fill" obviously miscopied.

⁴ *Hufia* "vapours", "froth".

⁵ See note 4, page 602.

⁶ *Silwa* "rod", "stick".

⁷ *Šuhus* (?).

will cast down thy high place¹ and waters shall well forth.
And life be praised.

I read (or "spelt")² spells of the Great Name, and spelt the Great, First, Spoken Word upon the Confused Eye and the Crushed Eye and the Whitened Eye and the Blue Eye and the Parched-up Eye, and the Eye that dwells (of him that sitteth ?) on a dunghill, and on the eye (of one) entering his
(230) house, and (of one) leaving it, and upon the eye of the fisherman who looks up from the marsh-pool, and upon the eye of the shepherd who looks up from his sheep, the eye which is jealous and the eye which is haughty. Thou art expelled like a³ and wanderest lost and ruined like a⁴

And She said to him : " If I am not a jealous eye, and if I am not haughty ! If there is not a jealous and a haughty eye ! Ye created me ! " ⁵

And he said to her : " These that thou didst not envy,
(240) these that thou didst not despise, that thou camest and met them in the hall⁶ of the king's house, and the great race of mighty men, thou didst strike them with the Eye and didst turn round on thy road. The hall of the king's palace fell down, and the great tribe of mighty men thou didst turn out (break up ?), shrivelling whatever was flourishing amongst them. Jealous Eye and Haughty Eye, thou art expelled like a³ and art lost and ruined like a " ⁴

(250) And She said to him, " And if I am not a jealous eye and not

¹ *'kura*. A building on a hill, or mound. Cf. the modern Arabic *kūra*, a brick kiln, built on a mound.

² Merely reciting the letters of the alphabet constitutes an exorcism, because letters are magic. Hence the verb *abaga*.

³ *Pilqa* and ⁴ *'urnasa*. I am unable to translate these words. Priests are glib with translations, but no reliance can be placed on these, chiefly guesses.

⁵ The Eye's defence is that often made by people accused of having the Evil Eye, viz. that their intentions were innocent, that they were not envious or scornful. The exorcizer confronts the accused with the results of the baleful look.

⁶ See note 4, page 597.

a haughty eye ! If there be not a jealous Eye and scornful eye ! Ye created me ! ”

And he said to her, “ These that thou didst not envy, these that thou didst not scorn, (that) thou camest and met a yoke of six oxen and six cultivators who cast sowing and seed into the earth. Thou didst lift thine eye and cast it on them, and saidest, “ How beautiful are the ploughed fields, and beautiful the farmers who are in them ! ” Thou didst strike them with the Eye and didst turn round on thy road. The yoke parted and (260) the plough-ropes ¹ broke and the bulls galloped to the marsh and the cultivators ran to their village, and the seed thou didst sever from the earth. Envious Eye and Scornful Eye, thou art expelled like a ” ²

And she said, “ And if I am not the jealous eye and not the scornful eye ? If there is not the envious eye and the scornful eye ! Ye created me ! ”

And he said to her, “ These that thou didst not envy, these that thou didst not despise, that thou camest and didst meet (270) them in the house of six brothers and six mothers sitting in one house and eating in one dish, ³ and standing at one oven, and enclosed by one wall. Thou didst raise thine eye and cast it on them, and saidest, ‘ How pleasant are the brothers in each others’ company (lit. “ amongst each other ”), and the mothers towards each other : they do not quarrel.’ Thou didst strike them with the Eye, and didst turn round on thy road, and the brothers fell upon each other and (280) the mothers fell upon each other. Thou didst cast trouble and agitation amongst them. Envious Eye and Haughty Eye, thou art put forth like a ⁴ and art lost and spoilt like a ” ⁵

And she said to him, “ And if I am not an envious eye and

¹ *Shanziria*. A priest translates “ plough-ropes ”. Cf. שׁוֹרָה = rope.

² *urnasa*.

³ Literally “ basket ”. The marsh-tribes place their food on a large woven basket-platter, sitting round it, and eating with their hands from it.

⁴ *pilqa*. See above.

⁵ *urnasa*. See above.

not a scornful eye ! If there is not an envious eye and a scornful eye ! Ye created me ! ”

- And he said to her, “ These that thou didst not envy, these
 (290) that thou didst not despise ! And thou didst meet with them,
 with four lovely women, at their loom. Thou didst lift thine eye
 and cast it on them and saidest, ‘ How fair are these beauties,
 and how beautiful the shuttles which are in their hands ! ’
 Thou didst strike them with the Eye, and didst turn round
 on thy way. The high (threads) ¹ broke and the low (threads)
 broke. The pretty ones wept and their children lamented.
 Trouble and confusion thou didst cast amongst them. Envious
 (300) Eye and Scornful Eye thou art put forth like a . . . ²
 and lost and ruined like a . . . ³ Shame thee !
 and depart from this body of N. son of N. like a woman
 . . . ⁴ who took a . . . ⁵ on her shoulder and went
 to fill it with water. And the father- and mother-in-law of the
 bride met her. She was stupefied, ⁶ her bosom swelled, her
 head bowed, ⁷ and the water-pot (?) fell from her and was
 broken and she was covered with shame. Like her, be shamed
 (310) and go forth, thou Evil Eye, from the body of N. son of N.
 Eye that did raven (?). ⁸ Thou art cast forth like a . . . ⁹,
 and lost and ruined like a . . . ¹⁰ Be shamed, and go
 forth from the body of N. son of N. and from his house and
 yard, and his bull and his cows and from his purse and his

¹ The marsh loom is of reeds and wood. The shuttle is passed between the higher and lower threads. The second *'lāia* is redundant.

² *pilqa*.

³ *'urnasa*.

⁴ Written *'isira*. From the context below it looks as if this should be *'rusa* “ bride ”.

⁵ *Bukta*. This would seem from the context to be a water-pot.

⁶ Should be, I think, *ܬܝܕܬܐ* *'tigdat*. Cf. *ܬܝܕܬܐ* “benumbed”, “stupefied”.

⁷ I read *'tghnat*.

⁸ From *ܪܥܒ* to be ravenous ? (*ܪ* often becomes “ a ” in Mandæan.) Or “ didst become big ? ” *Rabat* might mean “ grew big with envious surprise ”.

⁹ and ¹⁰ *pilqa* and *'urnasa*. See above.

possessions. And Life be praised: Life is victorious.

.

In the Name of the Great Life, health shall be to N. son of N. Cast-out and confounded are the eyes of the seven witches (320) from the house and body of N. son of N. and from his wife and sons and daughters and from his animals and his possessions. And I, N. son of N., my eye is in light and my leg in stability. And I am N. son of N. and you, wizards, are below me, and I, N. son of N., am above you. Be exorcized and expelled¹ from N. son of N. in the name of the angel Hardbi'l and expelled in the name of the angel Gadfi'l and expelled (330) in the name of the angel Hamgi'il. Be exorcized, evil spells and deluding evil spirits and Evil Eye and Dimmed, from the body of N. son of N., by the name of your father,² and your wings above you (?). The body of N. son of N. is loosed and freed for ever from the spell of your words³ and your oaths, also his wife, his sons and his daughters. Free him and loose him with scroll and ink, and establish the heavens before N. son of N. and the earth be (340) established firmly before him. And health shall be upon N. son of N. by means of this word of light. Life is victorious over all deeds.

The mystery of this exorcizing command for whomsoever is constricted and polluted by spells, when written on a tin bowl or a leaden (bowl), shall be a loosing (exorcism). At its time and moment⁴ read it over a jar of water⁵ and go by thyself to the house, and at thy time and moment. Then

¹ *Shria* "loosed". *Shria* is often used for "exorcized". The verb is employed for "reading" a prayer which frees. Cf. the common expression *shra masiqta* "he read a mass" (i.e. a rite to free and raise the soul). Hence "expelled" is a relative translation.

² Namely Bel, who is spoken of elsewhere as the father of the Eye.

³ A somewhat free translation.

⁴ At the right time astrologically.

⁵ Exorcisms are commonly read over a jar or bowl of water. The exorcist often places a fresh sprig of myrtle or flowers in the water, the strength and health of the growing things is invoked by this action. Water is the symbol of life and vitality.

the eyes of the seven evil ones, of the witches, shall be closed.

(350) And strengthen and heal me!

Bound and confined ¹ and cut out and tormented is the Blue Eye. Bound and confined is the Dried-up Eye; bound and confined the Whitened Eye; bound and confined is the Darkened Eye; bound and confined is the Cut-out Eye; bound and confined is the Buried Eye; bound and confined is the Hollow Eye; bound and confined is the Eye (of him) that stands on the mountains; bound and confined is the Eye (of him) that sits on the heights; bound
(360) and confined is the Eye which is cast on the firmament; bound and confined the Eye which confused and perplexed the head. I, N. son of N., rise upwards; and ye, wizards, are below me and I am above you. The evil wizards are exorcized and deluding spirits are exorcized. They are exorcized, the wizards, and shut up, banned, put to shame, confounded and utterly abashed and torn out ² and rendered innocuous. They are made to quake, and scared off, curbed and constricted by the name with which he exorcized them; Radiance, exorcizing Being that exorcized the dragons of the
(370) *yardna*.³ Light he is, an exorcizer of darkness he is, a fetterer of wizards he is, a remover of muttered spells he is . . . and they shall be removed. Revivification he is, and revivification shall be. Goodness ⁴ he is, and goodness shall be. Light he is, and light shall be.

⁵ Closed, thou art made innocuous,⁶ Blue Eye. Closed, thou shalt show forth, Dried-up Eye. Closed, thou becomest bright, Whitened Eye. Barred up, thou burstest forth,

¹ Or "shut". The glance of a person with a diseased eye is as baleful as that of a person with the apparently harmless evil eye, or blue eye.

² Should be *mshamtia*.

³ *Yardna*. A generic term for all flowing water.

⁴ *Tabutha*. A more exact translation would be "wholesomeness". The word is often used of food, especially that of the ritual meal.

⁵ The entire paragraph which follows is obscure. The key seems to be "thou art made clear, buried eye", taken in conjunction with the preceding paragraph. But there is hardly a verb which is not ambiguous.

⁶ *Shafel* QHA ? 𐤑𐤕𐤐

Consumed Eye. Closed up, thou art made clear, Buried Eye. Closed, thou lookest up (or "art cast-off") Cut-out Eye which is on them.

And encircle them, Adonai Šbabuth, and turn and break (380) them (or "put them out") and remove them. And root up and put an end to taking-captive, and leprosy and fever shall be taken away from the body of N. son of N. Blessed are the blessed and to be blessed for ever. Life is victorious. . . .

Bound, closed, exorcized, and purified is the blue eye of Shamish and the sucked-out eye of Libat and the whitened eye of Nbu and the corroded eye of Sin and the hollow eye of Kiwan and the buried eye of Bel and the cut-out eye of (390) Nirig and the eye ("of him") who sits (or, "which dwells") on the heights and the eye cast on the firmament, and the eye of my spouse. And health shall be upon N. son of N. Life is victorious. . . . Read the great mystery upon a male and a female lamb. Write on a scroll of gazelle-skin and hang it on the neck. . . .

¹ Closed, sealed and purified thou art rendered innocuous, ² blue eye of Shamish. Closed and exorcized, thou art blinded, sucked-out eye of Libat. Closed and exorcized thou art made to fear, whitened eye of Nbu. Closed and (400) exorcized thou. . . . ³ consumed eye of Sin. Closed and exorcized is the hollow eye of Kiwan. Closed and exorcized, thou becamest clear, covered-in eye of Bel. Closed and exorcized, thou didst look up and was cast-off, cut-out eye of Nirig. Closed and exorcized, the mystery of my spouse was cured and ended.⁴

¹ The following paragraph is also ambiguous. I suggest that it originally applied to the diseased state of the eyes of the planets named, which were cured by exorcism, and that priestly editing, attributing a maleficent purpose to the planets, converted them from being the sufferers, into being those who inflicted suffering. That Bel was a sufferer from the Eye appears later on in the roll.

² Shafel QHA ?

³ *Sarsit* "burstest forth". Possibly "was burnt out" ?

⁴ *Sam usaf*.

Bound, shut in by a magic circle and surrounded by water ¹ is the mystery which was closed up.

Bow thyself, mystery and winking! Shut-in are all the race of darkness and the black waters: shut-in and banned are their kings: their schemes are made vain.

- (410) Ye are bound, shut-in, sealed, named,² rendered impotent, curbed, and held-back from the body of N. son of N. by the name of that chief Arch-lord.³

Darkness shall be impotent and light shall be victorious of (over) the twenty-two races of the house of Simiaail, the Evil One. Darkness shall be confounded and light be victorious. And health shall be the part of N. son of N., from the great first life and from Manda d Hiia. Life is victorious.

.

.

- (420) ⁴ I sit in a great cloud of light! I am Hibil Ziwa the Righteous, Son of the Place of Light, son of the abode of glory, son of the city of 'uthris, and the 'uthris my brothers are the sons of light which stand before me. Anush the Small stands at my left, and Shitel stands at my right. They, and their vestments and those that are with me, stand and praise the great Cloud of Light from which we were transplanted. Then we heard the cry of N. son of N., the man struck by the
- (430) Eye and overtaken by blindness. She took him, and his heart was oppressed and his thought was troubled. And I am Hibil Ziwa, the Righteous, and I say to the 'uthris, my brothers, the sons of the light, who sit in the Occult, and I say to them, "Descend to the earth of Tibil and perform some healing

¹ HAQ: "to draw a circle round" (in the ground) as in making a *misra*, i.e. an enclosure isolating an area from contamination. MAQ might mean "surrounded by a ditch or runnel of water" (as in ritual). Obscure and, I suspect, corrupt.

² To name a demon is to take away its power.

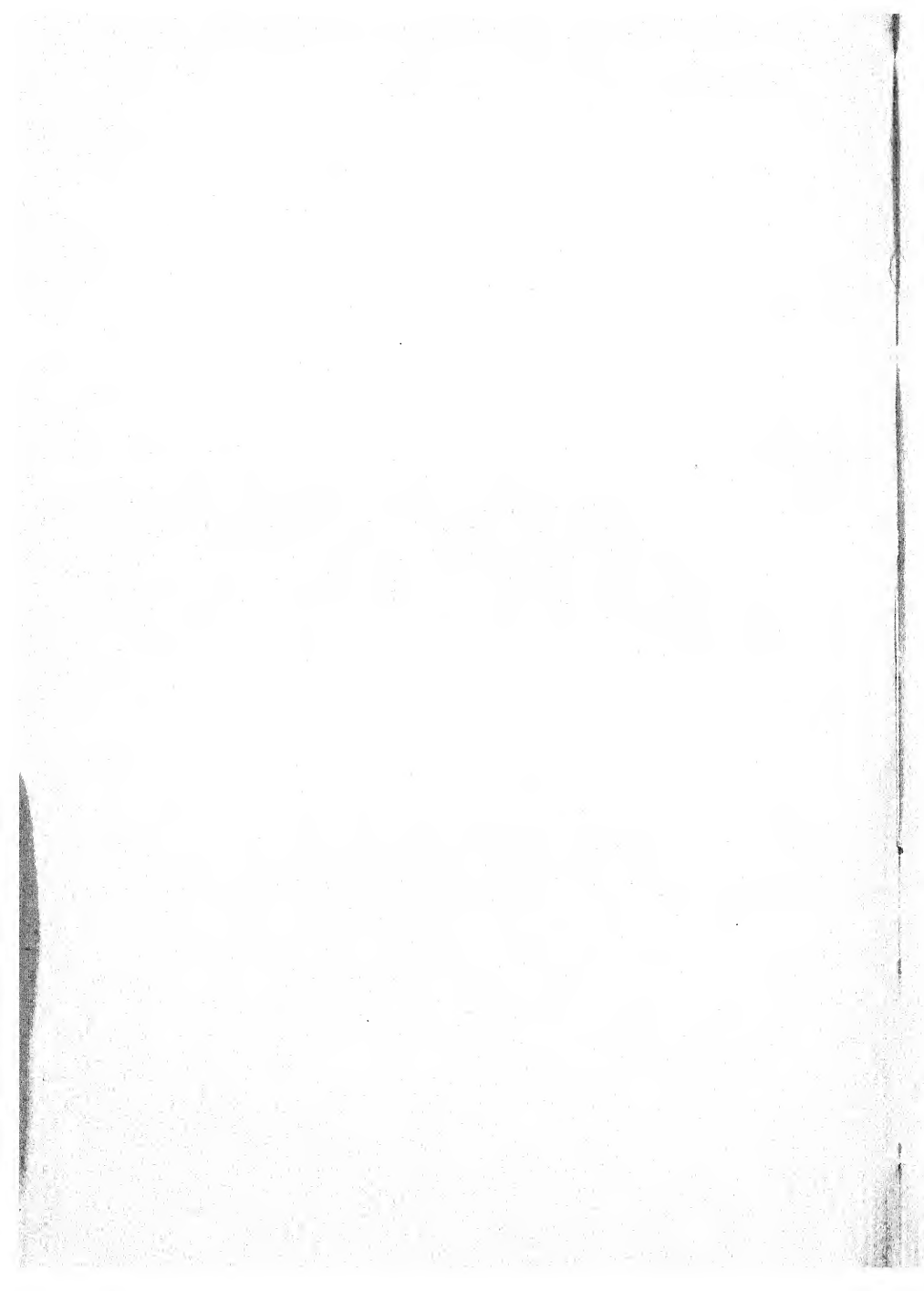
³ *Rishaga* "Head Agha" (Persian *agha* = "lord, master").

⁴ This and the following section seem to me of later authorship. The mention of Ruha d Qudsha indicates late composition, and the tag of "directions for use" speaks of "these two gates" as if they had been incorporated by a scribe and were not part of the original.

action upon N. son of N., the man and (or ?) the woman, and say to them, to the Righteous Elect, formed of flesh and blood, 'Take this command ; write it for N. son of N., the man struck by the Eye and overtaken by blindness, whose heart (440) is oppressed and whose thought is confused, and health shall be upon N. son of N. in the name of Manda d Hiia, healers, lords of healing powers. Life is victorious.

303.

(To be concluded.)



Notes on the Silver Punch-marked Coins in the British Museum

By E. H. C. WALSH

1. *The Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India in the British Museum*, by Mr. J. Allan, published last year, has made the silver punch-marked coins available to all, and the clear system of classification which Mr. Allan has followed and his scholarly and complete Introduction give all the information about these coins that is at present available, while the large number of the coins which are illustrated in the plates enable the conclusions arrived at in the Introduction to be confirmed or questioned. General thanks are due to Mr. Allan for this important work. As this Catalogue will be the standard source of reference for the consideration and classification of these coins, it is important to note any points that arise from its consideration.

2. There are two distinct classes of punch-marked coins: the older are large and thin in fabric, while the later coins are smaller and thick. In both classes they bear, with few exceptions, a group of five marks on the obverse, but differ in the nature of the marks on the reverse. The older class of coins were issued with a blank reverse, on which bankers or money changers, through whose hands the coins passed in circulation, in some cases stamped their private marks. These marks are of an entirely different character to the obverse marks and, invariably, smaller in size. They, naturally occur haphazard without any system, and the reverses vary from blank or a single mark in the case of coins of shorter circulation, to a great number of marks stamped over one another and covering the whole coin in the case of very old coins of very long circulation.

In the later coins, on the other hand, the reverse marks are of a definite and systematic type, and, as Mr. Allan notes (p. xxi), "there is an association between groups of obverse symbols and certain reverse symbols", and (p. xxxvii), even

when there are two or three punches, on examination it is usually found that the second and third are later counter-marks, and certain groups of symbols are found with identical obverses (p. xxxix). They are associated with localities: as the "Taxila Mark", which is found on these later coins associated with that locality. They are also in most cases the same as marks which occur on the obverse, though not on the obverse of the coin on whose reverse they occur. They appear to indicate the locality or localities in which the circulation of the coin was authorized.

The greater part of the punch-marked coins in the British Museum are of the later class; Classes 6 and 7, 146 coins, are of the older class. The present notes refer to the older class of coins.

THE AGE OF PUNCH-MARKED COINS

3. Two important finds of silver punch-marked coins have been made in the Bhir Mound at Taxila, which have not yet been published in full. In 1924, 1,171 silver coins and some jewelry were found in an earthenware pot 6 feet below the present surface in association with the second stratum which had already been judged to belong to the third or fourth century B.C.¹ Together with them were two coins of Alexander the Great and one of Philip Aridæus, "fresh from the mint," and an Achæmenid siglos of the fourth century B.C. Mr. Allan refers to this find on p. xlii. They have been examined by the writer, but the examination has not yet been published. Thirty-three are single-type oblong-bar coins, similar to those in the British Museum (pp. 1-2, Pl. I, 1-3), seventy-nine are minute coins, up to then unknown, similar to the four British Museum coins of Class 9 (pp. 286-7, Pl. XLVI, 18, 19), and the remaining 1,059 are punch-marked coins of the older class.

4. The other find was of 175 punch-marked coins of the later class found with a gold coin of Diodotus in a single

¹ *Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1924-5*, pp. 47-8, pl. ix.

deposit, also in the Bhīr Mound at Taxila, in 1912.¹ Mr. Allan refers to this find on p. xlv. These coins have also been examined by the writer. Five of the coins, which are of a distinct type from the others, are of usual types of the later coins. The remaining 170 coins are all of one type and all bear on the reverse the "Taxila" symbol, though in many cases it is in a very debased and almost unrecognizable form. They are of an alloy of silver and copper, the composition being very irregular.

The finding of these two hoards of the older and later class of coins on the same site, in each case dated by an extraneous coin, is of importance as fixing the relative age of the two classes. The examination of the coins leads to the conclusion that the coin of Philip Aridæus fixes the *latest date* of the larger Bhīr Mound find at about 317 B.C., the coin of Diodotus fixes the *current date* of these later coins at 248 B.C.; and the fact that there was no coin of the later class amongst the earlier hoard appears to show that this later form of coin was not in existence in 317 B.C.

5. The coins of the larger Bhīr Mound find, which are of great variety, evidently cover a long period, perhaps over 200 years, which would carry the age of these coins into the sixth century B.C., and, as Mr. Allan observes (§ 14, p. xix), the punch-marked coins show no signs of evolution, the marks on the earliest examples are as completely designed and engraved as on later examples, and thus indicate a long previous period of this coinage.

Some of the symbols which occur on the punch-marked coins also appear on the seals found at Mohenjo-Daro, and therefore would appear to have come down from that time. The standard of weight of these coins, also, as pointed out by Mr. Hemmy,² is one-fourth of the revised principal unit of the Indus system, which would show a connection with those times.

¹ Marshall, *ASR.*, 1912-13, p. 42.

² "Weight Standards of Ancient Indian Coins," by A. F. Hemmy, *JRAS.*, 1937, pp. 1-26, p. 10.

COMPARISON OF THE BHİR MOUND OLDER COINS WITH THE
COINS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

6. A selection of the coins from Bhīr Mound were illustrated (*A.S.R.*, 1924-5, Pl. IX) and, as Mr. Allan notes (p. xlii), they correspond with several groups of the British Museum coins. The comparison can now be completed, as shown in the Table below :—

Serial No.	BRITISH MUSEUM COINS	No. of Coins	BHİR MOUND COINS	No. of Coins
1	Class 2, Group VII var. <i>i</i>	1	Class B (<i>e</i>), Sub-Class 1	2
2	" " " VIII " <i>b</i>	1	" " " " 2	19
3	" " " " " <i>c</i>	1	" D " " 3	38
4	" " " " " <i>d</i>	3	" " " " 2	89
5	" " " " " <i>e</i>	4	" " " " 1	17
6	" 5 " " " <i>a, b</i>	2	" K " " 1 & 2	2
7	" 6 " I " <i>a</i>	15	" M " " 1	35
8	" " " " " <i>b</i>	1	" " " " 4	3
9	" " " " " <i>c</i>	1	" " " " 5	6
10	" " " " " <i>d</i>	1	" " " " 2	4
11	" " " " " <i>g</i>	1	" J " " 2	2
12	" " " " " <i>h</i>	2	" " " " 1	10
13	" " " II " <i>e</i>	6	" C " " 1	70
14	" " " III " <i>b</i>	2	" A " " 34	1
15	" " " " " <i>c</i>	26	" " " " 1	207
16	" " " " " <i>d</i>	3	" " " " 7	14
17	" " " " " <i>e</i>	4	" " " " 8	9
18	" " " " " <i>f</i>	2	" " " " 5	16
19	" " " IV " <i>a</i>	9	" " " " 2	30
20	" " " " " <i>b</i>	2	" " " " 19	25
21	" " " " " <i>d</i>	1	" " " " 24	5
22	" " " " " <i>e</i>	2	" " " " 28	6
23	" " " " " <i>f</i>	2	" " " " 26	2
24	" " " V " <i>a, c</i>	10 + 1	" B (<i>b</i>) " " 1	18
25	" " " VI " <i>a</i>	6	" L " " 1	18
26	" " " " " <i>b</i>	2	" " " " 2 & 3	7
27	" " " " " <i>c</i>	1	" " " " 4	2
28	" " " " " <i>j</i>	1	" Q " " 6 <i>a</i>	1
29	" " " VII " <i>a</i>	1	" I " " 2	1
30	" " " " " <i>e</i>	2	" " " " 1	7

In the case of serial nos. 1, 2, 4, 13, 15, 18, 19, and 23 the British Museum coins have on the reverse the mark of a Hill-with-Crescent. This mark does not appear on any of the Bhīr Mound coins. This mark is distinctive of the coins of the Mauryan Empire, and would appear to have been stamped

on the reverse of those coins at a later date to authorize their continued circulation at that date.


Serial No. 13 (Class 6, Group II, var. *e*).—There are 70 coins (Class C, 1) corresponding to this variety. The complete

mark on the coins is a Bull-on-a-Hill



. Two of the British

Museum coins of this variety are illustrated: Coin 8, p. 65 (Pl. VIII, 22), shows a part of the bull only on the edge of the coin, and Coin 11 (Pl. VIII, 23) shows part of the hill beneath the bull, the bull itself being off the coin. Owing to the large size of this mark, only a portion of it generally appears on the coin. As this mark is a locality-mark, this variety forms a separate group. There are altogether 101 coins of Class C, Bull-Hill, in the Bhīr Mound coins.

Serial No. 18 (Class 6, Group III, var. *f*).—The fifth symbol (§ 27, symbol 3 on p. xxiv) shown as a snake is not a snake but a waved line  squared off at each end. There is no head as shown. In the British Museum coin of this variety which is illustrated, Coin 39, p. 71 (Pl. VII, 13), the mark is also of this form.

Mr. Allan also notes Class 6, Group VI, var. *d*, as occurring in the Bhīr Mound coins, but there is no corresponding coin in the Bhīr Mound coins. This coin is illustrated on Plate IV, 24 (*vide* Corrigenda, p. clxiv). It will be seen that the animal on it is the rhinoceros, and not the bull, as shown.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SYMBOLS

7. The marks on the punch-marked coins may be divided into two classes: those of General Significance, which are found on punch-marked coins generally wherever they may be found, and which therefore do not indicate any particular locality or authority, and those of Special Significance, which appear to indicate a particular locality or authority. The marks of general significance are the sun and the six-armed symbol, which appear on all these coins, with the exception of two particular classes found respectively

at Paila and at Sahet Mahet (Class 9, § 79, p. lxix), both in the northern part of the United Provinces; and certain of the later coins (Class 2, Group I, vars. *f* and *g*, pp. 21-4, and Group II, vars. *c-g*, pp. 26, 7), in which their place is taken by other marks, while other distinctive marks remain unchanged. Also the bull and the elephant are of very general occurrence on punch-marked coins, wherever they are found. One or other or both of these marks also occur on a thousand of the Paila coins. The marks of Special Significance are Locality Marks, indicating the area of the coins, such as specified hills and tanks, and, as the fifth mark, what would appear to be Authority Marks, indicating the authority by which the particular coin was issued. This accounts for the great variety of these fifth marks.

8. Mr. Allan considers (p. xxii) that generally speaking the symbols seem to have no religious significance, neither Buddhist nor Hindu. To this there may be an exception in the case of the bull, and also the trident, which only appears on the older class of coins, both of which are emblems of Śiva. The bull is of frequent occurrence on the Mohenjo-Daro seals, and Mr. Durgā Prasād¹ calls attention to one of those seals² which contains a seated figure which corresponds to the representation of Śiva.

Mr. Durgā Prasād¹ attributes a Tantric significance to the symbols on these coins (p. 16), and notes the resemblances, which are striking, in full detail. But, apart from the fact that there would not seem to be any reason why the symbols on this coinage should have had a purely religious significance, the fact that many of these symbols appear on the seals found at Mohenjo-Daro would preclude this conclusion. The analogy of the symbols with the subsequent Tantric formulae does not necessarily prove that those symbols then had that significance.

¹ "Classification and significance of the Symbols on the Silver Punch-marked Coins of Ancient India," by Durgā Prasād, *JASB.*, 1934, Numismatic Supplement, xlv, pp. 5-50 and 32 plates.

² *Mohenjo-Daro*, vol. i, pl. xii, fig. 17; op. cit. pl. xxx.

9. Two symbols, the sun and the six-armed symbol, occur on all punch-marked coins of the older class, with the exception of the coins of one locality, probably the ancient kingdom of Kosala, and on most classes of the later coins. They neither of them occur on the reverse.

A mark on the reverse of coin No. 1 on p. 41 is shown as the sun-mark. Reference to the coin (Pl. XLII, 7) shows the mark as a hollow centre punched into the coin, there is no ring round it, and there are some hollow indents round the centre. It is, therefore, not the sun-mark, in which the centre is always a raised boss, with a ring round it which is surrounded by the rays. The point is material, as the sun-mark never occurs on the reverse. The mark, somewhat similar in appearance, which appears on both the obverse and reverse of Coin 17 on p. 44, Class 2, Group VI, var. *h*, which is illustrated on Pl. VI, 25, is in relief. The "rays" are rounded at the ends, and the mark would appear to be intended for a flower.

THE SIX-ARMED SYMBOL

10. The "six-armed symbol", in one or other of its varieties, occurs on almost all the punch-marked silver coins found throughout India. Mr. Allan describes this symbol as follows (p. xxiii): "Its general structure is a circle with a pallet in the centre; around the circle are six arms, three (more rarely two) of which are arrow-heads and the other three are taurine symbols, fishes, triskelis in an oval, taurine in an oval, etc., and 'dumb-bell' symbols, which we meet elsewhere. It is simpler to give the forms that occur than to describe them in words. None of these symbols occurs on the reverse. Similar symbols occur, but very rarely, on other series."



A similar symbol was found by Schliemann on clay whorls in the earliest strata at Troy. For this reason the writer, in previous papers,¹ has referred to this mark for the purpose

¹ *JBORS.*, 1919, pp. 16-72; *JBORS.*, 1919, pp. 463-494; *JRAS.*, 1924, Centenary Supplement, pp. 175-189.

of distinguishing it, as "the Troy Mark", without, however, implying any connection in this respect between Troy and the punch-marked coins. The name, "The six-armed-symbol," adopted by Mr. Allan is, however, much better, and should now be generally adopted.

11. This symbol occurs in several varieties. Mr. Allan shows fourteen varieties of this symbol on the British Museum coins (p. xxiii), to which two more should be added, as noted below. Twenty-five varieties occur on the Bhir Mound coins, which extend over a very long period. These include all the British Museum varieties except Nos. 3, 4 (only a part shown), 11, 13, and 14, which all occur on the later coins. The reference in Index IV, of the marks, to variety 13 as occurring on p. 69 of the Catalogue (Class 6, Group III, of the older coins) appears to be a mistake, as those coins bear variety 6.


12. The following two varieties also occur on the British Museum coins. On Coins 1 and 2 on p. 59 (Class 5, vars. *a*

and *b*) the symbol is shown as variety 2, . Coin 1 is illustrated (Pl. X, 17). Several years ago the writer examined this coin, together with others, in the British Museum, and then drew the mark from the coin as . Examination

of the coin on the plate confirms that drawing. This constitutes another variety of the symbol to be added to those given on p. xxiii. This is variety 1*d* of the Bhir Mound coins and occurs on five of those coins (Class J 3, and K 1 and 2). There are two other British Museum coins which bear the same variety of the hill-mark as on these two coins, viz. Coins 48 and 49 on p. 72 (Class 6, Group III, var. *k*). It is, therefore, probable that the form of the symbol on those coins is this same additional variety as on the two previous coins. This is the form of the symbol (1*d*) on the three coins (Class K, Sub Class 1 and 2), of the Bhir Mound coins which bear this hill-mark.

It will be noticed that the three objects in this symbol are not "fish", drawn with their tails towards the centre, but with rounded ends towards the centre, and two rounded projections at the outer end—and that the lateral projections are at right angles, not sloping backwards, as the fins of the "fish" are represented. It therefore appears that this is a distinct object.


To show the distinction we have described this object, wherever it occurs on the Bhir Mound coins, as a "Beetle". It is clearly an aquatic creature, as is shown by its occurrence in the tank-symbols, as in symbols Nos. 1, 2, 3 (§ 29, p. xxix); it is also the object in symbols Nos. 5 and 6 on p. xxx. The difference between this object and the "fish" will be clearly seen by comparison with the fish in the tank-mark, No. 4, § 29, on the coins, Pl. VIII, 10, 11, and others of that mark which are illustrated.



13. On Coin 3, p. 52 (Class 2, Group VIII, var. c) the six-armed symbol is shown as variety 1, viz. with three unenclosed taurines. The coin is illustrated, Pl. XLII, 22. Only part of the mark appears on the coin, which shows a taurine enclosed in an oval. On the following coin, 4 (var. d), it is shown as variety 7, viz. composed with three "hour-glass" symbols enclosed in ovals. The coin is illustrated, Pl. II, 20; only part of the mark appears on the coin which shows only an object somewhat resembling the capital letter I, in an oval. On Coin 7, p. 53 (var. e), the symbol is shown as variety 6, which consists of three taurines-in-an-oval. The coin is illustrated, Pl. II, 12; only part of the mark appears, which shows one taurine-in-an-oval. Similarly Coin 8, Pl. XLII, 23, shows one taurine-in-an-oval; and Coin 9, Pl. XLII, 24 shows one arrow and the remaining object which completes this form of the symbol. The complete form of the symbol is . In the hoard of the old coins of the

Bhir Mound, there are 38 coins similar to Coin 3 (var. c); 89 coins similar to Coins 4, 5, 6 (var. d); and 17 coins similar


to Coins 7, 8, 9, 10 (var. *e*); a total of 144 coins which bear this mark. The symbol on many of those coins is complete and clear. But we have shown how it may be constructed from the British Museum coins referred to, as an example of how marks on punch-marked coins have to be constructed from different portions of incomplete marks, where the complete mark does not appear.

The method is, of course, liable to error unless each component of the mark appears on one of the coins. Thus in the coins referred to, the attribution of the six-armed symbol to each of the three varieties *c*, *d*, and *e*, deduced from the portions of the mark appearing on coins of those varieties, is mistaken.

It is not clear what the two additional objects in this form of the symbol are intended to represent. The one, , occurs by itself as a reverse mark on one of the old Taxila coins, and in conjunction with another object, a reverse mark on two of those coins, but not of the present class. In each of those cases it may be a Brāhmī letter, either *ṇ* or *no*. The other object, in shape resembling a tankard, may possibly represent a large weight, the curved line projecting on the right being the handle for lifting it. But this is merely a conjecture.

14. Variety No. 14 of this symbol is shown on p. xxiii as “ (Pl. IX, 11) or  (Pl. X, 3)”, with a *footnote* :—

“³ It is probable that the former of these forms is much the commoner and should more frequently replace the latter in the text.” Only the eight-armed form is shown in the Catalogue. It occurs on 28 coins of different varieties in Class 2, Groups IV, VII, and IX, on pp. 34, 35, 50, 51, and 54. In each case Mr. Allan notes that the symbol is in the six-armed form. The eight-armed form does not appear on any known punch-marked coin.

15.  Variety No. 3 of the symbol consists of

a hare together with four arrows, the remaining sixth symbol not being decipherable. The hare is well known in Indian mythology associated with the moon.

Nine coins (Class 2, Group IV, vars. *h*, *k*, *l*, pp. 35-37) are shown as bearing this mark. They all also bear the mark of the goat-and-branch. Four of these coins are illustrated (Coin 40, p. 35, Pl. XLI, 23; Coin 44, p. 36, Pl. VI, 4; Coin 48, p. 37, Pl. VI, 12; and Coin 39, p. 37, Pl. V, 22). The mark is not complete on any of the coins, the hare only appears on two coins. On Coin 49, of Theobald (Pl. V, 22), the hare is complete, only the upper portion of the mark appears on the coin; an arrow-head, which has been over stamped, is to the left of the hare, and on the right is what appears to be a taurine. On Coin 48 (Pl. VI, 12), also, only the upper part appears; the hare, except its head, and one arrow-head only, to the left of it. On Coin 40 (Pl. XLI, 23) only a portion of the mark appears on the coin. It has been counter-marked by a reverse-mark, a taurine; there is nothing in this mark to indicate which variety of the six-armed symbol it is. On Coin 44 (Pl. VI, 4), also, only a portion of the mark appears on the coin, which may be four arrows, as shown, which have been mutilated by over stamping. But as the remaining three marks on Coins 44 to 49a are the same, which do not occur in any other variety, this rare mark may be safely attributed to them. On the other two coins, 40 and 40a, however, the remaining three marks are not the same; but those coins are not illustrated. Theobald¹ illustrated the hare on his coin (Coin 49), on his Pl. VIII, 22, but was not aware that it formed part of the six-armed symbol; as, after describing another mark on the coin as "42—20, A goat (browsing on a vine)", he describes it as "43—22, A kid (of the last)".

16. The variety of the six-armed symbol on a particular

¹ "Notes on some of the Symbols found on the punch-marked coins of Hindustan," by W. Theobald, *JASB.*, 1890, pp. 181-265, *vide* pp. 221 and 253.

group of coins is of importance, as a possible means of dating the coins, as in the case of Britannia on the penny, on which the particular variety dates the coin from the time of Charles II to the present day. Certain types are found only on the oldest coins, and other types on coins which, from other considerations, appear to be older than others which bear a different variety. This point has been fully considered in regard to the Bhir Mound coins.

COINS NOT BEARING THE SIX-ARMED SYMBOL

17. There are 52 coins of ten different varieties of Class 2, which do not bear either the six-armed symbol or the sun, but bear other marks in their place.¹ They are all of the later class of coins and bear marks on the reverse which associate them with Taxila. The remaining three marks on them, except the marks of human figures, also occur on other varieties which bear the sun and the six-armed symbol, and they would therefore appear to be a later form of that coinage, in which those two marks have been discarded. That this was a later development is also supported by the fact that the six-armed symbol only occurs on a single class of the Tribal coins (Class 3, pp. 253-6), which appear to be of Ujjain, though not bearing the Ujjain mark, and does not appear at all on the cast coins.

¹ These coins are :— Class 2. Group I. var. *f*, p. 21, 2 coins; var. *g*, pp. 21-3, 25 coins; var. *h*, pp. 23-4, 4 coins. Group II, pp. 26-7, var. *c*, 3 coins; var. *d*, 1 coin; var. *e*, 8 coins; var. *f*, 1 coin; var. *g*, 2 coins; var. *h*, 5 coins; and Group VII, var. *f*, p. 47, 1 coin.

(To be concluded.)

Concerning the Variation of Final Consonants in the Word Families of Tibetan, Kachin, and Chinese

By STUART N. WOLFENDEN

THE purpose of the present somewhat desultory notes may be said to be twofold : firstly, to emphasize the necessity of comparing the word stock of one Indo-Chinese language with that of another by word families only,¹ secondly, to make a preliminary investigation into certain variations of a particular type within such families, as there are here certain anomalies of which very careful note will have to be taken in any comparative work along these lines.

The importance of the word family rather than the single word in comparisons from language to language has, indeed, previously been brought forward by others,² but until quite recently its real significance has been only just glimpsed, no definite examples in illustration having been adduced.

To emphasize this particular matter at the outset we may here consider the following case.

In Tibetan we have the word family *abyed-pa*, P. and Imp. *pye*, *pyed*, *pyes*, F. *dbye* to open (vb. tr.), to separate, to keep apart, to divide, to distinguish, to classify, to pick out, to choose, to select, *pyed* half, *dbyad* an instrument to open the mouth by force, *dbyen-pa* difference, dissension, discord, schism, *abyer-ba*, P. and Imp. *byer* to disperse (as in flight), to scatter (vb. intr.), to flee in different directions, *dbye-r* (= *dbye-ru* in *dbyer-med* lit. devoid of difference) difference, distinction, *abye-ba*, P. and Imp. *bye* to open (vb. intr.), to divide, to separate, *dbye-ba* parting, partition, division, distinction, section, part, class, species, kind, while in Kachin we have *šă-byet* to separate into bundles, to make up into lots,

¹ This has already been very clearly stated by Karlgren, "Word Families in Chinese," *Bull. of the Mus. of Far Eastern Antiquities*, No. 5, Stockholm, 1934, p. 9, quoted hereinafter as K.W.F.

² See, for instance, Dragunov, *OLZ.*, 1931, Sp., 1088-1089.

kă-čyan, *lă-čyan* to divide, to deal out, to allot, to apportion, *gin-čyan* to divide, to exchange, *čyen* half, *a-čyen* band, shred, strip, *lă-žen* to divide equally, to apportion, to distribute, *mă-žen* (a cutting :) a clearing, *že* to tear apart, to rend asunder, to separate, to cut off, (*mă-žen že* to make (lit. to cut) a clearing (*mă-žen*)), *pye* to allot, to assign, to parcel out.

There is a temptation here to equate Tibetan *pyed* half, with Kachin *čyen* half, and, indeed, if we were working with single words this is probably just what we should do. Following this, we should probably look for other examples of this supposed *-d* : *-n* equivalence in finals. But this would be completely wrong, and the results, on such an assumption, entirely without value, for what has happened here is that Tibetan has taken one member of the family to specialize into the meaning of "half" while Kachin has selected an entirely different member for a similar purpose. Tibetan *pyed* evidently belongs on the Kachin side most closely with *šă-byet*, while Kachin *čyen* must be regarded as having its nearest Tibetan relative in *dbyen-pa*.¹ But in dealing with single words we should probably never have arrived at this conclusion. Meaning must not be overemphasized at the expense of form. We can only get the correct perspective from the family as a whole, not from the individual members of the family.

From this instance alone, then—and there are hundreds of others of exactly similar type—we have clearly set before us the fact that before we can safely do anything in the way of equating single words with one another we must first be able to see as a whole the families to which the words in the proposed equation belong. Only after we have been enabled thus to understand, at least in part, how their members have been moving around within their own families, specializing their senses and changing their forms, can we ever really first propose with any safety anything in the way of equations

¹ For the Chinese connections here see K.WF.; H. 26-44, and *JRAS.*, 1936, pp. 415-416.

between single members. In the sequel we shall adduce a certain number of representative families, but before entering upon this phase it may be well first to consider certain well-known facts setting limits to their assembly.

In the first place, as first clearly stated, I believe, by Simon,¹ Tibetan word families remain very true to their own single type of final, viz. guttural, dental, or labial, as the case may be, and it is impossible—except in certain peculiar cases, each of which requires its own special treatment—to establish anything in the nature of families with mixed finals.² This is a particularly valuable guide in instances where words without finals have obvious relatives with them, such, for instance, as *ākra-ba* and *mkrān-ba* or *ākran-ba* hard, *bka* and *skad* speech, *sna* nose and *snam-pa* or *snom-pa*³ to smell, for when once an open syllable form can be shown to have a definite relative in some particular class of final, say the guttural, there can be no turning back, and we must look with extreme suspicion, to say the least, upon any form which would lead us over also into a second, and unrelated, class of final. When, for instance, *aggyu-ba*, P. *aggyus* to move quickly, *akkyu-ba*, P. *akkyus* to run, *dkkyu-ba* to run a race, lead us by means of *rgyug-pa*, P. *brgyugs*, F. *brgyug*, to run, to hasten, and *akkyug-pa*, P. *kyug* to run, to dart along rapidly (as fish), into the guttural final type, we cannot possibly include *akkyam-pa* to run about, to

¹ "Tibetisch-Chinesische Wortgleichungen," *Mit. d. Seminars f. Orient. Spr.*, Bd. xxxii (1929), Berlin, 1930, Abt. I, p. 162. This work I shall hereinafter quote as "Wortgl."

² Assimilation is sometimes clearly the cause of an aberrant final. A well-known example is *mdzud-mo* thumb, beside *mdzug-gu*, in a family with guttural finals (cf. "Language", *JLSA.*, iv (1928), p. 278 (No. 4)). There can be but small doubt here that *mdzud* owes its final *-b* to the influence of the following suffix. At other times associative interference has probably been at work, but the forces involved are obscure and each case will need special treatment by itself.

³ With these, Simon (Wortgl., p. 162) would include *snabs* mucus, which gives us a good example of how assemblies uncontrolled by families in related languages may go astray, even under the best of judgment. *snabs*, we shall see below (No. 33) belongs with another family entirely, but from Tibetan alone this would never be apparent.

wander, and its relatives in final *-m*, even if the vowel alternation *u ~ a ~ o* were possible, which, in Tibetan, it almost certainly is not. This, in fact, is one principle which we must with considerable certainty rigidly enforce.

It must naturally be understood here that we are not speaking of anything but the older and more stable Tibeto-Burman languages, for, in some late dialects and in spoken Burmese, the finals have been converted into others of unrelated classes in an enormous number of cases. To see, then, into this problem with a greater feeling of certainty we shall be obliged, when extending our field beyond Tibetan itself, to select some other language or languages differing from it in sufficient degree to give us an idea of the direction in which development has proceeded, but yet which does not depart from the original stability of its finals by classes. For present purposes we will here take Kachin which stands sufficiently close to Tibetan to give us a great many families in common, while at the same time standing in relation to it in the matter of final consonants very much as does Archaic Chinese in the families put together by Karlgren. Of this we shall discuss the possible significance later, taking here the following selection of word families ¹ common to Tibetan and Kachin.

GUTTURAL FINALS

(1) ² T. *agug(s)-pa*, P. *bgug*, F. *dgug*, Imp. *kug* to bend, to make crooked, *kug*, *kug-kug* crooked, a hook, *kug*, *kugs* corner, concave angle, nook, creek, bay, gulf, cove, *kug-ma* pouch, small bag, *gug-ge-ba* bent.

K. *guk* to be bent, to be curved, *dă-guk* curve-horned, *nuk* to bow, to incline the head, *fin-kun* bent, to be bent, *gu* to be bent, to be curved, *a-gu* bent, humped, *lă-gu* to hang down, to droop, *nu* to bow, to incline the head, *kă-nu* to be bent, to be bowed down, to hang the head.

¹ The entries, as far as possible, follow the order *-g*, *-n*, *-O*; *-b*, *-m*, *-O*; *-d*, *-n*, *-r*, *-l*, *-s*, *-O*. The assemblies must not be regarded as necessarily correct in all particulars. In some cases there are other possible alignments which I have indicated in the footnotes.

² Cf. K.WF., A. 266-275.

(2) ¹ T. *agog-pa*, P. *bkog*, Imp. *kog* to peel, to tear off, to remove by force, to pull off, *kog-pa* (vb. neut.) to peel, to splinter off, to scale off, to fall off in chunks, *kog-pa*, *skog-pa*, *skogs-pa* peel, rind, bark, shell, *gog-pa* to crumble off, to scale off (as plaster), *gog-po* dilapidated, ruinous, *ko-ba* hide, skin, leather.

K. *gâ* to peel, to skin, to flay.

(3) ² T. *kyog*, *kyog-po* crooked, bent, winding, *kyag-kyog* curved, crooked, *kyog-po*, *akyog-po* crooked, curved, bent, *skyog-pa* to turn (as the neck), *skyogs* scoop, ladle, drinking cup, bowl, goblet, *gyog-pa* curved, crooked.

K. *kyâk* (crooked surface :) to be sunken, to be concave, to be depressed, *lă-kyâk* hole, depression, concavity, *gyâk* to be concave, to be cup-shaped, *lă-gyâk* shallow hole, depression, to be full of concave holes (as a road), *lă-gyâ* to be contracted, to be crooked (as a paralysed limb).

(4) T. *bkrag* brightness, lustre, beautiful appearance or colour, *bkra-ba* glory, beautiful, fine, well, of good appearance.

K. *kṛak* to be good, *grak* to be beautiful, fine, or good, beautiful, fine, well.

(5) ³ T. *ṇag* speech, talk, word, *mṇag-pa*, P. *mṇags* to commission, to charge, to delegate, *sṇag(s)-pa*, P. *bsṇags*, F. *bsṇag*, Imp. *sṇog* to praise, to commend, to extol, to recommend, *sṇags* incantation, *sṇo-ba*, P. *bsṇos*, F. *bsṇo*, Imp. *sṇos* to bless, to pronounce a benediction upon, to dedicate, *bsṇo-ba* a blessing, a benediction, *ṇa-ro* loud voice, cry.

K. *ṇa* to say, to speak, to tell, to relate.

(6) ⁴ T. *gčog-pa*, P. *bčag*, Imp. *čog(s)* to break, to smash, to crack, to split, *ačag-pa*, P. *čag(s)* to be broken, to be smashed, to be cut off, *čogs-pa* to be broken, *ačag-pa*, *ačeg-pa*, P. *bšags*, F. *bšag*, Imp. *šog* to cut, to split, to cleave, *ačog* (cutting off :) wall, partition, *čag-čag*, *čag-pa* ("breaking" the lips :) smacking the lips (in eating), *aʃog-pa*, P. *(b)žogs*, F. *gžog*, Imp.

¹ Cf. K.WF., A. 35-7, 330-1.

² Cf. K.WF., A. 266-275.

³ Cf. K.WF., A. 27-8 ?

⁴ Cf. K.WF., B. 150-189.

zog to cut, to chop, to hew, to chip, *lēag* rod, switch, whip, stick, strike, cut, blow, hit, *aṭsog-pa*, P. *btsags*, F. *btsog*, Imp. *ṭsog* to hew, to chop, to cut, to pierce, to cudgel; (also *mtsog-pa*) to find fault with, to blame, to censure, to tease, *mtsog-ma* (cleft :) fontanel, *gṣog-pa*, *bṣog-pa*, *gṣag-pa*, *gṣeg-pa*, *aṭegs-pa*, P. *gṣags*, *bṣags*, F. *gṣag*, *bṣag*, Imp. *gṣog* to cleave, to split, to break open, to break through, to rend, to tear, *bžag-pa* to tear, to wear (of clothes), to burst, to crack, to split (vb. intr.), *ṣag-ma* (broken up :) gravel, pebbles, small stones.

K. *fāk* to be broken, to be snapped in two, *kā-fāk* to break (vb. tr.), to smash, *ṭek* to snap, to break, *kā-ṭek* ("break" the fingers :) to snap the fingers, *a-ṭek*, *lā-ṭek*, id.

(7)¹ T. *aḍzugs-pa*, *zug-pa*, P. *btsugs*, *zugs*, F. *gzugs*, Imp. *zug(s)* to insert young plants into the ground, to plant, to erect (as a pillar by setting it into the ground), to prick, to stick into, to thrust into, to pierce, to penetrate, to bore, to sting, *aṭsugs-pa*, P. *ṭsugs* to go into, to enter, to bore into, to take root in, *mḍzug-gu* (also *mḍzub-mo*) (inset :) finger, toe, claw, *aṣjug-pa*, P. *bčug*, F. *gžug*, Imp. *čug* to put into, to insert, to inject, *aṣjug-pa*, to be combined with, to have added to, to go in, to walk in, to enter.

K. *čyāk* to pierce, to be pierced, to be run through (as with a spear), *a-čyā* to prod, to goad, to thrust, to prick.

(8)² T. *gtsaṅ-ba* to be clean, to be pure, cleanness, purity, clean, pure, *gtsaṅ* clean, pure, *aṭsaṅ-ba*, P. *saṅs* to make clean, to remove impurities, to take away, to remove, *ṭsaṅs* purified, clean, pure, *saṅ-ba*, P. (b)*saṅs*, F. (b)*saṅ* to clear away, to remove dirt, to cleanse, *seṅ-po*, *bseṅ-po* clean, white.

K. *seṅ* to be clean, to be pure, to clean, to clear away, clear space, a clearing, *tseṅ* to remove, to clear away, *ṭsaṅ* to remove, to clear away, to put away, to drive away, to banish.

(9)³ T. *gtug-pa*, P. *gtugs* to reach, to touch, to come up to, to overtake, to meet with, to join, *btug-pa* id., *ṭug-pa* to

¹ Related to No. 50 with dental finals. Cf. K.WF., B. 20-5.

² Cf. K.WF., B. 295-301.

³ Cf. K.WF., B. 112-128, 569-571. Cf. No. 10 inf.

reach, to arrive at, to come to, to meet, to light upon ; > col. : to touch, to hit, to strike against, *tug* until, to, *rdug-pa*, P. *brdugs*, F. *brdug* to strike against, to stumble over, *rdun-ba*, P. *brduns*, F. *brdun*, Imp. (*b*)*rdun(s)* to beat, to strike, to cudgel, to hammer, to pound, to thrash, *bduñ-ba* id.

K. *tuk* to hit against, to come in contact with, to come close up to, to reach, to attain, to arrive at or in, until, as far as, up to, *kă-tuk* to hit against, to collide with, *tū* to pound, to hammer, to pulverize, *a-tū* to hit, to strike, to kick against.

(10)¹ T. *togs-pa* to strike, to stumble, to run against, *rdeg(s)-pa*, P. (*b*)*rdeg*s, F. *brdeg*, Imp. (*b*)*rdeg(s)* to beat, to strike, to knock, to kick, *mto-ba* a hammer.

K. *tāk* to touch lightly, *kă-tāk* id., *a-tāk* to touch, to strike lightly, to tap.

(11)² T. *qegs-pa* to lift up, to raise up, (mounted :) to set out on a journey, *teg-pa* to lift, to raise, to hold up, to support, vehicle, carriage, riding animal, *qdeg(s)-pa*, P. *bteg(s)*, F. *gdeg*, Imp. *teg* to lift, to raise, to elevate, to support, *tog* (uppermost part :) top, roof, *tog-ma* summit, upper end, uppermost place, origin, source, beginning, *tog* top, top ornament, *ltag* above, over, *ltag-pa* upper place, upper part, back of the neck (i.e. top of the back), back ("top") of a knife.

K. *tāk* to brace, to prop up, *tēk* to rise, to get up.

(12)³ T. *puñ-po* a heap, a pile, a mass, *spuñ-ba*, P. and Imp. *spuñs* to heap up, to pile up, to accumulate, to amass, *dpuñ* host, a great number, troops, army, *buñs* mass, heap, bulk.

K. *puñ* gathering, assembly, congregation, flock, herd, *pāñ* to gather, to congregate, to assemble, *ṣă-pāñ* to collect, to cause to congregate, *n-pāñ* a clump, a cluster, *mă-pāñ* a clump, a cluster, *bāñ* to confer with, to consult, to hold council, *pā* to mix, to mingle, *să-pā* to consult, to confer, to hold council, *bā* to pack, to get one's goods together.

¹ Cf. K.WF., B. 112-128, 569-571, and cf. No. 9 sup.

² Cf. K.WF., B. 64-84.

³ Cf. K.WF., D. 188.

(13) T. *abyug-pa*, P. and Imp. *byugs* to stroke, to pat, to tap lightly.

K. *a-puk* to tap, to pat, *güm-puk* to tap, to pat.

(14) ¹ T. *ābug(s)-pa*, *ābig(s)-pa*, P. *ṗug*, *ṗigs*, F. *dbug*, *dbig*, Imp. *ṗug*, *ṗig(s)* to sting, to pierce, to bore, to make a hole, to break into, to break open, *sbug-pa* id., *ṗug-pa*, *ṗig-pa* = *ābug(s)-pa*, *ābig(s)-pa*, *ṗug-pa* cave, cavern, *ṗug(s)* innermost part, inmost apartment, *sbug(s)* (more frequently *sbugs*) hollow, cavity, excavation, recess, interior space, *sbug-po* hollow, *ābug* awl, chisel, punch, *bug-pa*, *bu-ga* hole, orifice, aperture, *bu-gu* hole, *sbu-gu* hollow, tubular cavity (as in plant stems).

K. *pāk* hole, cavity, *kă-pāk* to dig out, to hollow out.

(15) ² T. *āpog-pa*, P. *ṗog* to hit, to strike, to touch, to meet.

K. *pāk* to hit with a thud, to whack.

(16) ³ T. *smag* dark, darkness, *mog-pa* dark-coloured, *rmoñ-ba*, P. *rmoñs* to be obscured, *rmoñ-ba* obscurity, obscured.

K. *māñ* to rise in a cloud (as dust or smoke), *kă-māñ*, *gă-māñ* id., *šă-māñ* to stir up dust, to spread defamatory reports, *lă-mā* to be black, to be dark, to be shaded, *n-mā* to be stained, to be soiled.

(17) ³ T. *rmugs-pa* dense fog, languor, languid, *smug-pa* fog, *smug-po* dark bay, cherry brown, purple brown, *mug-pa* overcast, troubled (of the mind: *yid mug-pa* to despair), *rmu-ba* dullness, heaviness, fog.

K. *muk* to be sullen, to be sulky, to be sour-tempered, *muñ* to be sullen, to be sulky, to be cloudy, to be overcast, to be dull, *mu* to be cloudy, to be overcast.

(18) ⁴ T. *mig*, old form, *dmyig* eye.

K. *myi*, *a-myi* eye.

(19) T. *miñ*, old form *myiñ* name.

K. *myiñ* to name, *a-myiñ* a name.

¹ Cf. K.WF., D. 62-71 ?

² Cf. K.WF., D. 89-94.

³ Cf. K.WF., D. 1-23, 24-7.

⁴ Cf. K.WF., D. 60-1.

LABIAL FINALS

(20) ¹ T. *agebs-pa*, P. *bkab*, F. *dgab*, Imp. *kob* to cover, to spread over, to put on, to protect, *sgab-pa* id., *gab-pa* to hide, to conceal oneself, *agab-pa* (cover one's actions :) to be cautious, to take care, *akeb-pa*, P. *kebs* to cover, to spread over, *kebs*, *kyebs* covering, coverlet, *skyob-pa*, P. (b)*skyabs*, F. *bskyab*, Imp. *skyob(s)* to protect, to defend, to preserve, to save, *skyabs* protection, defence, *skyobs* help, assistance.

K. *gap* to cover, (put up a covering :) to build a house, to pitch a tent, *dă-gap* to cover (especially with something wide and flat), *mă-gap* a cover, a lid, to cover, *lă-gap* (coverer :) one who brings up the rear of a Kachin army, *fin-gap* a cover, a lid, *kâp*, *a-kâp* (covering :) crust, rind, shell, *mă-kâp*, *mă-nâp* to cover, to shield, to defend, defender, defence, protection, *kin-kâp* a sheath (usually of bamboo), *gup* to be covered, to be doubled over, *gup*, *n-gup* (coverer :) mouth, *kā-gup* a hat (*kā-gup gup* to wear a hat), *kă-gup*, *lă-gup* a hat, *dă-gup* to cover, to envelop, *mă-gup* (all-embracing :) every, all, *n-kup* (cover :) to turn over, to fold over, *šă-gup* to fold over, to double over, *kă-yâp* to wrap up, to cover, to encase, *yâp* to be wrapped around, to be wound around.

(21) T. *skum-pa*, P. *bskums*, F. *bskum*, Imp. *skum(s)* to contract, to draw in, to crook, to bend, *kum-pa*, *kum-po*, *kum-kum* crooked, shrivelled, *akum-pa*, P. *kums* to shrink, to be contracted, *kums-pa* crooked.

K. *gum* to bow, to bend forward, to make obeisance, *n-gum* to bend forward, to be flat on the face, *n-num* to bend forward, *dă-gum* bent, curved, concave, arched, *šă-gum* bent, curved, concave, arched, to lie prone, to lie on the face, *mă-gum* the ridge or comb of a house, *mă-kum* a ridge, *n-nup* to bend forward, *dă-gup* to bow low, to sit or kneel with the face towards the ground, to make obeisance.

(22) ² T. *bgom-pa*, P. *bgams* to walk, to step, to stride, *gom-pa* a pace, a step.

¹ Cf. K.W.F., I, 1-20.

² The underlying sense here may be one of "succession" or "series" (of events or actions). Cf. Lepcha *góm*, *a-góm* series, chain, train, continuity, whence: *ton góm* a step, a stride (lit. foot (*ton*) step), *a-dyan góm* a step, a pace (lit. foot (*a-dyan*) step), *kă-góm* a stride.

K. *n-gam* a step, a notch (of a ladder), *lă-kam* to step, a step, a pace, *kām* to walk, to travel.

(23) T. *agrib-pa* to grow less, to decrease, to diminish, to grow dim, to become dark, *sgrib-pa*, P. *bsgribs*, F. *bsgrib*, Imp. *sgrib(s)* to darken, to obscure, *sgrib-pa* darkened, dark, obscured, (mental darkness :) sin, *grib* shade, shadow, filth, defilement, contamination, *srib-pa* to grow dark, to become dusk, *srib(s)* darkness, gloom, night, shady side, north side, *rab-rib* (> col. *hrab-hrib*) (lessened visibility :) mist, dimness.

K. *krip* to diminish, to subside, to become less, to die down (as a fire), *šă-krip* (take down :) to humble, to punish.

(24) T. *sgrin-pa*, P. *bsgrims*, F. *bsgrim*, Imp. *sgrin(s)* to hold fast, to force together, to twist together, *krim*s moral law, custom, duty, precept, rule (i.e. restrictions or prohibitions restraining one's actions).

K. *krim* to act in unison, all at once, with one accord, *grim* to act in unison, *krip* to act in unison, *a-krip* unison, concord, unity, harmony, agreement, *lă-krip* to keep step.

(25) T. *agrum-pa* to pinch off, to nip off, to prune, to lop off, to clip, *dkrum* broken, *grum-pa* lame, crippled, *hrum-pa* to break, to smash, *qkrums* (torn :) carcass, game torn by wild beasts, *skrum*, *srum* (carved off :) meat (as food).

K. *krum* to trim, to prune, to lop off.

(26) T. *agrem(s)-pa*, P. *bkram*, F. *dgram*, Imp. *kroms* to put in order, to lay out, to spread out together, to place together (as articles for sale), *krom* market-place (where objects are laid out together for sale), crowd, assemblage, gathering.

K. *kram* to spread out (as a trailing plant on the ground), to become bushy (as trees), *kram* (the spreader :) hamadryad, *šă-kram* to widen, to spread, to attain full size, *krem* to be side by side, to be in line, *lă-krem* to come up beside, to edge up to, *n-krem* side of the body, edge or back of a book, *krep* to be in line, to be in a row.

(27) T. *kṛab-kṛab* a weeper, one given to tears.

K. *krap* to weep, to cry.

(28) T. *ăĵum-pa*, P. *bĕum*, F. *gĵum*, Imp. *ĕum* to shrink, to contract, to draw in, *aĕum(s)-pa* to shrink, to contract.

K. *ĕyum* to be puckered up (as the lips), to be drawn up, to be contracted.

(29) ¹ T. *ădzom(s)-pa* to come together, to meet.

K. *ĕyām* to act together, to act in unison, *ĵām* to join forces, to co-operate, together, in unison, in company, *kă-ĵām* to gather round, to crowd round (a common centre), *ĕyā* to be joined, to be united, to be fitted together, to be related (as by family ties), *šă-ĕyā* to fit together, to adjust one thing to another, *šin-ĕyā* to tie together, to bind up together, *mă-ĕyā* (meeting place :) socket, vulva, *ĵā* to be collected together, to be massed together, *mă-ĵā* to gather together, to tie together, top-knot, *n-ĵā* top-knot.

(30) T. *ĥams-pa* injured, damaged, spoiled, impaired, stained.

K. *nyam* to be decayed, *ĕyă-nyam* decayed, crumbling, to be decayed, *nyām* to be decayed, *ĕyă-nyām* weak, failing, tottering, *nyăp* to be decayed, to be crumbling, to be broken down.

(31) ² T. *sdeb-pa*, P. *bsdebs*, F. *bsdeb*, Imp. *sdebs* to join, to unite, to put together, to mix, *ldeb-pa* to bend back, to double down, *deb-ma* poultice, application, *lteb-pa* to double down, to bend back, *tebs* (put together :) series, succession, *ateb* (added member :) surplus, extra, supernumerary, *ltab-pa*, P. *bltab*, F. *bltab*, Imp. *ltob* to fold, gather, or lay together, *adab-ma* flat board, wing, petal, leaf, fan, flag, *adabs* side, surface.

K. *tep* to be close together, to be near, *kă-tep* to be close together, to come close up to, *ĵă-tep* to bring close together, *a-tep* (bring the hands together :) to clap, *tep*, *mă-tep* to pinch, to be squeezed together, to be fastened together, *dep* to be close, to be crowded together, *šin-dep* to be or act in unison, co-operation, *lap* layer, stratum, lamina, *kă-lap* to add, to superimpose, again and again, repeatedly.

¹ Cf. K.WF., K. 79-84.

² Cf. K.WF., K. 16-19.

(32) T. *gtam(s)-pa* full, *ltam(s)-pa*, P. *bltams*, F. *bltam* to be full, *ltam-pa* full, overflowing, *tam-pa* full, complete, *tem-pa* to be full, to be complete, to be finished, *atems-pa* to be sufficient, to suffice.

K. *tām* to have completed, to have finished, *šă-tām* to finish, to complete.

(33) T. *snabs* mucus, discharge from the nose.

K.¹ *nep* mucus, discharge from the nose, *a-nep* id., *nyep* to be soft, mucus, *nyap* to be soft and paste-like, *a-nyap* soft, sticky, viscous, *mă-nyap* soft, moist, spongy, *nya* to be soft, to be pliable, *šă-nya* to soften, to make soft, *čyă-nya* soft, flabby.

(34) ² T. *snub-pa*, P. *bsnubs*, F. *bsnub*, Imp. *snub(s)* to cause to perish, to suppress, to annul, to destroy, to abolish, to abrogate, *nub-pa* to fall gradually, to sink, to decay, to decline (as religion), to set (of sun and moon), *nub-mo* evening, *nub* the west, evening.

K. *nip* to cast a shadow, to be overcast, *šă-nip*, *šin-nip*, *čyă-nyip* shade, shadow.

(35) T. *nom-pa*, P. *noms* to seize, to grasp, to lay hold of, *snom-pa*, P. *bsnams*, F. *bsnam* to take, to seize, to grasp, to take up.

K. *nām* to be enclosed, to be housed, to be comprised in, to be held or contained in, *kă-nām*, *gă-nām* to gather, to amass, to collect, to hoard.

(36) T. *apam-pa*, P. *ṣam* to be beaten, to be conquered, to be overcome, to be deprived of power to act (as *bdud* demons).

K. *ṣam* to be numb, to be benumbed, to be without the power of feeling, *kă-ṣam*, *gă-ṣam*, id.

(37) ³ T. *aprab* a fluttering movement (as in *aprab byed-pa* to flutter (of a wounded bird)).

¹ On the Kachin side it is possible that *nya*, *šă-nya*, and *čyă-nya* belong with T. *mnen-pa* flexible, pliant, supple, soft, as their final affinities are uncertain. Cf. Burmese *nan*.

² Cf. K.W.F., K. 87-90 ?

³ Also (?): *apra-va*, P. *apras* to kick, to jerk (as the legs); *pra-ba*, id.; *apras-pa* stroke, blow, kick.

K. *ṗrap* to flutter, to flicker, to flash, *n-ṗrap* lightning, *kā-ṗrap* to blink (as the eyes), to flutter (as wings), to move back and forth (as animals their ears), *kā-ṗrap*, *ṗrap* to flash (as lightning or a mirror).

From this selection of families in guttural and labial finals we see that the allowable alternations include only *-g* (> K. *-k*) ~ *-ñ* ~ *-O*, and *-b* (> K. *-p*) ~ *-m* ~ *-O*, a fact which we shall have to bear well in mind when dealing with the families in dental finals, where the range is considerably wider, as is exemplified in the following cases.

DENTAL FINALS

(38) ¹ T. *mgur* (bending part :) neck, throat, *dgur*, *rgur*, *sgur* crooked, *mgul* neck, throat, *dgu-ba* to bend, to make crooked, bow, inflection, bent, stooping.

K. *kun*, *tiñ-kun* to be bent, to be curved, *fiñ-kun* to bend, to be pliable, to wriggle, to twist, *šiñ-kun* (assume a bending position :) to crouch down, to prowl, *mă-kun* to crouch down, *ku* to be bent, to be curved.

(39) ² T. *rkod-pa*, P. (*b*)*rkos*, F. *brko*, Imp. *rkos* to dig, to dig out, to hoe, to engrave, *rkon-pa*, *skon-pa* (scooped out :) basket, *rko-pa* = *rkod-pa*.

K. *gât* to be scooped out, *dă-gât* to scoop out, to ladle out, *šă-gât* to scoop up with the hand, *lă-gât* to scoop, a scoop, a small shovel, *n-gât* tray, shallow bamboo basket, *mă-gân* to scoop up, to collect into a heap, *n-gân* bamboo spade (used for digging graves), *gân* to be sunken, to be concave, *diñ-gân* to undulate (as waves).

(40) T.³ *rkun-ma* thief, theft, *rku-ba*, P. (*b*)*rkus*, F. *brku*, Imp. *rkus* to steal, to rob.

K. *kut* to rob, *lă-gut* thief, robber, *lă-gu* to steal.

(41) T. *skar-ma* star, constellation.

¹ Cf. K.WF., E. 153-162, and *JRAS.*, 1936, pp. 404-5.

² Cf. K.WF., E. 114-123.

³ Also (?): *gud* separation, solitude, seclusion (> CT. loss, damage), *gun* loss, damage.

K. *šă-gan* star, meteor.

(42) ¹ T. *skad-pa* to say, to tell, to relate, to name, to call, *skad* voice, speech, language, talk, words, *bka* word, speech, *sgo-ba*, P. *bsgo* to say, to bid, to order, *sko-ba*, P. (*b*)*skos* F. *bsko*, Imp. *skos* to appoint, to nominate, to name, to commission.

K. *ga* word, speech, language, *a-ga* word, instruction, command, order, *šă-ga* to call, to summon.

(43) ² T. *qkyil-ba* to be twisted, to be winding, to be spiral, *skyil-ba*, P. and F. *bskyil* to bend, to make crooked, (encircling :) to pen up, to shut up or in, to dam up (also > to retain, to detain).

K. *kyit* to girdle, to gird, to tie round, *šin-kyit* belt, girdle, sash, *mă-kyit* to tie, to make a knot, *gyit* to tie up, to bind together, *a-kyin* to roll into a ball, to make round, *kyin* a package, a bundle, *kă-kyin* to gather (lit. roll) into a heap, *gyin* to roll into ball form, to make pellet-shaped, *šin-gyin* to roll together, pellet, shot, *šă-gyin* ("belt" in :) to tighten a belt, to shorten a strap, *n-gyin*, *kum-gyin* (roll-shaped :) cucumber, *yin* to be turned around, to encompass, to make a circuit, *kă-yin* to turn around, to rotate, *din-yin* to be dizzy, to be giddy, *lă-yin* a four-armed reel for reeling yarn, *gyi* to be curved, to be crinkled, *mă-gyi* to be curled, to be spiral, to be kinked, *tin-gyi* id., *n-gyi* (circular form :) a picture of the sun.

(44) ³ T. *bgrad-pa* to scratch, to scrape, *hrad-pa* to scratch, *qbrad-pa*, *qdrad-pa*, P. *brad*, Imp. *brod* to scratch, to scrape, to gnaw, to nibble at, *sbrad-pa*, *dbrad-pa* = *qbrad-pa*.

K. *gret* to graze (as a bullet), *a-gret* to scratch (as a thorn), to graze (as a bullet), *din-gret* to touch, to rub against, to graze, *kret* to gnaw, gnawing, *mă-kret* to gnaw, *kret* to rasp, to grate, *a-kret* to gnaw, *mă-kret* (scratching :) to draw a line, to rule,

¹ Cf. K.WF., E. 138-144.

² See JRAS., 1936, p. 408. Jäschke (Dic., p. 358) notes *qpyil-ba* to wind, to twist, as a form of *qkyil-ba*. Note, however, K. *pyin* to go round, to encircle, windlass, capstan.

³ Cf. K.WF., G. 24-34 ?

to strike a match, a ruler, *pret* to rasp, to grate, *n-prat* to strike a match, to strike fire (as with flint and steel), *bret* rasping noise (as when tearing silk), *mă-ret* to scratch, to lacerate, *rat* to scratch, to wound, to lacerate, to cut, *a-pre*, *a-pri* to scratch, to dig (as with claws or fingers).

(45) ¹ T. *akrud-pa*, P. *bkrus*, F. *bkrü* to wash (as *gos* clothes), to bathe (as *kā-lag* face and hands), *kruś* bath, washing, ablution, *akru-ba* = *akrud-pa*.

K. *krut* to wash (as clothing, or *buñ* (< *puñ*) the head).

(46) T. *sred-pa* to desire, to wish for, desire, wish, *akren-pa* to wish, to desire, to long for.

K. *mă-rit* to desire, to long for, to hanker after, *mă-rin* to be covetous, to be avaricious, to be greedy.

(47) T. *agrīl-ba*, P. *grīl* to be twisted, to be wrapped round, to be rounded, to be turned, *sgrīl-ba*, P. and F. *bsgrīl* (vb. tr.) to wind round, to wrap round, to wrap up, to wind up, *akrīl-ba* (vb. intr.) to wind round, to coil, to embrace, to clasp, *grīl* a roll, *hrīl-po* round, globular, *adrīl-ba*, P. *drīl* to be turned round, to be rolled round, to be twisted, to wrap up, *rīl-ba*, *rīl-po*, *rīl-mo* round, globular, cylindrical, *dkrī-ba* to wind, to wind up, *akrī-ba* to wind, to roll, to twist, *sri-ba* to wind round, to wrap round.

K. *rit* to twist, to wind, to twine, *tă-rin* to roll, to be rolled, *kri* to revolve, to spin, *mă-kri* a braid, *kri* to braid, *šin-ri*, *sum-ri* a cord, a rope, *ri* thread, string, cord.

(48) T. *blud* release, ransom, *blus-ma* anything ransomed, *blu-ba*, P. *blus* to ransom.

K. *lât* to get loose, to escape, to become free, *ša-lât* to liberate, to set free, *n-lât*, *šaṅ-lât* freedman, escaped prisoner, *mă-lâ* to loosen, to become loose.

(49) T. *nur-ba* to grunt (as pigs or yaks), *snur-ba* to snore.

K. *nūt* to grunt (as a pig), *nun* to growl, to grumble, to murmur, *a-nun* grumbling, growling.

(50) ² T. *aśsud-pa*, P. *śsud* to be put into, to go into, to enter,

¹ Cf. K.WF., E. 238-246.

² Related to No. 7 with guttural finals.

čud-pa id., *adzud-pa*, P. *btsud*, *zud*, Imp. *tsud* to put into, to lay in, *aʃud-pa* id., *adzu-ba*, P. *adzus*, to enter, to go in.

K. *ʃut* to be pierced, *mă-ʃut*, *num-ʃut* to pierce, to thrust in, *šă-ʃut* to pierce, to thrust through, *ʃu* to prick, to be pricked, thorn, bramble, spike, *a-ʃu* thorn, bramble, spike, to prick.

(51) T. *aʃun-pa*, *gčun-pa*, P. *bčun*, F. *gžun* to subdue, to make tame, to make soft, *žun-pa* melted, *ačun-pa* to be tamed, to be subdued, to be made to yield, *aʃu-ba*, *žu-ba*, *bžu-ba*, P. *bžus*, F. *bžu* to melt, to digest, *aʃu-ba* digestion.

K. *tun* to dissolve, to melt, *šă-tun* to liquefy, to melt.

(52)¹ T. *mtsān* grandchild, nephew, *btsas-ma*, *ritsas-ma* (brought forth :) harvest, wages, pay, *btsa-ba*, P. *btsas* to bring forth, to bear, to give birth to, *tsa-bo* grandson, *tsa-mo* granddaughter, niece.

K. *ša*, *a-ša* child, son, daughter, nephew, niece, *kă-ša* child, young of animals, *mă-ša* human being, man.

(53)² T. *rñed-pa*, P. *brñed*, *brñes*, F. *brñed* to get, to obtain, to meet with, *sñen-pa*, *bsñen-pa* to come near, to go near, to approach, *gñen*, *ñen* relative, kinsman, *gñer-ba* to apply oneself to, to take pains with, to procure, to acquire, *ñe-r* (= *ñe-bar*) near, *ñe-ba* to be near, to approach, *sñe-ba*, P. *bsñes*, F. *bsñe*, Imp. *sñe* to lean against, to lie down on.

K. *ni* to be near, *a-ni* nearness, proximity, to come near, to approach, *šă-ni* to bring near, to put in proximity, *nyē*, *nya* to meet.

(54) T. *gsal-ba* to be clear, to be bright, to be distinct, clear, bright, pure, *sal-le-ba* clear, bright, brilliant, *sel-ba*, P. and F. *bsal*, Imp. *sol* to cleanse, to remove impurities, to clear.

K. *san* to be clear, to be transparent, to be pure, *a-san* clear, clean, pure, *ʃă-san* to clear, to purify, *tsan* to clear, to cleanse.

(55)³ T. *gzan-pa* to eat, to devour, to gnaw, *bzan* food of

¹ Cf. K.WF., F. 46-7.

² Cf. K.WF., G. 40-5.

³ Cf. K.WF., F. 100-102. It is possible that the Tibetan and Kachin families here assembled are distinct and that the only relative that Kachin has in Tibetan is *ša* flesh, meat. The position remains in doubt.

animals, pasture, pasturage, *zan* pap, porridge, fodder, an eater, *aʃan-ba* to swallow, to devour, *zas* food, nourishment, *za-ba*, *bza-ba*, P. *zos*, *bzas*, F. *bza*, Imp. *zo*, *zos* to eat, food, meat, victuals.

K. *šat*, *a-šat* (food :) boiled rice, *n-šat* food supply, *mă-šat* food basket (figurative name), *šan*, *a-šan* flesh, meat, *ša* to eat.

(56) ¹ T. *sdud-pa*, P. *bsdus*, F. *bsdu*, Imp. *sdud*, *bsdu* to put together, to join, to unite (others, e.g. *kʷyo-šug-tu* as husband and wife), to marry, to compress, to condense, *sdud* (pressing together :) folds of a garment, *mdud* knot, bow, *dud-pa* to tie, to knot, *adun-ma* council, association, assembly, meeting, *mdun* (meeting one :) fore-part, front side, *mdun-ma* wife, *adus-pa* assembly, gathering, meeting, *bsdus-pa*, *adus-pa* to consist of, to be made up of, *adu-ba*, P. *adus* to assemble, to come together, to meet, to join one another (e.g. *kʷyo-šug-tu* as husband and wife), to get married, to be pressed or crowded together, *adu-ba* assembly, gathering, meeting.

K. *tut* to be joined, to be bound together, to be united, *mă-tut* to connect, to join, to link together, *kă-tut* to meet, to run up against, (urge to meet :) to press on, to push on (towards a goal), *dun* to tie together, to tether, to be connected, to be united, to join, to adhere to.

(57) ² T. *sdod-pa*, P. and F. *bsdad* to sit, to stay, to remain, to abide, to halt, to come to a stop.

K. *kă-tât* to stumble and fall, *mă-tât* to stub the toe or foot, to kick against an obstruction, *kă-dân* to stumble, to stop abruptly, (of *ga* speech :) to stutter, to stammer, *kă-tâ*, *gă-tâ* = *kă-tât*.

(58) ³ T. *mton-po* high, elevated, *mtoš* high, elevated, *mto-ba* to be high, height, high, elevated.

K. *kă-tan* to bound up (as a ball), to leap (as a frog), *tan* to raise, to put up (as a ladder), *ta* to be above, to be high, to

¹ Cf. K.WF., F. 150-3.

² Cf. K.WF., F. 243-6.

³ Cf. K.WF., F. 63-7. It is possible that K. *tsă*, *mă-tsă*, and *šă-tsă* do not belong here, but rather with T. *gtso-bo* highest in perfection, most excellent (of its kind).

rise, *lă-tă* upper, *kă-tă* above, overhead, *mă-tă* pinnacle, summit, high, elevated, *tă* (raised :) to transport, to carry, *tsă* to be high, to be tall, to be lofty, *mă-tsă* upper regions, celestial heights, *šă-tsă* to heighten, to raise, to elevate.

(59) ¹ T. *adrud-pa*, *abrud-pa*, P. and Imp. *drud* to rub, to file, to rasp, to scour, to polish, to smooth, to plane, to drag, to pull along, *bgrud-pa*, P. *bgrus*, F. *bgru* to husk, to shell.

K. *rut* to rub, *a-rut* to rub, to abrade, to erase, *mă-rut* a grater (*mă-rut rut* to grate), *mă-krut* to gnaw, *krut* to snatch away, to pull away forcibly, whetstone, *n-krut* whetstone, *krit* to grind (as *wa* the teeth), *a-rit* to rub off, to pull off (as bark from a tree).

(60) ² T. *adred-pa* to slide, to slip, to glide, *adren-pa*, P. *drañ(s)*, F. *drañ*, Imp. *dron(s)* to draw, to drag, to pull, to tear out, to press out, to squeeze out (as pus), to conduct (as water), to lead, to guide, to fetch, to transport.

K. *ret* to be snatched up, *kă-răt*, *gă-răt* to draw, to drag, to pull, to haul, *šă-răt* to drag, to scrape (as the feet), *krăn* to be dragged, to be pulled, to be led along, to be conducted, *gă-re* to tear away, to snatch away, to pluck away from.

(61) T. *gnas-pa* to stay, to remain, to dwell, to live at, *gnas* place, spot, abode, dwelling place.

K. *nat* to be fixed, to be held firmly, *mă-nat* to grasp firmly, to hold tightly, *jšă-nat* for ever, always, constantly, *nan* to stay, to remain, to tarry, to be permanent, *mă-nan* always.

(62) T. *abar-ba* to open (of flowers), to bloom, to blossom.

K. *pan*, *ban*, *nam-pan* a flower, *lă-pan* (Kauri), id.

(63) T. *abar-ba* to burn (intr.), to catch fire, to be ignited, *sbar-ba*, *sbor-ba*, P. and F. *sbar* to set fire to, to kindle, to light.

K. *lă-wât* cooking place, *wan*, *a-wan* fire, *wân* (Kauri), id.

(64) ³ T. *abud-pa*, P. *bus*, *pu(s)*, F. *dbu*, Imp. *pu(s)* to blow (intr. and tr.), to remove by blowing (as chaff), *sbud-pa*

¹ Cf. K.WF., G. 24-34, and No. 60 below.

² Cf. No. 59 above.

³ Cf. K.WF., H. 54-7.

bellows (*sbud qbud-pa* to blow bellows), *bud* (blown by wind :) a cloud of dust, *spun-pa*, *sbun-pa* (blown by wind :) chaff, husks, *sbur-ma* = *sbun-pa*, *phu* a puff of breath, *pu-tse* husks of barley, bran.

K. *wut*, *kā-wut*, *gā-wut* to blow, to puff, to blow upon (as a fire), *n-bun* (blown by wind :) dust, *bun* to scatter dust, to sprinkle liquids, *wu* dust, fine ash (*wan wu* fine ashes from a fire (*wan*)), *n-phu* dust, *a-phu* to scatter dust, to remove dust (as by shaking a garment).

(65) ¹ T. *pus-mo* knee.

K. *put* knee, to kneel, *lā-put* knee, *phun* to cover (as with a blanket), to put on (as a coat), *bu* to put in place, to place upon (as on a shelf).

(66) T. *qpar-ba* to bound up, to leap up, to fly up (as sparks), *spar-ba*, *spor-ba*, P. and F. *spar* to lift up, to raise, *qpyar-ba*, Imp. *qpyor*, *pyor* to raise, to lift up, to hoist, *ačar-ba*, P. *šar* to rise, to appear, to become visible, (of the sun :) to shine forth, *šar* the east.

K. *n-pat* (bring up :) to vomit, *pan* to rise, to be raised (as dust by the wind), *kā-pan* to be in motion, to be astir (as a crowd).

(67) T. *spel-ba* to augment, to increase, to add to, to multiply, to put together, to spread, to propagate, *qpel-ba*, P. *pel* (vb. neut.) to increase, to grow, to become larger, to improve, to grow better, *dpal* glory, splendour, magnificence, abundance, wealth, welfare, *pal-pa* (widely distributed :) usual, common.

K. *šā-pat* (enlarge the mind :) to instruct, to teach, *šā-pan* id., *šā-pan* to bring up (as a child), to rear, *pan* to be enlarged, to grow, to mature, *pan* to be mature, to be developed, to form, to create, to cause to be, *ba* to be big, to be great, to be large, *mā-ba* (great man :) chief, ruler, *kā-ba* big, great, large, *šā-pa* (vb. tr.) to extend, to spread out, to expand, to enlarge, *n-ba* great, big and ferocious.

¹ Cf. K.WF., H. 111-134.

(68) ¹ T. *abyid-pa*, P. *byid*, *pyid* to disappear, to pass away, to make an exit, *dpyid* (time of budding forth :) Spring, *abyin-pa*, P. and Imp. *pyuñ*, F. *dbyuñ* to cause to come forth, to take out, to remove, to draw out, to pull out, to tear out, to produce, to bring to light, to send out, to emit, to shed (*mč̣i-ma abyin-pa* to shed tears), to draw (as *krag* blood), to drive out, to turn out, to expel, to throw away, to liberate, to release, *sbyin-pa*, P. and Imp. *byin* to give to, to bestow upon, to hand over to, to deliver over to, *abyuñ-ba*, P. and Imp. *byuñ* to come out, to emerge, to go to, to proceed to, *pyin-pa* to go forth, to proceed, to advance, to come to, to reach, *dpyis* end, conclusion (*dpyis pyin-pa* to reach the end), *ap̣yi-ba*, *ap̣yid-pa* to wipe away (*mč̣i-ma ap̣yi-ba* to wipe away tears), to blot out, to pull out, to tear out (as *rlig* the testicles), to remove, *abyi-ba*, P. *byi*, *pyi*, *pyis* to be wiped off, to be blotted out, to be effaced.

K. *pyet*, *kā-pyēt* to vanish, to disappear, *šā-byet* to extort, to take away, to levy (as a fine), *šā-pyen* to throw out, to eject, to drive out, to expel, *pyen* to remove, to strip off.

(69) ² T. *gšid* funeral, *gšin-po* a dead man, one deceased, *gč̣i-ba*, *ši-ba*, P. *ši* to die, to disappear (as a flame), to cease, death.

K. *si* to die, to expire, *a-si* death, dead, *čyā-si* dead, a dead person.

(70) ³ T. *gč̣id-pa*, *gč̣i-ba*, P. *gč̣is*, F. *gč̣i*, Imp. *gč̣is* to make water, to urinate (*gč̣in gč̣id-pa*, *gč̣in gč̣i-ba* id.), *gč̣in* urine.

¹ Cf. K.WF., F. 247-250, H. 141-2. This and the next three families are very confusing. They all appear to belong together at base, as is indicated by the various collocations of the type *mč̣i-ma ap̣yi-ba*, etc., where the families are used together as though one. Probably the form *ap̣yin-pa* liver, of the Berlin Gzer-Myig (v. Francke, *Asia Major*, vol. i, p. 287) is something more than a homophone, and indicates recognized relationship (present in the scribe's mind) between this word and *abyin-pa* to tear out, of the present family. See footnote to No. 71.

² Cf. K.WF., F. 48-49. See note to No. 68.

³ Cf. K.WF., F. 147-9 ? See note to No. 68. The basic idea here seems to be that of "ejection" (ejected matter). *mč̣i-ma* (welling forth :) tears, may belong here. Cf. the Chinese family quoted.

K. *ṣit* urine, *ṣin* vagina, female private parts, *ṣi* to make water, to urinate (*ṣit ṣi* id.).

(71) ¹ T. *mč̣in-pa* liver.

K. *sin*, *a-sin*, *mă-sin* liver.

(72) T. *pyen*, *ap̣yen* wind, flatulence.

K. *pyet*, *a-p̣yet* wind, flatulence.

(73) ² T. *abyed-pa*, P. and Imp. *p̣ye*, *p̣yed*, *p̣yes*, F. *dbye* (vb. tr.) to separate, to keep apart, to open, to divide, to distinguish, to pick out, to choose, to select, to classify, *dpyad* an instrument for opening the mouth by force, *p̣yed* (divided :) half, *dbyen-pa* difference, dissension, discord, schism, *q̣byer-ba*, P. and Imp. *byer* (vb. intr.) to disperse, to scatter, to flee in different directions, *dbye-r* (= *dbye-ru* in *dbyer-med*, lit. devoid of difference) difference, distinction, *q̣bye-ba*, P. and Imp. *bye* (vb. intr.) to open, to divide, to separate, *dbye-ba* parting, partition, division, distinction, section, part, class, species, kind.

K. *ṣă-byet* to divide into lots, to do up into separate bundles, *kă-čyan*, *lă-čyan* to divide, to deal out, to allot, to apportion, *gin-čyan* to divide, to exchange, *čyen* (divided :) half, *a-čyen* band, shred, strip, *lă-ṣen* to divide equally, to apportion, to distribute, *mă-ṣen* a clearing, *ṣe* to tear, to rend asunder, to divide, to separate (as combatants), to cut down (as brush) (*mă-ṣen ṣe* to make (lit. to clear) a clearing (*mă-ṣen*)), *p̣ye* to allot, to assign, to parcel out.

(74) T. *byed-pa*, P. *byas*, F. *bya*, Imp. *byos* to make, to do, to cause, to fabricate, *spyod-pa*, *spyad-pa*, P. *spyad* to do, to act, to accomplish, *q̣čos-pa*, P. *bčos*, *q̣čos*, F. *bčö*, Imp. *čos* to make, to construct, to manufacture, to build, *q̣čā-ba*, P. *bčas*, *q̣čas*, F. *bča*, Imp. *čos* to make, to prepare, to construct.

K. *čyen* to do (obsolete word), *ṣă-čyen* to do, to accomplish, to perform, *lă-čyen* work, labour.

(75) T. *q̣bral-ba*, P. *bral*, Imp. *bröl* to be separated from, to be

¹ See note to No. 68. Possibly the basic meaning here is "that which is torn out" (pointing to very early hepatoscopy in Tibet?).

² Cf. K.WF., H. 26-44.

deprived of, to be parted from, to be bereft of, *br̥el-ba* to be destitute of, to be without, to be in need of, to be poor, *ap̥ral-ba*, P. *p̥ral*, F. *dbr̥al*, Imp. *p̥rol* (vb. tr.) to separate, to leave, to take away from.

K. *ran* to be apart, to be separated, to be divided, *m̥ā-ran* to separate, to push away, to send away, *š̥ā-ran* to place apart, to put down separately, *p̥ā-ran* to separate, to sort out, *p̥j̥ā-ran* to judge, to decide, *k̥ā-ran*, *g̥ā-ran* to divide, to distribute, to apportion, *ra* to be parted, to be separated.

(76) T. *bris* picture, drawing, representation, *bris-ma* written book, *ris* figure, form, design, *ri-mo* figure, picture, painting, drawing, mark, *ab̥ri-ba*, P. and Imp. *bris* to write, to draw, to design.

K. *rit* to mark a boundary, to trace a boundary line, *š̥ā-rit* boundary line, border, *a-rit* dividing line, *m̥ā-ri* to mark, to rule, to make a line, *ts̥ā-ri* a scribe.

(77) T. *rman-pa* wounded, *dmas-pa* wounded, *rma-ba*, P. *rmas* to wound, *rma* a wound.

K.¹ *n-ma* wound, cut, laceration, scar.

(78) T. *rmod-pa*, P. and F. *rmos* (cut the ground :) to plough, *rmed-pa* to plough and sow, *rmon-pa* ploughing, *rmo-ba* = *rmod-pa*.

K. *māt*, *m̥ān* to cut, to slice, to shave, to castrate.

(79)² T. *m̥un-pa* obscurity, darkness, obscure, dark, *dm̥un-pa* darkened, obscured (as *blo* the mind), *rm̥un-po* dull, heavy, stupid, *rm̥us-pa* dull, heavy, peevish, listless, foggy, gloomy, dark, *rmu-ba* dullness, heaviness, fog.

K. *mut* to be blue, *a-mut* blue, *č̥y̥ā-mut* blue, (faded :) shabby, dull, dusky, *m̥ā-mut* bluish, dark (as clouds), *d̥ā-m̥un* grey.

(80) T. *rud* a fallen or falling mass (of *ka-ba* snow : a snow-slip, of *ču* water : a deluge, of *sa* earth : a landslide).

K. *š̥ā-rut* a landslide (*š̥ā-rut ru* to cave in, to slide down,)

¹ Note also K. *mya* to be torn, to be ragged, *a-mya* to tear, to lacerate, to maul, *č̥y̥ā-mya* torn, ragged. These, however, may belong with T. *dmyal-ba* to cut up.

² Cf. K.WF., H 94-110.

gum-rut to slide down, to slip down, *niñ-rut* to be broken, (fallen in :) ravine, gap, landslide, *ziñ-rut* pit, pitfall, *rut* to pour out, to spill, *run* to pull down, to tear down, to demolish, to fall down, *šă-run* to demolish, to tear down, to destroy, to remove, to strip off, *ru* to fall, to tumble, to pour down.

The most striking thing that we notice here is that while in Tibetan the guttural and labial final families have only two consonantal finals (*-g* and *-ñ*; *-b* and *-m*), the dental class has no less than five (*-d*, *-n*, *-r*, *-l*, and *-s*), a fact which puts the dental families at a distinct advantage over the other two. This is, in itself, sufficiently peculiar to suggest a special inquiry into the dental finals to see if they have not undergone in Tibetan some special expansion from an original state where they also possessed only two types, which, by analogy with the other classes, we might suppose were *-d* and *-n*, and which actually exist in this form (*-t* and *-n*) in Kachin.

In this inquiry it seems to me that something may perhaps be deduced from the behaviour of the suffixes *-s* and *-d* with the so-called Perfect roots of verbs. Their occurrence, including the obsolete usages of *-d* with final *-n*, *-r*, and *-l*, may be summarized as follows:—

Suffix.	Guttural Finals.	Labial Finals.	Dental Finals.
<i>-s</i>	(1) <i>-g</i> (2) <i>-ñ</i>	(1) <i>-b</i> (2) <i>-m</i>	
<i>-d</i>			(2) <i>-n</i> , <i>-r</i> , <i>-l</i>

To begin with, the use of the same suffix (*-d*) after differing finals naturally follows the close relationship in sound between them, and it is, indeed, quite conceivable that *-n*, *-r*, and *-l* may represent simply varieties of one and the same sound, which, in fact, is supported by various developments occurring later in various parts of the Tibeto-Burman field, such as the interchange of *-n* and *-r* and *-n* and *-l* between Kachin and Tibetan,¹ and the similar alternation of *-n* and *-l* in Manipuri,²

¹ See above, Nos. 38, 41, 49, 62, 63, 66, and 43, 47, 54, 67, 75.

² As e.g. in *čen-ba* ~ *čel-ba* to run, *han* ~ *hal* the causative infix, *kan-ba* ~ *kal-ba* to think, *na-ton* ~ *na-tol* nose, *pun-ba* ~ *pul-ba* to tie.

and of Tibetan *-n* with Manipuri *-l*,¹ and so on. Between Chinese and Tibetan Simon² has already proposed a number of *-n* = *-l* equations, on some of which we shall comment a little later.

This, then, would reduce our dental finals to three: *-n*, *-r*, and *-l* in one group, with *-d* and *-s* still standing apart.

Now it is a fact, the significance of which is considerable, that as far back as our knowledge of Tibetan goes, neither *-d* nor *-s* can be attached to *-d* verbs in the "Perfect" tense, but that very frequently *-d* falls out and *-s* occurs in its place, giving the type: *abud-pa*, P. *bus* to blow, *byed-pa*, P. *byas* to do, and indeed one receives the distinct impression that here *-s* of the "Perfect" is for older *-ds*, an idea to which support is also lent by the alternation of *-d* and *-s* in the Perfect of one and the same verb, as in *pyed* or *pyes* (P. of *abyed-pa* to open), *brned* or *brnes* (P. of *rned-pa* to find), which is a feature of frequent occurrence seeming to indicate older forms **pyeds*, **brned*s, and so on.

I am thus led to restate an idea which I first put forward³ on general grounds only, and which was afterwards advanced more definitely by Simon,⁴ that *-s* as a final in Tibetan in a great number of cases presupposes older *-ds*, which is then the parallel in the dental series of *-gs* and *-bs* among the guttural and labial finals, and in what follows we shall somewhat expand this idea, which indeed finds considerable support

to bind, *sa-gon* ~ *sa-gol* (Beng. *ghōrā*?) horse, etc. This *-n* ~ *-l* and also an *-r* ~ *-l* alternation likewise come out strongly in the Bodo and related languages of Assam, notably in Garo, Bārā, and Kachari: G. *pān* ~ *bol* tree, Mikir *in-čín*, G. *šil* iron, G., K. *sān*, G. *sāl* sun, G., K. *šur*, G. *šil* iron, K. *bi-bār*, G. *pārr*, *bi-bal* flower, K. *bār*, G. *lam-pār*, *bāl* air, and others. Note also Tibetan *par* exchange, barter, G., K. *pāl* to sell.

¹ As e.g. T. *rgan-pa*, M. *a-hal* old, T. *mfon-po* high, M. *ma-tol* summit, etc.

² Wortgl., pp. 183-4.

³ *Outlines of Tibeto-Burman Linguistic Morphology*, London, 1929, p. 19, n. 1. This will be abbreviated hereafter as "Outlines".

⁴ Wortgl., p. 185.

when the word families of Tibetan, Kachin, and Chinese are examined together.

Let us now, then, fill in our scheme as follows :—

Suffix.	Guttural Finals.	Labial Finals.	Dental Finals.
-s	(1) -g	(1) -b	(1) -d
	(2) -ñ	(2) -m	
-d			(2) -n, -r, -l

We then have our two groups corresponding to the situation in the guttural and labial types.

But we are left, then, if this scheme is complete, without any “final” -s in Tibetan. And this, I believe, can be shown with a very high degree of probability to be the case, and that the occurrence of -s as a “final” in Tibetan can be ascribed to phenomena which we have already mentioned and which we shall consider in greater detail almost immediately below.

Before, however, passing to this phase of the question, we may profitably turn aside for a moment to inquire how the situation in practice agrees with the proposals so far made.

We have seen already that Kachin has only -t and -n as dental finals as against Tibetan -d, -n, -r, -l, and -s. Does, then, Kachin represent an older position in this regard than Tibetan? *A priori* this does not seem very probable, and yet it is certainly significant that its equipment is just that which we have suggested may have been original to Tibetan before its supposed expansion of the dental series.

Taking first Tibetan -r and -l we have among the individual families already listed the following representative cases :—

No. 49.	T. -r ;	K. -n ~ -t
No. 63.	T. -r ;	K. -n ~ -t
No. 66.	T. -r ;	K. -n ~ -t
No. 38.	T. -r ~ -l ~ -O ;	K. -n ~ -O
No. 62.	T. -r ;	K. -n
No. 41.	T. -r ;	K. -n
No. 43.	T. -l ;	K. -n ~ -t ~ -O

No. 47.	T. <i>-l</i> ~ -O ;	K. <i>-n</i> ~ - <i>t</i> ~ -O
No. 67.	T. <i>-l</i> ;	K. <i>-n</i> ~ - <i>t</i> ~ -O
No. 75.	T. <i>-l</i> ;	K. <i>-n</i> ~ -O
No. 54.	T. <i>-l</i> ;	K. <i>-n</i>

which seem, indeed, to give support to the idea that *-r* and *-l* on the Tibetan side represent varieties of *-n*.¹ Phonetically, of course, the close relationship requires no comment, and we have already adduced other concrete instances of the same interchange elsewhere in the Tibeto-Burman family.

We then come again to the question of Tibetan *-s*. Among the word families already listed we have the following cases :—

No. 61.	T. <i>-s</i> ;	K. <i>-t</i> ~ <i>-n</i>
No. 65.	T. <i>-s</i> ;	K. <i>-t</i> ~ <i>-n</i> ~ -O
No. 55.	T. <i>-s</i> ~ <i>-n</i> ~ -O ;	K. <i>-t</i> ~ <i>-n</i> ~ -O
No. 79.	T. <i>-s</i> ~ <i>-n</i> ~ -O ;	K. <i>-t</i> ~ <i>-n</i>
No. 76.	T. <i>-s</i> ~ -O ;	K. <i>-t</i> ~ -O

The evidence of cases like these seems, indeed, very straightforward, and what appears to be an equation *-s* : *-t* in the type T. *pus-mo* : K. *put* (No. 65) seems, indeed, to find quite definite support in a number of similar instances which are of particularly frequent occurrence between Tibetan and Lepcha. One thus finds, for instance :—

T. <i>zas</i>	L. (<i>a</i> -)zót	pasturage	(K. <i>šat</i> (food :) boiled rice)
T. <i>rus-pa</i>	L. <i>a-hrät</i>	bone	(K. <i>n-rut</i>)

¹ It should be noted here that it must have been at a very early time indeed when Tibetan first placed the basic roots of what are now its word families in the final *-n*, and *-r*, and *-l* classes. This is shown by the very great comparative rarity of alternations between *-n* and *-r* in the same family (for examples, see Nos. 53 and 64 in the preceding pages, and *JRAS.*, 1936, p. 415, No. 22, and p. 406), and the almost total absence, so far as I am aware, of *-n* ~ *-l* and *-r* ~ *-l* alternations of similar type (for *-r* ~ *-l* see No. 33, sup.). In other words this move must have taken place while the root was still single and alone, and free of prefixes, which were only added to it in mobile fashion as required (cf. *Outlines*, p. 53). Though at other times families in *-n* and *-r*, *-n* and *-l*, or *-r* and *-l* may approach each other fairly closely in both form and meaning, I do not believe that any such cases involve alternations between these finals. Such families seem to me to be altogether too evidently distinct (v. *JRAS.*, 1936, pp. 407-408, and (for a contrary view), K.W.F., p. 36).

T. <i>pus-mo</i>	L. <i>tūk-pat</i> knee	(K. <i>put</i>)
T. <i>ghis</i>	L. <i>nat</i> two	
T. <i>gros</i>	L. <i>krut</i> advice	
T. <i>bkres</i>	L. <i>krít</i> hunger	
T. <i>dgos-pa</i>	L. <i>gat</i> to desire	

But the same kind of thing can also be set up between Tibetan and Chinese, as, for instance, in :—

T. <i>m̄kas-pa</i>	Ch. 黠 <i>gat</i>	K. <i>ket</i>
shrewd, wise	wily, cunning	to be wily
T. <i>šes-pa</i>	Ch. 悉 <i>s̄iēt</i>	
to know,	to know	
to under-	thoroughly	
stand		
T. <i>bris</i>	Ch. 筆 <i>pliēt</i>	K. <i>a-rit</i>
picture,	stroke in	dividing line
drawing	writing	

and I am strongly of the opinion that all these *-t* forms in Lepcha, Chinese, and Kachin, presuppose a *-l* somewhere in their Tibetan relatives, and that, indeed, the Tibetan words in question almost certainly at one time ended in *-ds*.

To illustrate the consequences of this possibility, I believe, in fact, that we are justified in advancing equations of the following type :—

(1) T. *pus-mo* (< **puds*) knee, Ch. 市 *piwət* knee cover, K. *put* knee ; etc. (See K.WF., H. 117, etc., and Family No. 65, sup.)

(2) T. *bris* (< **brids*) picture, drawing, representation, Ch. 筆 *pliēt* stylus, writing, stroke in writing, K. *a-rit* dividing line, boundary mark ; etc. (See Family No. 76, sup.)

(3) T. *rmus-pa* (< **rmuds*) dull, listless, Ch. 忽 *χmwət* dull, stupid, K. *mă-mut* bluish, dark ; etc. (See K.WF., H. 105, etc., and Family No. 79, sup.)

(4) T. *adus-pa* (< **aduds*) gathering, assembly, meeting (cf. *sdud-pa* vb. tr. to join), Ch. 隊 *d̄wəd* group of soldiers, regiment,

K. *tut* to be joined together, etc. (See. K.WF., F. 151, etc., and Family No. 56, *sup.*)

And we do not then have the *-s* : *-d*, *-t* equations that appear on the surface, but a much more probable T. *-d*, Ch. *-d*, *-t*, K. *-t*.

In this view, then, a considerable number of equations involving the so-called "Perfect" root of Tibetan verbs may be expected, of which the type is again exemplified in e.g. : T. (b)*rkos* (< **brkods*) excavated, the so-called "Perfect form of *rko-ba*, *rkod-pa* to dig, Ch. 穴 *giwet*, or 窟 *kwat* hole, pit, cave (< 'excavated' place ?)."

But what, then, is the final implication of all this ? Clearly (1) That it is highly probable that Chinese, as well as Kachin, never possessed any final *-s* of any type, either true final or suffix,¹ and (2) that the following is a fairly definite series of equations which we may expect between Tibetan and Chinese :

Tibetan	Chinese
<i>-d</i>	<i>-d</i> , <i>-t</i>
<i>-s</i> < * <i>-ds</i>	<i>-d</i> , <i>-t</i>
<i>-n</i>	<i>-n</i> , <i>-r</i> , <i>-l</i> (?)
<i>-r</i>	<i>-r</i> , <i>-n</i> , <i>-l</i> (?)
<i>-l</i>	<i>-r</i> , <i>-n</i> , <i>-l</i> (?)

In other words, the inescapable conclusion seems to be that there was no *-s* in pre-Archaic Chinese at all, and that archaic *-r* can be descended only from pre-Archaic *-r* or *-l* or some variety of *-n*, and I shall be obliged to withdraw a proposal I made on a former occasion² that the alternations *-s* ~ *-n* and *-s* ~ *-d* of Tibetan and *-r* ~ *-n* and *-r* ~ *-d*, *-r* ~ *-t* of Chinese support the descent of Archaic Chinese *-r* from *-s* in an undetermined number of cases. On the Chinese side

¹ By this I, of course, mean *-s* standing alone as final, or following a vowel as a suffix. We have no knowledge as to the existence of a *-ds* or *-ts* combination in Chinese at some very early time. It is, of course, just possible that a suffixed *-s* of this nature is at the bottom of the *-d* : *-t* differentiation in Archaic Chinese.

² *JRAS.*, 1936, p. 402.

there is, of course, no certainty that any spread of the dental finals ever occurred in the pre-Archaic language producing a series anywhere nearly paralleling Tibetan with its *-d*, *-n*, *-r*, *-l*, and *-s*, and I thus cannot follow Simon¹ in his suggestion that, for instance, 卷 *kīwan*² a roll, a scroll, has changed an older *-l* into *-n* on the evidence of Tibetan *gril* a roll. There is small doubt to my mind that Chinese *-n* is always older than Tibetan *-l*. In this particular equation of Simon's I also seriously doubt whether 卷 *kīwan* and its relatives (v. K.WF. E. 1-31) are related to Tibetan *gril* and the other members of its family (v. No. 47, sup.) at all.³ In the case of Kachin the situation is better known. Not only does the language lack a final or suffixed *-s*, but no spread of the original dental finals *-d* and *-n* can be traced.

I cannot help feeling that this elision theory for Tibetan *-d* explains a very great deal. Even where Tibetan verbs regularly end in *-s* throughout I believe there is ground for supposing the disappearance of *-d* before it. The type is:—

agas-pa, P. *gas* to be split, to be cleft, to be cracked, to be burst asunder.

ages-pa, P. *bkas*, F. *dgas*, Imp. *kos* to split, to cleave, to divide, to cut open.

Here Chinese relatives in *-d* and *-t* appear to be to hand in 害 *gád* (to cut :) to injure, 膾 *kwád* to cut meat to pieces, to mince, 削 *kwád* cut off, 刈 *kwád*, *kīad* to cut, to wound, 劇 *kīwäd* sharp, to cut, to wound, 契 *kīad* to cut, a notch, 割 *kāt* to cut, 戛 *ket* lance, 刮 *kwät* cut off, scrape off, 鉞 *giwät* halberd, 鋏 *kīat* sickle, to cut, 刷 *giwät* to incise, and we also have in Kachin *kāt* to cut, to hew, to sever, to cleave, *a-kāt* to make a semicircular incision with a dah, *lā-kāt* to

¹ Wortgl., p. 183, and No. 312.

² K.WF., E. 8.

³ Cf. also e.g. Simon No. 320, T. *apral* Ch. 分 *pīwən* to divide (K.WF., H. 38). The Chinese family here, I believe, belongs with an entirely different one in Tibetan (v. *JRAS.*, 1936, p. 415, No. 22) where a Tibetan *-n* Ch. *-n* equation is present. For the Tibetan and Kachin relatives of T. *apral-ba* see above No. 75.

cut obliquely, and finally, I believe, Tibetan itself supports -s < -ds here with : *agyed-pa*, P. *bgyes*, F. *bkye* to divide, to scatter, to disperse, to dismiss, to distribute, the transitive verb form corresponding to the intransitive *agye-ba*, P. *gyes* to be divided, to be separated, to come apart.

The origin of this class of verb is, indeed, perhaps to be traced to the habit which Tibetan has of using its so-called "Perfect" roots as secondary Present forms. In this way, for instance, *rgyas-pa* is used as a Present, though properly the Perfect of *rgya-ba* to increase, *agyes-pa* is employed as a Present though really the Perfect of *agye-ba* to disperse, giving, in practice *rgya-ba* or *rgyas-pa*, P. *rgyas*, and *agye-ba*, or *agyes-pa*, P. *agyes*. There is only one more step for the verb then, to take before the "Perfect" form has entirely usurped the field and the verb appears with -s throughout, exactly as it does in the case of *agas-pa* and *ages-pa* above.

It thus transpires that we get a somewhat different view of many Tibetan word families, and especially among those with dental finals is it evident that only a critical examination of all the material which they offer with, where possible, a comparison with the related families in other languages, can give us any sure idea of where the equations from word to word should be set up.

The same principle, indeed, applies to words which are apparently completely isolated in their own languages. A case in point is Tibetan *kā* mouth. Only from the Kachin family *kān* to be pushed back, to be separated, *mă-kān* to push open, to force apart, *sŭm-kān* to be open, to gap, *mă-kā* to be open (as a door), to open (as the mouth), *ĵă-kā* to part, to separate, *kā* to be remote, to be at a distance, to lose (as a tooth), *kā* to be parted, to be separated, to gap, to be open, *čyin-kā* door, gate, *lă-kā* to crack open, to chap, *n-kā* door, does it appear that Tibetan *kā* was originally "the opener". However reasonable the unsupported supposition¹ might have

¹ From Tibetan alone one, of course, gets a fairly clear impression of the origin of this word from the fact of its carrying the sense of "opening",

appeared, one could never from Tibetan alone have supported it with a series of similar nature.

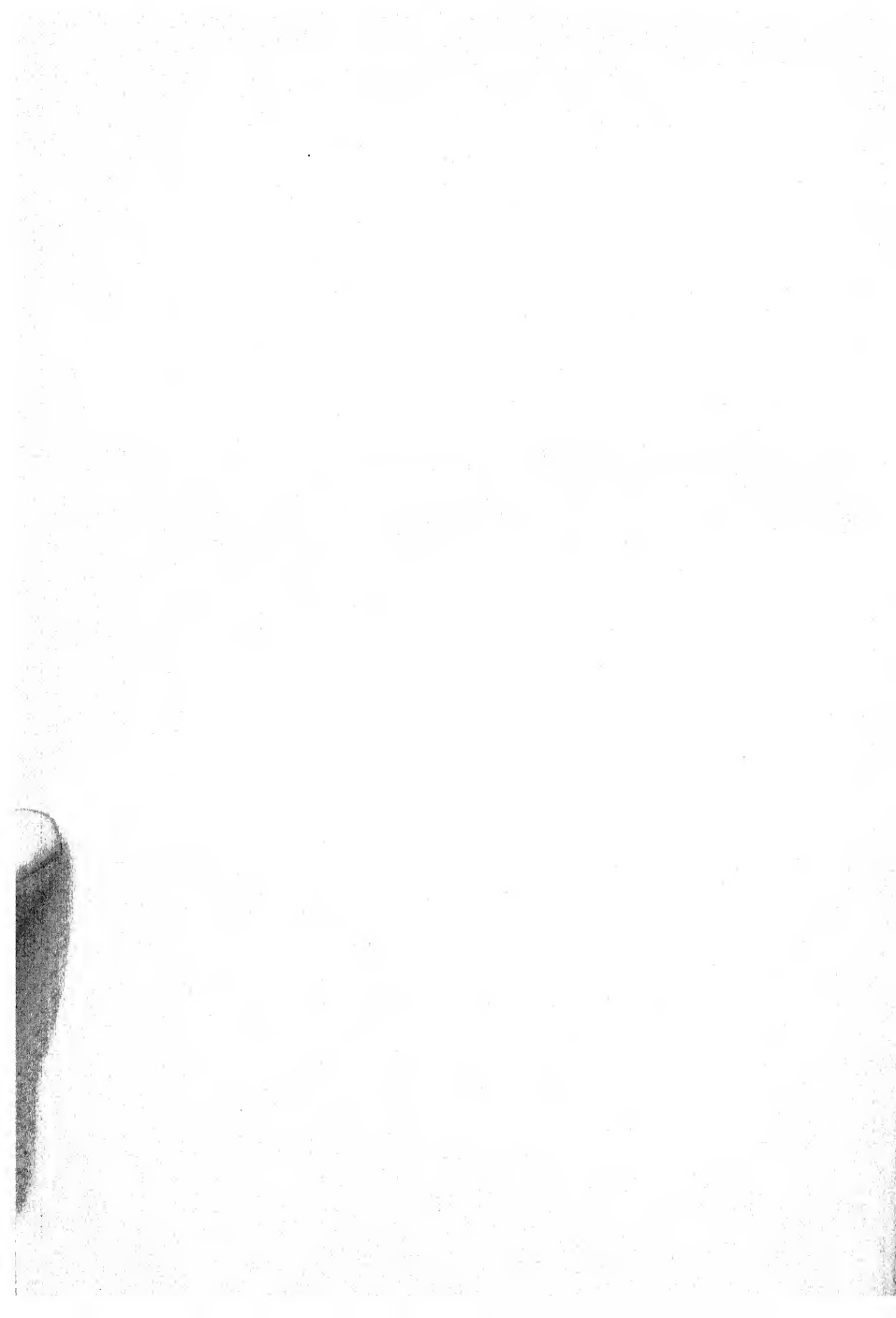
Finally, also, as an additional example of how very essential the word stock of one language may be to the correct evaluation of that of another, we may take the following case.

The writer has previously¹ suggested that in Tibetan there was formerly, with some probability, a word family of the type *-n ~ -O* with the general sense of "to bend". Chinese alone gives one this idea, but within the Tibeto-Burman family additional proof is supplied by Kachin,² where we have *kun*, *tiñ-kun* to be bent, to be curved, *ñiñ-kun* to bend (as a stick), to be pliable, to wriggle, *šiñ-kun*, *mă-kun* (assume a bending position :) to crouch down, *ku* to be bent, to be curved.

"gap", "vacancy", in such combinations as *ka aqeb-s-pa* to shut an opening, *ka skon-ba* to fill a vacancy, etc., but the family as still extant in Kachin is lacking.

¹ *JRAS.*, 1936, pp. 404-5.

² See No. 38 sup.



Aspects of Muḥammadanism in the Eastern Sudan¹

By S. HILLELSON

THE country with which we are concerned—Nubia, Sennār, and Kordofān—is a comparatively recent conquest of Islam, and it does not properly emerge into the light of history before the sixteenth century. Of its state during the Middle Ages we are very imperfectly informed. Nubia had adopted Coptic Christianity in the sixth century, and there were two kingdoms, Maqarra in the north, with its capital at Dongola, and 'Alwa in the south, with its capital at Soba near the modern Khartoum. The Arabs twice overran northern Nubia within a decade or two of the Muslim conquest of Egypt, and in their second expedition they sacked Dongola and destroyed its church ; but there was no attempt at annexation, and for some five or six centuries the relations between Muslims and Nubians were based on a treaty concluded in 651-2, which precluded either party from settling in the territory of the other ; it also imposed on the Nubians an annual payment of 300 or 360 slaves in exchange for gifts of cloth and grain. The treaty was but indifferently observed, and from time to time there were raids and counter-raids, but Nubia preserved its independence and its isolation from the worlds both of Islam and Christendom. Intercourse with the Muslim lands was not entirely lacking, and in the tenth century two Arabic authors composed accounts of the state of Nubia : I refer to the famous al-Mas'ūdī and to a certain Ibn Salīm or Ibn Sulaym of Aswān, extracts from whose work are preserved in Maqrīzī's Topography of Egypt. The main point which emerges from these accounts, and from the archaeological evidence, is that the Christian Nubians, though poor in material resources and lacking in political organization, possessed certain elements of culture derived from the

¹ Read before the Royal Asiatic Society on 8th October, 1936.

Hellenistic tradition of Egypt: their buildings and their pottery were greatly superior in workmanship to the Arab work, which is later in point of time; they wrote their funerary inscriptions in tolerably good Greek; they read the scriptures in Greek and in Coptic, and they even developed a literature in their own language, of which scanty fragments have been preserved.

The immigration of the Arabs into Nubia may have begun on a small scale soon after the Muslim conquest of Egypt, but for a long time Nubia was strong enough to offer effective resistance to Arab expansion. The process was one of gradual infiltration until it gained momentum in the thirteenth century, but the details of tribal wanderings and of conflicts between the Arab tribesmen on the one side, and Nubians and Beġa on the other, are unrecorded and largely lost even to oral tradition.

From the thirteenth century onwards Nubian affairs begin to loom more largely in the Egyptian records, and during the reigns of Baybars and Qala'un we find that Egypt frequently intervenes in the northern kingdom, which is now in a state of increasing confusion and disintegration. Nubian kings war with the Mamlūk sultans and amongst themselves; Nubian pretenders gain the throne of Dongola through Egyptian military aid, only to lose it again as the armies withdraw. Arabs of Rabī'a and Ġuhayna ally themselves by marriage to the royal house of Dongola and grasp at the throne, and in the second decade of the fourteenth century we suddenly hear of a king of Dongola who bears a Muslim name. From an Egyptian author of a handbook for secretaries, who wrote between 1340 and 1348 (*Kitāb al-ta'rīf bil-muṣṭalah al-ṣarīf* of Shihāb al-dīn Aḥmad al-'Umārī), we gather that in his time Dongola was regarded as a protectorate or dependency of Egypt, and that the *khutba* was read in the name of the caliph of the age and the ruler of Egypt; yet Christian kings still alternated with Muslims, and Ibn Baṭṭūta in 1352 still speaks of the Nubians as a Christian people. From these

indications we get an approximate date for the gradual disappearance of Christianity in the northern kingdom, though no chronicle has recorded the sequence of events. The mass immigration of Arab tribes must be placed in the same period, and when the immigrants at last were masters not only of the upland plains but of the Nile valley the Nubians ceased to exist as a nation: those who survived the slaughter adopted Islam and were absorbed amongst that section of the Arabs which chose settlement on the river in preference to the nomadic life, and survivals of their customs and their material civilization may still be traced amongst tribes which now consider themselves to be of pure Arab lineage. The process must in some respects have resembled that which centuries before had taken place in Egypt, when Christianity and the Coptic language had given way to Islam and Arabic; but, unlike Egypt, Nubia retained no remnant of its ancient faith. It is a strange phenomenon, however, for which no obvious explanation is available, that the riverain strip from Aswān to Dongola has retained its ancient Nubian speech to the present day.

The next event of importance is the rise of the Funj kingdom of Sennār at the turn of the fifteenth century. Egypt for some reason or other appears to have lost interest in Nubia after the period just referred to: at any rate, there is a complete gap in the records for some 150 years, and then the story is taken up by the oral tradition and the native historians of the Sudan. The southern kingdom of 'Alwa survived the fall of Dongola, but, hard pressed by the Arab invaders, and cut off from the sources of its religious and cultural life, it simply faded out of existence. The Portuguese Alvarez writing in 1520 speaks of the Nubians—and no doubt the southern people are meant—as still dwelling in the Nile country bordering on Abyssinia's maritime province. These people, he tells us, had once been Christians, and 150 churches were still to be seen in their country; but having for a long time been unable to obtain priests and teachers from Egypt and

Abyssinia, they were now neither Christians, Moors, nor Jews ; they had no king but a number of chiefs living in ancient castles. When this account was published Sennār had already been founded, and little time was to elapse before this last remnant of the Nubians should disappear from history, becoming merged in their Muslim conquerors.

“ Know that the Funğ possessed and conquered the land of the Nubians in the year 910 of the Flight ; then the town of Sennār was founded by ‘Amāra Dunqas.” With these words of the native chronicler ¹ the Funğ make an abrupt appearance in history, and little that is certain can be said of their origin and of the events which brought them into the Sudan. According to their own account their kings were descendants of the Umayyad caliphs ; for they claimed as their ancestor one Sulaymān b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, who is related to have fled to Abyssinia at the time of the rise of the ‘Abbāsīd dynasty, and thence to have made his way to the Sudan, where he married the daughter of a local king. Whether this tradition be true or false, it tells us little that matters : for some seven hundred years had elapsed between the time of this ancestor and the first appearance of the Funğ in the chronicles ; and so much is certain that, as they emerged into history they were a clan or family of distinctively African type, clearly marked off from the Arabs with whom they allied themselves. Bruce, the discoverer of the sources of the Blue Nile, believed them to be connected with the Hamito-Negroid Shilluk of the Upper Nile, but the evidence for this theory is far from convincing. Their own tradition points to an Abyssinian origin, and it appears that they looked upon the country on the upper reaches of the Blue Nile as the home of their race.

Be this as it may, they invaded Sennār and the country to the north of it about the year 1500, and there met the tide of the Arab advance. An alliance ensued between the Funğ king ‘Amāra and a clan of Rufā’a known as the Qawāsma,

¹ *Tabaqāt Wad Dayfallāh*, p. 3.

whose chief was 'Abdullāh Ġammā'. The allies destroyed the last strongholds of Nubian 'Alwa, and founded a new kingdom, of loosely feudal structure, of which 'Amāra was king and 'Abdullāh Ġammā the premier vassal; the Funğ monarch made his residence at Sennār, while 'Abdullāh and his descendants the 'Abdullāb chose as their headquarters Halfāya near the junction of the two Niles.

We have seen that Dongola had Muslim kings in the fourteenth century, and there is no doubt that the nomad tribesmen who overran Nubia were Muslims at least in name; yet it appears clearly from native tradition, supported by other sources of information, that the Islamization of the country in a real sense took place after the establishment of the Funğ dynasty and was, in fact, brought about by the new régime. The native historian, whom I have just quoted as recording the foundation of Sennār continues as follows:—

"Now in these countries there flourished neither schools of learning nor the reading of the Qur'ān; it is said that a man might divorce his wife and she be married by another man the self-same day without any period of probation ('*idda*), until Shaykh Maḥmūd al-'Arakī came from Egypt and taught the people to observe the law of '*idda* . . . then in the second half of the tenth century (of the flight) . . . Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Bulādī came from Egypt to the Shā'iqiyya country where he taught Khalil and the *Risāla*; whence learning and a knowledge of law spread to the Ġezīra. Then after a short time came Shaykh Tāğ al-dīn al-Bahāri from Baghdād and introduced the path of the Šūfis into the Funğ country. . . ."

And so he goes on to mention the names of other scholars and saints, all of whom flourished in the sixteenth century of our era, and with whom the introduction of Muslim learning and of the Šūfī organizations is associated. It is worthy of note that these teachers and missionaries came from all parts of the Muslim world—Egypt, the Maghrib, and Baghdād are specifically mentioned—and it would appear that the kings of the new dynasty favoured the settlement of learned men and,

by their liberality, attracted not only genuine teachers and zealous devotees, but many spurious claimants to learning and saintliness ready to exploit the credulity of a primitive people and their devotion to their new faith.

The information of the native historians is here happily supplemented from an unexpected quarter: I refer to the diary of David Reubeni, an Oriental Jew who appeared in Italy in 1524 purporting to be the brother of a king Joseph who ruled over an independent and warlike community of Jews somewhere in Arabia: he professed to have been entrusted with the mission to enlist the interest of the Christian powers with a view to combined action against the Muslims, and he appears to have negotiated with the Pope, and the Portuguese court, and the Emperor Charles V. In the early part of his narrative¹ he relates his travels from Suakin to the kingdom of Sheba—which no doubt stands for Soba—and thence by way of Dongola to Egypt. He refers to King 'Amāra by name, mentions Sennār in the biblical disguise of Shinar, and knows the kingdom of al-Ġa'l, i.e. the country of the Ġa'liyīn tribe between Soba and Dongola; these references prove that David Reubeni, though a somewhat shady character in other respects, is entitled to the honour of being the first traveller to give an account of the Funḡ kingdom, a fact which has hitherto escaped the attention of his editors and translators.

David relates that he presented himself at the court of 'Amāra—a black king who ruled over black men and white—purporting to be a Meccan sherif; the claim was accepted not only by the king but even by a certain Abū Kāmil described as chief of the descendants of the prophet living in the land of Kush. King 'Amāra treated both Abū Kāmil and David with great honour and deference and was lavish with gifts; we also hear of a third Meccan sherif who presented to King 'Amāra a book “brought from the house of the

¹ See the present writer's article in *Sudan Notes and Records*, vol. xvi (1933), part 1.

prophet" and both David and Abū Kāmil testified to its authenticity. It is outside our subject to follow David Reubeni in his adventures: the point in which we are interested is his description of this primitive African king, whose adherence to Islam was still no more than nominal, but who was eager to show his religious zeal in precisely the manner which the native historians ascribe to these Funḡ kings of the sixteenth century.

We possess an excellent account of the scholars and saints of the Sudan during the Funḡ period, i.e. from about the year 1500 to the end of the eighteenth century, in a book entitled *Ṭabaqāt al-awliyā' wa-l-ṣāliḥīn fil-Sūdān*, composed by a native scholar of the Ġa'liyīn tribe, Muḥammad waḍ Ḍayfallāh, who lived at Ḥalfāya near the modern Khartoum, and died early in the nineteenth century.¹ It is a kind of biographical dictionary containing notices of 260 men of learning and religious distinction, and it throws much light not only on the state of learning and the religious life but also on social conditions and political history. Incidentally it is of great linguistic interest because it is largely written in the colloquial dialect and preserves many words which are now obsolete.

To those who know Islam only in the highly developed forms which it assumed in the centres of its civilization the book opens up a strange world. The Sudan for all practical purposes was cut off from the outside world; for although precarious contact with Egypt and the Red Sea coast was maintained by means of arduous caravan routes, travellers had to face great hardships and dangers from thirst and from brigands. Troubled political conditions added to the insecurity and communications were often interrupted for years. We frequently hear of men performing the pilgrimage to the holy

¹ For accounts of this work see MacMichael, *History of the Arabs in the Sudan*, vol. ii; and the present writer's paper in *Sudan Notes and Records*, vol. vi (1923). The text has been printed at the Muqataṭaf Press, Cairo, in 1930 (ed. Sulaymān Da'ūd Mandīl); and at the Maḥmūdiyya Press, Cairo, in the same year (ed. Shaykh Ibrāhīm Ṣādiq). Extracts have been published by the present writer in *Sudan-Arabia Texts* (Cambridge, 1935).

places, and there are occasional references to contacts with al-Azhar in Cairo ; yet the influences which reached the Sudan from these sources were feeble indeed, and it is not surprising that the country developed a tradition strongly imbued with a native flavour. It knew none of the refinements of civilization, and had no share in the industries and arts which flourished in the more favoured countries of Islam. Life was close to the soil, and the struggle for bare necessities in an uncongenial climate left little opportunity for the cultivation of the things of the mind and the spirit.

Every trend of thought represented in Sudanese Islam and every extravagance of its hagiology and its superstition has its origin and its parallel in the popular religion of other Muslim countries : what is characteristic of the Sudan is the absence of that cultural background which in the other countries kept superstition and popular fancy within certain bounds. Here there was no class of cultured men of letters and no school of rationalist theologians to combat the spurious growths of pseudo-learning and pseudo-mysticism, and even the best amongst the men of learning were tainted with leanings towards the miraculous. It is significant that in the Sudan the terms *faqīh* and *faqīr*, which usually denote the opposing tendencies of rationalism and mysticism, became confused in the word *fakī* (pl. *fuqarā*), which is applied indiscriminately to the scholar and the mystic and, at the lowest point of the scale, to the ignorant hedge-priest and to the dubious dealer in charms and amulets. The stream of tradition reached this remote backwater in a very attenuated form, and it would not be fair to measure the unsophisticated learning of Nubia and Sennār by the standards of Damascus and Cairo.

Of the men who founded schools it was said that they " lit the fire of the Qur'ān " ¹ or " the fire of study ", a term which has a literal as well as a metaphorical implication, for after nightfall study was carried on by the dim light of a

¹ *Auqad nār al-Qur'ān (al-'ilm).*

bonfire, and one of the daily tasks of a learned man's disciples was to collect firewood for this purpose, as well as to labour in his cultivation and to attend to his flocks and herds. A school was called *khalwa* (a term also used for the retreat of ascetics and for the guest-chambers attached to the settlements of holy men); and a distinction was made between *khalwas* of the Qur'ān, in which the sacred book was the only subject of study, and *khalwas* of study (*'ilm*) in which lectures were given on the various branches of law and theology.

To memorize the Qur'ān was the ambition of every student, and a knowledge of the book as well as ability to quote from it aptly seems to have been a fairly common accomplishment. In the teaching no MSS. were used: the teacher dictated from memory, and the students took down the daily lesson on wooden tablets from which it could be washed off after it had been thoroughly mastered. Instruction in reading and writing thus inevitably accompanied the study of the Qur'ān, but no attempt was made to explain the meaning. A complete reading was called a *Khatma* or sealing, and it gave the student who had achieved it a title to some distinction; many, of course, who began the study left off without completing it; thus we are told of an almost illiterate person, who, nevertheless, attained sainthood, that he had read no further than the *Zilzila*, i.e. the chapter entitled Earthquake, which comes early in the first section studied by beginners.

In the *khalwas* of study the most popular subject was law; and as the country followed the Mālikī rite the most favoured textbooks were the *Risāla* of Ibn Abī Zayd and the *Mukhtaṣar* of *Khalil*, two well-known compendia of Mālikī *fiqh*. The study of either or both of these was almost universal in the case of any aspirant to learning; the subjects next in popularity were the treatises of al-Sanūsī on the Articles of Belief, and certain books on the correct enunciation of the Qur'ān. Other subjects of the traditional scholastic course, such as Tradition and Qur'ānic exegesis and the Arabic language, are referred to much less frequently, and they seem

to have been cultivated only by exceptionally gifted scholars. From numerous passages of the *Ṭabaqāt* we get the impression that the general level of scholarship never amounted to very much, and we have to think of these scholars as men of a particularly dark age, endeavouring with the scanty means at their disposal to serve the cause of religion and learning in an environment not far removed from barbarism. Some concentrated on missionary teaching and preaching, a very necessary task amongst a people comparatively new to the faith and ignorant of its most elementary tenets. A point of some interest is that such men, who naturally sought close contact with the masses, did not disdain the rough vernacular dialect and the homely proverbs and sayings of the countryside: thus Shaykh Farah wad Taktūk, a learned man of the late seventeenth century whose tomb near the Sennār dam is still visited by pilgrims, composed proverbs and homilies, and a metrical version of the articles of belief in colloquial Arabic¹; and of Ḥamad Umm Maryūm, his contemporary, it is recorded that amongst his following women outnumbered men, a fact alluded to in the following verses composed by one of his disciples:—

“Our father of the patchèd cloak uncouth,
A bubbling well of wisdom and of truth;
Who turned our hearts from wrong and sins away,
And taught Fezāra women how to pray.”²

He was a somewhat formidable puritan who insisted on very strict observance of the moral and the religious law: thus he required of penitent sinners that they should give

¹ For examples see the present writer's *Sudan-Arabic Texts*, pp. 156 ff.

² *Ṭabaqāt* (ed. Ibrāhīm Ṣādiq, p. 67):

أبونا أبو دلقاً مرّقم
العنده الرأى والصيخ المفقع
أبونا المنع من المناكر والكباير
أبونا الخلا الغزاريات فقائر

Mandil's edition reads العنقم at the end of the first line.

away in charity any ill-gotten gains in their possession, and that they should fast until all flesh raised up by forbidden or unlawfully acquired food had wasted away; he insisted on the seclusion of women with such strictness that not even their voices were permitted within the hearing of men, and he taught his disciples to fix their eyes on the ground when passing a woman. Of his sons-in-law he required that they should leave their wives in their father's care lest his daughters should be corrupted in strange surroundings; and if any of the people of the royal court would have dealings with him he insisted that they, as well as their attendants and children should know the six pillars of belief and the five pillars of Islam. It need hardly be said that such strictness of religious observance was the exception rather than the rule, and that the common people were as quick to relapse into laxity as they were susceptible to the emotional appeal of revivalism.

Learning, then, or a reputation for learning was held in high esteem; yet the type most characteristic of the country is not the scholar but the saint, whose claim to spiritual distinction is attested by ecstatic states and visions and miracles, and who therefore has no need of the formal learning of theologians and lawyers. Some of those who attained sainthood pursued the ordinary studies at the beginning of their career, but there were many who repudiated all formal learning as immensely inferior to the spiritual enlightenment of sainthood. We have already met a saint who had read no further than the *Zilzila*. Another story relates that Ḥasan wad Balīl, a holy man of Dongola, used to perform the miracle of walking on the Nile by means of reciting the formula *yā hayy yā qayyūm*; yet being of Nubian speech he pronounced the latter word with a *kāf* instead of a *qāf*; a forward disciple presumed to correct his pronunciation, but he sank in the water and was only able to perform the feat when he imitated his master's mistake. At the deathbed of a holy man, named 'Alī al-Nīl, discussion arose as to who should be his successor; the dying man said: My successor shall be the herdsman,

meaning his son Abū'l-Qāsim, who was herding the cattle in a shirt black with dirt and stained with dung, and though the dying man's brothers as well as his other son were learned in the Qur'ān, he preferred Abū'l-Qāsim as being more advanced in divine knowledge. On a later occasion a certain disciple noticed that this Abū'l-Qāsim was casual in performing the ritual prayers, and he secretly doubted about him in his heart. The holy man miraculously knew his most secret thoughts, and reproved him, saying : when you sit with people guard your thoughts and do not imitate the lawyers whose hearts are veiled from the vision of God.

One more anecdote may be quoted to illustrate the quarrel between the representatives of formal learning and the miracle-working saints : it is related of a certain Shaykh Daf'allāh that he used to lie half the day amongst his women-folk studying the books of learning for his lectures. One day his daughter, Sittenā, said to him : " Father, the people of Walad Abū Ṣādiq have gained power over Funġ and Arabs by their miracles ; for them elephants carry *dulayb* palms from the forests of the south. His disciples take his horses from Mandara to the river, a three days' journey in one noontide, and bring them back with their tails still wet. But from you and my brother Maḥmūd we hear nothing but talk of books and authors." Shaykh Daf'allāh replied : " The people of Walad Abū Ṣādiq possess the gift of having their prayers answered, and thus they have gained power over the world ; yet at the end of time your father's principles shall prevail."

The miraculous powers of the saints have an exceedingly wide range including, as they do, a knowledge of the hidden thoughts of men and of future events ; power over animals and inanimate objects ; ability to fly in the air and to walk on the surface of the waters ; the art of healing by prayers or incantations, and even of restoring the dead to life. A feature of which there are several instances in the lives of the saints is the occurrence of visions, based on the Mi'rāġ legend, in which the saint is transported to the heavens, where he holds

converse with angels and with the prophets and saints of Islam, and receives revelations of divine mysteries. In a saying ascribed to a holy man of the seventeenth century three degrees of sainthood are distinguished: the lowest degree is that the saint is able to fly in the air, and to walk on the water, and to speak of hidden things; the middle degree is that God grants him the creative power whereby he says to a thing "be", and it is; the high degree is that of the *Qutb* or Pole. In the hierarchy of saints the *Qutb* occupies the highest place, and the lower ranks—the *Awtād* and *Nuqabā'* and *Budalā'*—are described as the troops of the *Qutb*. In theory there can be only one *Qutb* living on earth at one time, yet we are told that of the disciples of *Ibrāhīm b. Ġābir* no less than forty attained this exalted rank.

The most important earthly office of the saint is to confer spiritual benefit on those who come in contact with him, a result not achieved by teaching or preaching, or by the example of a holy life, but through the *baraka* or virtue inherent in him, which acts as an influence on his surroundings. He is visited by the faithful with the object of partaking of this influence—*lil-tabarruk*—and though he may give material assistance as a healer and a worker of miracles, it is the spiritual comfort of his presence which is most eagerly sought. This *baraka* survives after the holy man's death in his descendants and in places and objects associated with him, more especially his tomb, which becomes an object of pilgrimage. Visitors to such tombs are conscious of the feelings of awe and spiritual comfort.

The boundless extravagance which prevails in the claims made by the saints and their disciples could not fail occasionally to shock Muslim orthodoxy, but the author of the *Ṭabaqāt* probably represents the general attitude in recording them not only without disapproval but with unquestioned acceptance. The farthest limit is reached in a saying recorded of a disciple of *Shaykh Daf'allāh al-'Arakī*: "The name of my father *Daf'allāh* is the great name of God. When writing

amulets Daf'allāh used but to write his own name, repeating it a number of times."

Before leaving the saints reference must be made to the curious type of antinomian and eccentric saints; the antinomians are called Malāmatiya, a word derived from the root meaning "blame", and their characteristic is that they ostentatiously act in a manner which exposes them to reproach and obloquy. A number of different ideas and tendencies are mingled in their teaching; there is the protest against the hypocrisy of those who pray and do good deeds in public in order to gain fame; the Malāmatī argues that there is greater merit in leading the holy life under the cloak of profanity and even of evil fame. Then there is the ascetic motive which causes the persecution and the indignities provoked by such a reputation to be welcomed as a form of spiritual discipline. Finally there is the belief that the saint, by virtue of his spiritual enlightenment, is no longer bound by the restrictions of moral and ritual laws. It is easy to see how the pursuit of "blame" could be made to serve as a cloak for unblushing immorality, and how the shocking behaviour of mentally deranged saints could be excused and even glorified as an expression of the Malāmatī spirit. Thus we hear of a famous worker of miracles, Muḥammad al-Hamīm, also known as Walad Abū Ṣādiq, who was married to seven wives at a time, the total of his wives reaching ninety, and who openly flouted the law forbidding the marrying of two sisters by one husband. At one of his numerous wedding-feasts the slave-girls sang of him:—

"He curses the devil and praises the Lord,
And is swayed by Ḥalīma's lightest word."¹

To which he replied: "Aye, even thus." Dushayn, the *qāḍī* of Arbaḡī, who is known as the Just Judge, openly reproved him

¹ *Ṭabaqāt* (ed. Ibrāhīm Ṣadīq, p. 150):

الشيخ يعبد الله ويلعن ابليس
ويكون لخدمة طائعاً خنيس

and pronounced his marriages invalid, whereupon the holy man put a curse on him, and he was stricken with skin disease.

There are numerous anecdotes of holy men, who manifested their spiritual enlightenment by eccentricities of conduct such as the use of music and dancing, or the wearing of articles of apparel pertaining to women, or by trances in which they uttered verses of mystic meaning or spoke in strange tongues, or by wandering about the country owning neither homes nor worldly possessions. Such men gained the veneration of the populace, and the approval of our author, no less than the serious scholars and the orthodox saints.

A singularly observant European traveller, the Swiss John Lewis Burckhardt, visited Nubia soon after the date at which the *Ṭabaqāt* were written, and his references to the state of learning and to holy men form an interesting commentary on our author. There are few respectable families, he tells us, who have not a son or a relation that dedicates his youth to the study of the law. After attending school, where they are taught as much of the Qur'ān and some other prayer-books as their memory can retain, as well as the art of writing charms and amulets, they return to their homes and, for the rest of their lives, affect great uprightness of conduct and strictness of morals, which amount, however, to little more than not to smoke tobacco or drink bouza in public, and not to frequent the resorts of debauchery. Many of them have a reputation as writers of amulets, and there are specialists for various kinds of charms such as love-receipts, febrifuges, and others.

Damer, now the chief town of the Northern Province, was in Burckhardt's time a large town or village containing about 500 houses, and the greater part of the inhabitants were Fokara or religious men. Under the rule of the Great Faky or High Pontiff, as he calls him, they formed a little hierarchical state, the affairs of which were conducted with great prudence. There were several schools, to which young men repaired from

Darfour, Kordofan, and other parts of the Soudan, and in which the reading of the Qur'ān, as well as Tafsīr and Tawhīd, was taught. Many of the young fakys had studied at al-Azhar or at the Great Mosque at Mecca, and the learned men of Damer possessed many books on religious and judicial subjects. The family of the Mağādhīb, of which the Great Faky was the head, had the reputation of producing necromancers, or persons of supernatural powers, from whom nothing remains hidden, and whose spells nothing can withstand. Thus it was related of the father of the Great Faky, that he had caused a lamb to bleat in the stomach of a thief who had stolen and eaten it. The holy men of Damer were, accordingly, held in high respect by their neighbours, and even the treacherous Bishareen had never been known to hurt any of the people of Damer, when travelling through their mountains, and they particularly feared the power of the Fakys to deprive them of rain. The chief fakys lived with great ostentation of sanctity and the Great Faky lived the life of a hermit, passing the greater part of the day in seclusion without any attendants and separated from his own family. About three o'clock in the afternoon he used to quit his chamber and take his seat on a large stone bench in front of his house. There he was joined by all his fraternity and public business was transacted until sunset. "I went once to kiss his hands," relates Burckhardt, "and found him a venerable figure entirely wrapped up in a white cloak. He asked me from whence I came, in what schools I had learnt to read, and what books I had read ; and he seemed satisfied with my answers." Life at Damer, however, was not altogether saintly ; for Burckhardt records with some surprise that, notwithstanding the austerity of the Fakys, there were a great many bouza shops and houses of debauchery established all over the town.

The date of Burckhardt's travels brings us within a few years of the Turco-Egyptian annexation of the Sudan. The sixty years of Egyptian rule were marked by appalling misgovernment and a great increase in the slave trade with all its

attendant horrors ; but it opened up the country, for the first time in its history, to the commerce of the civilized world. The official islamic institutions, introduced by the new rulers, such as *sharī'a* courts and government *qāḍīs*, and official mosques do not seem to have acquired much influence with the mass of the people ; but it appears that the new regime gave some impetus to the spread of the Muslim Fraternities or *Ṭarīqas*. The holy men of Wad Ḍayfallāh's period had, it is true, claimed spiritual affiliation with these bodies ; thus *Shaykh* Tāḡ al-dīn al-Bahārī, who introduced *Ṣūfism* into the Sudan, was of the order of 'Abd al-Qādir al-Ġilānī, and the *Maḡādhīb* of Damer regarded their community as an offspring of the *Shādhiliya* order ; yet it was not until the Turkish period that the Sudan began to adopt the typical forms of organization characteristic of these Fraternities. The *Ṭarīqa* which at the present day enjoys the greatest popularity, the *Khatmiya* or *Mirghaniya*, is first heard of in the early decades of the nineteenth century, when it was introduced into the Sudan by Sayyid Muḥammad 'Uthmān al-Mirghani, a native of Ṭā'if in the Ḥiḡāz. His son and successor, Muḥammad al-Ḥasan, occupies an important place in popular hagiology to the present day. On the eve of the Mahdist revolt the atmosphere was still that depicted by Wad Ḍayfallāh, and the country had not ceased to produce new saints and new miracles. An Englishman writing in 1883 (Lieut.-Col. Stewart, who later fell a victim to Mahdist fanaticism) recognized that the characteristic feature of Sudanese Islam was its emotional and superstitious nature, and he drew attention to the enormous influence of the *fakīs* who were credited with supernatural power and almost venerated more than the prophet.

It is to this world of fakīdom that Muḥammad Aḥmad the Sudanese Mahdi belonged ; in his early life he had been a disciple of a *shaykh* of the *Sammaniya* *Ṭarīqa*, and the movement originated by him had its roots in the tradition fostered by the holy men and their schools. Superficially it bears

some resemblance to Wahhābism, and it is probable that Muḥammad Aḥmad had some knowledge of the Arabian sect, but the psychological foundations of the two movements are profoundly different. Both professed to uphold the strict *sunna* of the prophet and his companions, and both decried the innovations which the consensus of later ages had permitted or at least condoned. But Ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb derived from the scholastic tradition and never claimed to be more than a man of learning exercising the common duty of “enjoining the right and forbidding the wrong”, as the phrase goes. The Sudanese Mahdī, on the other hand, appeared as a Messiah proclaiming the millennium, and he derived the sanction for his mission from a new revelation communicated to him in visions, in which he held converse with the prophets and the saints of Islam, and the Deity himself, and his activity as a preacher and a warrior were accompanied by a constant flow of miracles. The Mahdī liked to represent his career as a repetition of the prophetic life: thus he had his *hiğra* and his *anşār* and his caliphs, and he wrote to Gordon and the Khedive in terms such as the Prophet is recorded to have used in letters to Khusrau and Cæsar; yet his real world was far removed from that of primitive Islam, and he stands in the direct line of succession from the scholars and saints of his own country, from whom he differed only in this, that he was a man of action as well as a preacher, and that he found the time propitious for a political movement which had far-reaching consequences. The theological learning displayed in his numerous and verbose proclamations does not exceed in range or in critical judgment the normal attainments of a Sudanese scholar, while his visions and his communications with the Unseen World have a striking family resemblance to similar experiences of the saints. The public which he addressed was used to the pretensions of holy men, and not entirely uncritical of their claims; but the call to arms against the hated Turk, which was a dominant note in his teaching, made a ready appeal to a people groaning under oppression,

and the series of victories gained over an apparently invincible government convinced all doubters of the divine nature of this revelation.

The Mahdī's innovations in doctrine and ritual deserve separate treatment. In this place it is desirable to refer briefly to the survival of the Mahdist cult and the growth of a Mahdist legend long after the political power of the Mahdist state had passed away. Neither the death of the Mahdī in 1885, nor the reconquest of the Sudan by the British and Egyptian forces in 1899, was sufficient fully to discredit the pretensions of one who had told his followers that he was destined to conquer Mecca and to end his victorious career at Kūfa, and for a number of years the danger of fanatical risings inspired by the Mahdist tradition called for the anxious watchfulness of the new government.

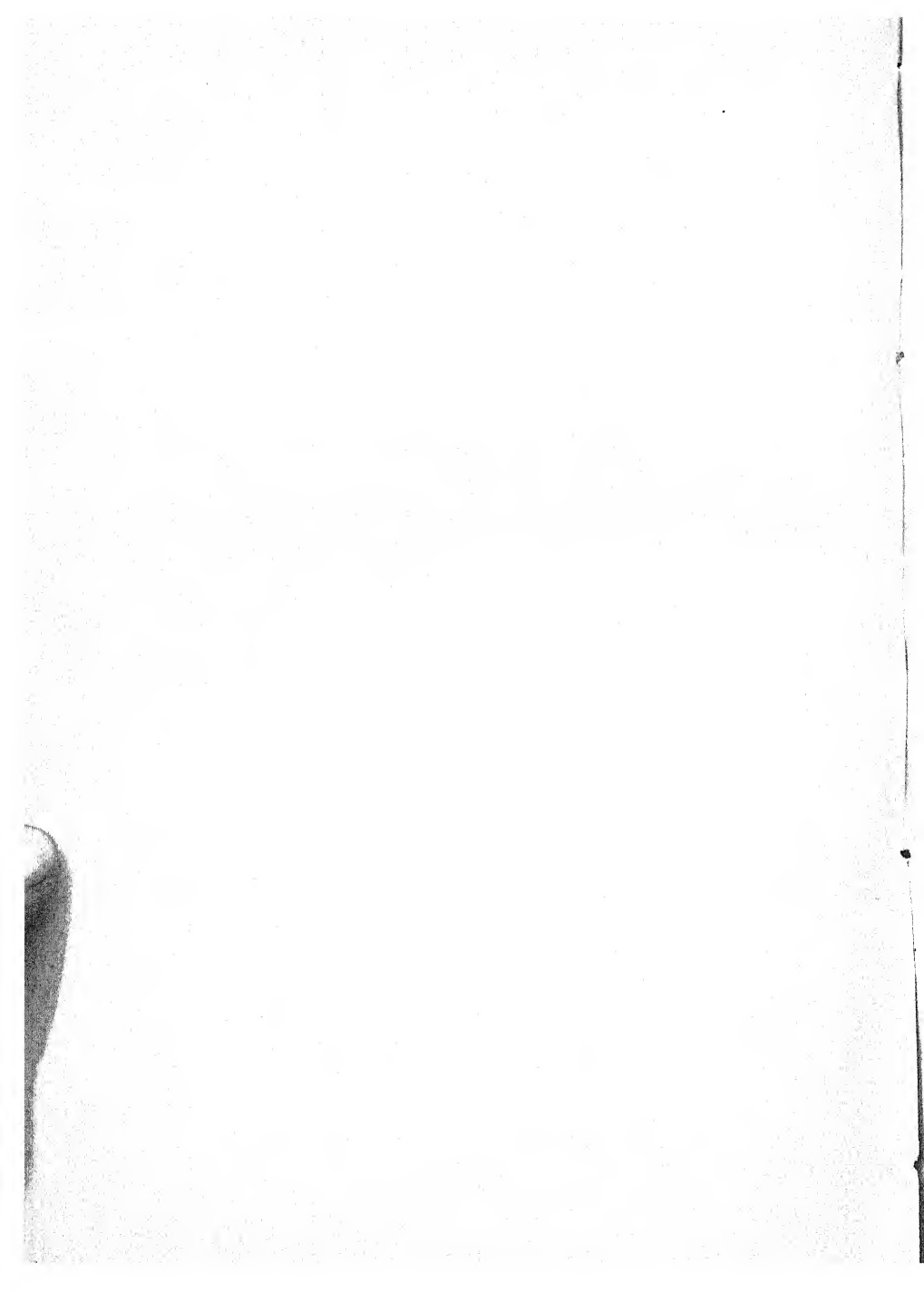
In the survival of the Mahdist cult two tendencies are to be distinguished: the fanatical spirit of a die-hard remnant, and the more recent transformation of Mahdism into an orthodox Ṭariqa. The former held that, as Muḥammad Aḥmad was the true Mahdī, the prophecies must be fulfilled which foretold that the revelation of the Mahdī was to be followed by the short reign of Antichrist and the second coming of Jesus. The new government was accordingly cast for the part of the Daḡḡāl, and the dreamers of dreams looked anxiously for the revelation of the Nabī 'Īsā. Amongst this fanatical remnant there circulated prophecies, sometimes quoted as *ḥadīth*, and sometimes ascribed to such authorities as Muḥyī al-dīn b. al-'Arabī, which were intended to strengthen the belief in the true mahdīhood of Muḥammad Aḥmad: it had been prophesied of old, they said, that upon the coming of the Mahdī "Hicks would die of thirst and Gordon be killed at Khartoum"; and the Mahdī himself had foretold that after him there were to come "people coarse of body, red-coloured, and blue-eyed, who neither fast nor pray . . . who drink wine and smell of tobacco, and who are addicted to every form of vice." The Daḡḡāl, according to one of these vaticinia, would

ride upon the she-ass Bil, a she-ass without legs, the Arabic word *atān bīl* being intended, presumably, to suggest an automobile. The Dağğāl, according to the legend, is one-eyed, and there are those who believe that Kitchener was one-eyed. Then there are numerous stories of signs and wonders which occurred at the final battles of Mahdism, and of the remorse of those who had fought against the believers.

It need hardly be said that such beliefs were confined to a small circle of devotees, and that their teaching had no serious effect on the mass of the people who were weary of Baqqāra tyranny, and conscious of the peace and prosperity which had come in the wake of the new government. The turbulent Baqqāra might lend a ready ear to preachers who promised them a return of their rule, and the unsophisticated tribesmen of the remote west might be impressed by apocalyptic prophecies. But for the majority of Sudanese Muslims there were but two ways: many now rejected Mahdism root and branch, a course not difficult for those who had only accepted it under compulsion, and for those whose personal and political loyalties pointed in other directions. In other quarters the memory of the Mahdī continued to be revered as that of a great religious leader, and of a notable figure in history; and as time elapsed a new interpretation was put on the past. So it came about that a new Mahdist community has grown up, which recognizes the Mahdī's surviving son as its religious head, and which has the status of a Ṭarīqa rather than that of a dissenting sect. They lay no stress on the messianic implications of the Mahdist dispensation, and their adherence to the Mahdist Ṭarīqa is not incompatible with Muslim orthodoxy and with loyalty to the government. Their outward sign is the use of the Rātīb, a book of prayers and Qur'ānic passages, ordained by the Mahdi for the use of his followers. The Rātīb contains no reference to Muḥammad Aḥmad's messianic claims, and no elements of doctrine to which orthodox Muslims could take exception. It is similar in type to such books as the *Dalā'il al-khayrāt*

and the *Awṛād* used in the several *Ṭarīqas*. The neo-Mahdists also study the letters and proclamations of the Mahdī, and observe certain of his ordinances such as the prohibition of tobacco.

The changes which the Sudan has undergone in the last thirty-five years have been more rapid and more far-reaching than any which it has experienced in the whole course of its history. It must not be supposed, nevertheless, that the world of the old holy men has entirely passed away, or that superstition has ceased to be rife amongst the masses. The faki is still a power in the land, and the reverence shown to men of religious distinction, and especially to the heads of the great *Ṭarīqas*, is a remarkable feature of the religious life. Yet, as a result of the educational system provided by the government, the Sudan now possesses the element which was lacking in the past : a class of men schooled in the best traditions of Muslim scholarship, and open to the most enlightened and most progressive tendencies in Islam. Many of the ancient Qur'ān *khalwas* have been absorbed in the educational system and, in addition to their religious function, perform useful service as elementary schools. The advanced study of religious subjects is mainly carried on at an institution connected with the Omdurman mosque and supervised by an enlightened body of 'ulamā ; and the training of judges for the *sharī'a* courts is provided in a special section of the Gordon College. The young men who have enjoyed these educational facilities, both religious and secular, look to the future rather than to the dreams of the past.



REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Near East

A GRAMMAR OF THE PHOENICIAN LANGUAGE. By ZELIG S. HARRIS. American Oriental Series, Vol. 8. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xi + 172. New Haven, Connecticut: American Oriental Society, 1936.

So many years have passed since the last effort was made to prepare a grammar of Phœnician that this is a book that has long been wanted. The sources are, in the first instance, the *C.I.S.* and Lidzbarski's *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik*; but numerous Phœnician and Punic texts have been brought to light in this century, and they number an important series from Byblos which, at a stroke, carried back the date of the earliest Phœnician inscriptions to the close of the second millennium B.C. Confining himself strictly to Phœnician and Punic, the author enlists the "Canaanisms" of the Amarna Letters and the Ras Shamra texts only for purposes of illustration. Egyptian transcriptions of Canaanite (or Palestinian) words and the evidence from Plautus and other classical sources are duly taken into account, and the book as a whole is an excellent survey of material which is at present somewhat scattered and miscellaneous.

After an introduction on the sources, the author discusses the alphabet, orthography, and the phonetic system in general (pp. 1-37). There follow pages on the morphology and on the little that has to be said concerning the syntax (pp. 39-66). A complete and invaluable glossary takes up 80-90 pages, and the book ends with lists of inscriptions and a bibliography, confined mainly to the literature since Lidzbarski's exhaustive survey (1898). The treatment throughout is scholarly and adequate; and since so much is given us it seems ungracious to comment upon lacunae. Students will be well advised to interleave the glossary, if not the whole book.

Turning over the pages we may make the following cursory remarks. For the Iphil conjugation (pp. 42 seq.) see also Lidzbarski's survey of the verbal forms, *Handbuch*, p. 403, where he gives the Punic העלא (p. 341, apparently wanting in Harris), and suggests certain participial forms. As for the vowel of the first syllable, it may be noticed that in Akkadian the name Hoshea appears as *a-u-si'* in the case of the king of Israel, and as *u-si'* in the Aramæan bilingual, *C.I.S.*, ii, 17. As for the suffixes of the 3rd sing. masc. (p. 52) it may be useful to take note of the curious ויקדשיו in the Nash papyrus. The ת in זת (masc. and fem.) is described as "adverbial" (p. 54), whereas it is surely better to compare the "deictic *t*" in המת as on p. 47. Apropos of the forms נתן and יתן (p. 44) it seems appropriate to compare נצב and יצב, and to proceed to ask whether the special forms הציב, הציית, etc., may not point to the existence of the roots נצק and נצת by the side of יצק and יצת. For אורם (p. 75), cf. Torrey, *AJSL.*, xxxiii, 58; for חזען (p. 101) Cooke's note may be referred to, and for ציץ (p. 141) see A. H. Lloyd, *Numismatic Chronicle*, v (1925), 129 sqq. As for מארח as a title of Eshmun (p. 115), may one think of a denominative of ארבה "the healer"; with the interchange of ה and כ; cf. אנהי and אנהי, and note that in Jer. xxxiii, 6, where it occurs, the verb רפא is also used as in the Phœnician inscription. On p. 127 the form סלמת (fem. plur.) for סמלת, *C.I.S.*, i, 88, 5, might have been noticed. Also for ססמי (ib.), see Peters and Thiersch, *Painted Tombs of Marissa*, p. 39. In the bilingual in which this name occurs, the name בעלשלם corresponds to the Greek Πραξίδημος; this might be noted on p. 90.

These haphazard jottings—and every reader will make his own—illustrate the timeliness of a compilation which every Semitic student will be glad to have and—to repeat a suggestion—should hasten to interleave.

LE TOMBEAU D'AMONMOS. 4^{me} partie. Tombes Thébaines : Nécropol de Dirâ' Abû'n-Nága. By GEORGE FOUCART. Mémoires publiés par les Membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale. Tome lvii. 14 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 11, pls. xxxvi. Le Caire : Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1925.

The present work adds another member to M. Foucart's useful series of Theban tombs, and one which is to be welcomed for a special reason. Hitherto the invaluable book, *The Tomb of Amenemhêt*, by Dr. Alan Gardiner and Mr. N. de G. Davies, which is the classic work of reference regarding the decoration of an Eighteenth Dynasty tomb, has had no corresponding volume serving the same purpose for the Nineteenth Dynasty. *The Tomb of Amonmos* may possibly be taken as such, at least in the fulness of its ritual scenes, although these resemble those of Amenemhêt in their indifferent state of preservation. The tomb is situated in the Dirâ' Abu'n-Nága, and its owner was high priest of the deified Pharaoh Amenhotep I, patron of the Theban necropolis. The painted scenes are rich in detail, and frequently are reproduced by M. Foucart in two forms, as they appear in the early drawings by Hay and as they exist now. The comparison is, alas, a sad one. Scenes of special interest are the funeral procession (pl. 2), with the ceremony of sprinkling milk, discussed in some detail by the author in the accompanying volumes of text; the boat shrine of Queen Nefertari-Aâhmes (pl. 4), mother of Amenhotep I; the statue of Amenhotep being carried in procession (pl. 6); the worship of departed kings of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties (pl. 12); scenes of wrestling and single-stick fighting (pl. 13); and a statue of the deified Amenhotep being carried out of his temple. The scenes are well drawn and impressive in appearance, but throughout are strongly marked with that *embarras de richesses* which is so characteristic of Nineteenth Dynasty art.

LISTE DES STRATÈGES DES NOMES ÉGYPTIENS À L'ÉPOQUE GRÉCO-ROMAINE. By M. HENRI HENNE. L'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale du Caire: Tome LVI. 14 × 11, pp. xxii + 71 + 113. Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut, 1935.

This work has been expected for some time, and its publication was already announced as far back as 1927. It now appears, however, for the first time. The author takes the view, quite rightly, that for the study of the Nome and its administration, a close study of the "Stratège", the chief functionary of the Nome, is essential.

In order to accomplish this study it is considered necessary that there should be a complete list of the names, so far as can be ascertained. Until recently no such lists existed. To make a complete list was the original intention of the compiler, but in the present work the list of names of the Roman epoch compiled by Martin has been supplemented, and a list of names of the Ptolemaic period has been added, together with a complete alphabetical index. At some future date, it is the intention of the author to compile a complete list of names. This present work appears to have been carried out with the greatest care, and due note has been taken of other recent publications.

An encyclopædic work, such as this is, should long be the standard work on the subject, and should be of inestimable value in providing just that very information which otherwise is extremely difficult to obtain.

The alphabetical list, which occupies pages 89-113, and is arranged according to the Greek alphabet, should be of the greatest value, since it provides both the date and the reference for the names where such information is available.

Far East

HOANG HO-PAI HO. *Comptes-rendus de onze années (1923-1933) de séjour et d'exploration dans le Bassin du Fleuve Jaune, du Pai Ho et des autres tributaires du Golfe du Pei-Tcheu-Ly.* No. 38 of *Publications du Musée Hoang Ho-Pai ho.* By ÉMILE LICENT, S.J. $12\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$. Tome i, pp. 4 + 296, pls. xv; 1935. Tome ii, pp. 297 to 718, pls. xvi-xxi; 1936. Tome iii, pp. 719 to 1064, pls. xxii-xxxvi; 1936. Tables, pp. 1065 to 1131; 1936. Charts, 77 + 21. $21\frac{1}{4} \times 16\frac{1}{2}$, n.d. Tientsin: Mission de Sienhsien.

These ponderous three volumes, a continuation of *Dix Années dans le Bassin du Fleuve Jaune et autres tributaires du Golfe du Pei-Tcheu-Ly*, published in 1924, consist of over a thousand quarto pages, in addition to a smaller volume containing index and table of contents and to the volume of maps and plates. They appear to be a reprint of unedited diaries recounting many years of devoted labour on the part of Father Licent. The work may be described as a combination of German attention to detail, French lucidity, and, one must add with regret, of an inability to distinguish between the essential and trivial.

It is far beyond the power of the present writer, and possibly of any reviewer, to criticize the mass of information collected with such labour and devotion. To do so a knowledge would be required of mineralogy, ornithology, geology, meteorology, archæology, anthropology, biology, entomology, and many other sciences as well as of the terrain, which includes the Sungari basin of Manchuria as well as the basins of the Huang Ho, Pai Ho, "and other rivers flowing into the Gulf of Pechili." Intermingled, however, with information of great interest and value, items constantly occur which jar the seeker after knowledge, but at the same time do not attract the interest of the casual reader. To show what is referred to, the following instances are given, one from each volume :—

Vol. 1, p. 57, recounts a case of hostility to a Catholic mission, and pp. 71 and 72 one of hostility to the author.

Vol. 2, pp. 688 and 689 are largely taken up with the difficulties and unpleasantnesses of travel by rail and road in China.

Vol. 3, p. 771. The author recounts with a wealth of detail his meeting in Japan with a gentleman who was about to return to France to take part in the Citroen Transasiatic Expedition.

The numerous photographs are not well reproduced according to European or American standards, and a large portion of them might have been omitted without lessening the value of the work.

The route surveys, of which 77 sheets of maps and photographs are given in a separate volume measuring 21 inches by 16, appear to have been carefully made. The printing has been done with commendable clearness.

A. 805.

H. I. HARDING.

THE BIRTH OF CHINA : A SURVEY OF THE FORMATIVE PERIOD OF CHINESE CIVILIZATION. By HERRLEE GLESSNER CREEL. 8 × 5½, pp. 396 ; pls. 16 ; figs. 2 and map. London : Jonathan Cape, 1936. 15s.

Among the many thousands of books by Western writers on Chinese subjects, probably those relating to history are the least satisfying. A comprehensive history of China is so immense a task that it is almost beyond the capacity of one man ; but, apart from that, the attempts have invariably suffered from our notion that the last few centuries of free intercourse with the West were of a major importance justifying treatment at grossly disproportionate length. Then there has been an apparent disregard of the fact that authentic records hardly began before the *Ch'un-ch'iu* period (722 B.C.). Traditional accounts of earlier ages have been accepted and set down as history, though they are mainly remnants of

folklore greatly distorted and obscured by idealists who sought to systematize the past, upholding the fiction that China started from a Utopia.

The truth is that the beginnings of Chinese civilization must be learnt afresh from material remains. The book under review is the first in a European language to make an attempt in accordance with the times. During four years of intensive study in China Dr. Creel gathered from Chinese scholars and personal observation the results of an extraordinary archaeological activity which has marked the present century. His service to Western readers in thus making known these momentous revelations is specially notable, because hitherto they have been only partly accessible to the few who read Chinese. Take, for instance, the exploration of An-yang carried out since 1928 by the Academia Sinica. Four volumes of preliminary reports in Chinese have been published under the editorship of Dr. Li Chi; but they do not include the surprising yields from the so-called royal tombs which were opened systematically for the first time in 1934, though they had been plundered long ago. Only scanty reviews have been attempted on these preliminary reports—two by Dr. Eberhard in *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* of 1932 and 1933, and two in this *Journal* of July, 1933, and July, 1935. Then there are the finds at the Hsin Ts'un cemetery which were briefly described last year in the Academia Sinica publication, entitled *T'ien yeh k'ao ku pao kao*, containing also accounts of other sites, some prehistoric. The Hsin Ts'un finds illuminate early Chou culture, linking it with the parent Shang-Yin. Again the medium is Chinese, and hardly any notice of these reports has appeared in a European language. One can well understand the lack of translations. Many of the conclusions are as yet but tentative, and years must elapse before the staff of the Academia Sinica can sort, photograph, study, and definitively pronounce upon the vast amount of excavated material. Mention should be made, too, of a field of research in which rapid advances have been made recently. A group

of Chinese scholars has re-examined inscriptions on bronzes with enterprise and critical acumen.

Therefore this book is needed by those eager for a comprehensive survey of the fresh and abundant clues to the great enigma of Chinese origins. Dr. Creel's aim has been "to make it readable, and as interesting as possible, for the general intelligent public". He has ably succeeded, and though he says that he has not written for specialists, certainly the specialists will be among his appreciative readers.

A. 722.

W. PERCEVAL YETTS.

THE CRIMINAL CODE OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA. Translated into English by CHANG-LIN HSIA and BOYER P. H. CHU. Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, Ltd., 1936.

The British Criminal Law, like the British Constitution, seems to work fairly well without being put into writing, but there is no tendency in this country to believe that because we have no penal code, "the nations not so blessed as we" would be better off without one. Indeed, in each case of the surrender of British extra-territorial privileges in countries like Japan and Siam, the history of the antecedent negotiations shows the importance attached by our Government to the formulation of the codes, and especially the penal code, to which British subjects were to be subjected after surrender. The Chinese Criminal Code may perhaps be thought to be of more interest—from this point of view—than that of other foreign countries, inasmuch as China will soon be the only country in which extra-territorial jurisdiction still lingers. It is to be noted that in the "Memorandum for Treaty Modification" communicated by the British Government to the Chinese authorities in January, 1927, the Government declared themselves "prepared, as soon as the revised Chinese Penal Code is promulgated and applied in Chinese courts, to consider its application in British courts in China". In the subsequent negotiations which have been carried on with a view to the eventual abolition of British courts in China, the question of the suitability of Chinese codes has no doubt

occupied as prominent a position as it did in the above declaration.

The code, of which the present volume is a translation, came into force on 1st July, 1935, being the result of a revision by the Criminal Codification Commission of the Criminal Code of 1928, which in its turn was based on the Provisional Criminal Code of 1912. The translators observe that in China the revision of the 1918 code was necessary in order to make its provisions consistent with the social ideas and principles of the Kuomintang.

Book I contains twelve chapters on "General Provisions", mostly in regard to punishments. "Principal" punishments are (1) death; (2) imprisonment for life; (3) imprisonment for a definite period (maximum twenty years); (4) detention (maximum four months); (5) fine. "Accessory" punishments are (1) deprivation of civil rights; (2) forfeiture. It will be noted that—in theory at least—the bamboo has disappeared from Chinese courts of justice. The method of carrying out sentences of death is not specified in the code.

Book II—"Specific Offences and Punishments"—sets forth thirty-five offences with their appropriate penalties. The only feature in this list which is noteworthy as a departure perhaps from usual legislation is in regard to adultery: it appears that, in the 1928 code, adultery on the part of a wife only was punishable, but after much discussion and as a result of protests from feminist societies in China, adultery of a husband and of a wife are now subject to the same penalty; the maximum, which in the 1928 code was two years, having been reduced to one year. The other party in the adultery is liable to the same punishment. Whether or not the treatment of adultery as a criminal offence is an expression of "the social ideas and principles of the Kuomintang", it is quite in accordance with the practice of pre-Republican China, when a district magistrate, "the father and mother of the people," would naturally send a man or a woman to prison for immoral acts in violation of the basic principles of family life.

MÉGALITHES DU HAUT-LAOS (HUA PAN, TRANH NINH). By Mlle. MADELEINE COLANI. 11 × 7. Vol. i, pp. 1-271 and pls. i-lxix; vol. ii, pp. 1-358, pls. lxx-cii; coloured pls. 2, map 1, many figs. Paris: Les Éditions d'Art et Histoire, 1935.

It is a great pleasure to welcome this important work upon the megaliths of Haut-Laos, French Indo-China—a *magnum opus* of the apparently delicate, but intrepid and indomitable little lady to whom we owe much for throwing light upon the prehistory of South-East Asia. Her two volumes are so filled with material that, in the short space allowed to a review, it is possible to do little more than give some slight idea of what they contain.

The book is divided into four parts, and the first deals with the ancient menhirs and the cromlechs (recent) of the Hua Pan Province, while the second treats of the ancient funerary monoliths of the Tran Ninh Province, comprising stone jars, stone disks, and bas reliefs, etc., funerary stones, and the cave at Ban Ang that was anciently used as a crematorium and columbarium. The first set of plates follows here at the end of vol. i. The second part is continued into the second volume, where the author describes her finds in the Ban Ang crematorium, the contents of the stone jars, and the objects excavated around them and the funerary stones.

The third part (second volume) is devoted to discussing the relative ages of the objects discovered and of the jars, the relative age of the most ancient objects from the Ban Ang cave, and the possible ages of the Tran Ninh stone jars, and the Hua Pan menhirs. After this, in the same part, the industries in connection with the ancient monuments, as exemplified in the author's discoveries, are considered—cutting and polishing of stone, the cornelian bead industry, ceramics and their decoration, glass objects and those of bronze and iron. Salt routes in relation to ancient monuments come under review and also such funerary rites in South-East Asia and elsewhere, as tend to throw light upon the author's

investigations. A comparison is made, too, between the stone images of South Sumatra and the bas reliefs of Tran Ninh, the stone jars of Kachar and those of Haut-Laos, etc. The part concludes with a section on the iron age in Malaya, based on the present writer's work, and a summary.

The fourth part is devoted to supplementary sections on ethnography, results of the microscopical examination of glass beads, indices, plate descriptions, addenda, etc., etc., as well as to the remainder of the plates, including two coloured plates of beads.

In some preliminary remarks Mlle. Colani makes it clear that the stone jars are funerary urns. Where suitable (fairly soft) rocks were found stone jars were made, but where the rocks were not easily workable (gneiss and mica schist), but split naturally into flakes, menhirs, with disks subtending them, were erected, as at San Kong Phan. It may be remarked here, however, that the menhirs are older than the jars.

The making of the menhirs is attributed by the present-day inhabitants of the district where they are found to one of the chiefs of the Kha Yeni who lived when the sky was very low.¹

The menhirs are frequently set in rows, three or more deep, and such alignments are often parallel to footpaths. The disks are often subtended by the menhirs.² Both are rudely fashioned, the menhirs (as some near Malacca in the Malay Peninsula) being flakes, often of very considerable size, perhaps slightly shaped at the edges. The disks are recumbent, and various types of chambers are found below them. Some menhirs are without disks, though chambers are present. The objects found in connection with the menhirs come from around them and from the sepulchral chambers. They comprise small engraved stone disks of fine schistose rock, many of which have star-like designs upon their faces, pottery and bronze rings. Some slight human remains were found

¹ For a similar belief in British North Borneo about the sky having once been low *vide* the reviewer's *Studies in Religion*, etc., p. 88.

² *Vide* pl. xiv, and p. 89, of *Papers on the Ethnology and Archaeology of the Malay Peninsula* for an apparently similar association in that country.

in the chambers. The pottery, which is rough, though not thick, appears to have been made locally. It consists chiefly of unornamented bowls or cups with a slight foot. Some of the ware is scorched or smoked. One, at any rate, of the bronze objects found, a lime pot, may be comparatively recent. Its type is very similar to that of such articles still in use in Siam.

The general ascription of the menhirs is to the bronze age of South-East Asia.

Mlle. Colani describes also some modern Thai burials in which the grave is surrounded by a circle of standing stones, pieces of schist comparable to the Hua Pan menhirs, but smaller. The largest stone is at the head, the next largest at the feet. The body is covered with charcoal.

Some description of modern fetishes of stellar form and of stellar patterns is given for comparison with the stellar ornamentation of the small disks.

The next subject with which the author deals is that of the stone jars, and other monoliths, of Tran Ninh Province. Legend says that the jars, which are sometimes of great size, were for holding rice-wine or water, and that the Ho, who invaded the territories of the Pou Eun, mutilated them. It is curious that numbers of these sepulchral jars are, in fact, mutilated.

The jars are of various local rocks and some appear to have been made *in situ*; others not. They are both flat and rounded at the base, and are of varying sizes and shapes, some being over three metres in height, while the smallest do not much exceed one metre. The most curious are recumbent ovoid vessels with a chamber at either end. The hollows of the more ordinary jars in some cases occupy the greater part of the bodies, but in others are comparatively shallow.

Associated with the jars are large stone disks, which have been thought to be covers, but, as the author points out, these do not fit the jars, to which they are usually in fairly close proximity. The disks are not by any means always smooth on both surfaces, and some of them are mushroom-

shaped. In the case of the irregular disks, the broadest side is upwards. Possibly these objects may be tables for offerings,¹ and it seems likely that the jars may have originally had wooden covers.

A few disks and certain subspherical slabs have bas-reliefs depicting animals. Mlle. Colani puts forward evidence to show that some of these reliefs, at any rate, are representations of *Macacus andamanensis*.

The crematorium (and columbarium) in the cave at Ban Ang yielded various objects of an earlier date than those with which Mlle. Colani is chiefly concerned—among them a palæolithic-culture hand-axe and various neolithic-culture objects, including a shouldered axe, a stone quoit, cord-marked pottery, etc. Of less ancient date were two types of pottery vessels, one of a cup-like shape with a foot, the other a round-bottomed pipkin with an everted lip. Vessels of both types contained fragments of burnt bones. A small loop handle was sometimes found on the bodies of the pipkins below the lip, or occasionally two such handles set close together. Ceramic decoration was little developed. From these funerary urns came glass beads (orange, yellow, and blue) and some burnt bones.

Other objects found in the cave were an interrupted bracelet of bronze, interrupted ear-pendants in the same metal, and small bronze bells. Knife blades, a large spear blade, a smaller spear blade (or arrow-point), and what may be a ploughshare, all these in iron, were also discovered. A *Cypraea* shell, pierced for suspension, was another find.

Three of the *champs de jarres* are not far from the cave; others at a greater distance.

From the stone jars of these came blue, green, and black beads and there was charcoal² in the earth that they contained. In their neighbourhood were found cornelian beads (olive-

¹ Mlle. Colani suggests also that they may be derived from the ancient bronze drums of South-East Asia.

² Note the previous reference to charcoal with regard to modern burials.

shaped or sub-cylindrical), glass beads (green, rose, and terra cotta), as well as a few "pseudo-Roman" glass beads and pottery sherds treated with gum on the exterior¹ or on both faces. The contemporary pottery vessels were often of the round-bottomed pipkin type. Some pieces were found decorated with chevron patterns of parallel lines or with designs of a similar type, but curvilinear. Undoubtedly such ornamentation was produced with a comb-like tool. Iron knives and spearheads occurred, as did other articles in the same metal, and also some small articles in bronze, notably little bells, a coiled bracelet, and a human statuette. Further discoveries were neolithic implements and also some objects of comparatively recent manufacture.

In addition to the specimens from around the stone jars the author also deals with those from the *champs de pierres funéraires* (only mentioned casually in this review up to the present). These are found in the same province, the stones being, in some cases, intermingled with jars. The funerary stones can be divided into three classes, menhirs, dolmens, and recumbent stones, naturally rounded, worked a little by man, or intact. They are sometimes grouped in lines, several stones deep, more or less parallel to paths and appear to be of much the same materials as the jars. One or two of the clay vessels found near these stones and near the jars contained traces of human bones, but some of them were probably used to hold offerings.

The stone jars are of the iron age of South-East Asia, though Mlle. Colani believes that the stone age had not long passed away. She is, for various reasons, inclined to date them at about the first century of the Christian Era.

A. 642.

IVOR H. N. EVANS.

¹ Modern Bajau pottery, made in the Tempasuk District of British North Borneo, is treated in this way.

RASSEN- UND KULTURGESCHICHTE DER NEGRITO-VÖLKER
SÜDÖST-ASIENS. Band I. By Dr. WALTER NIPPOLD.
Studien zur Völkerkunde, Band 11. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$. pp. xii
+ 430, maps 4. Leipzig: Jordan and Gramberg, 1936.
RM. 7.

This work deals for the most part with the Negritos of the Andaman Islands, the Malay Peninsula, and the Philippines, and mainly with special reference to their physical characteristics and culture, which latter is discussed in full detail. The author has mastered the literature which has accumulated on these and cognate subjects (and is represented by a very long bibliography at the end of his book), and he discusses it critically. Such a work as this is therefore extremely useful, and it has been very well done. The evidence is clearly set out and the reader is left to judge whether he can accept all the conclusions and inferences which the author has drawn from it.

The book is an amplification of an academic thesis accepted by the University of Göttingen and the author intends to supplement it by another volume dealing with Negrito religion.

A. 791.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

LES PAYSANS DU DELTA TONKINOIS. Étude de Géographie Humaine. By PIERRE GOUROU. Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient. Vol. XXVII. $11\frac{1}{4} \times 7$, pp. 666, pls. xlviii, figs. 119, maps 9. Paris: Les Éditions d'Art et d'Histoire, 1936.

Cette thèse de doctorat, présentée en Sorbonne, est une étude magistrale sur le Delta du Tonkin,—région naturelle d'une parfaite uniformité qui comprend 15.000 km² dans les terres alluvionnaires du Fleuve Rouge et du Thai Binh.

Se prêtant à la culture intensive du riz, il nourrit 6.500.000 Annamites, soit une moyenne de 430 habitants par km². Cette densité de la population atteint le chiffre de 1.500 au

km² pour 460.000 h. et le dépasse pour 295 villages. La natalité est une des plus fortes du monde. L'excédent annuel des naissances est de 20 p. 1.000. Un homme âgé aurait une moyenne de 5 enfants vivants. Dans certains districts catholiques contrôlés par les missionnaires Européens, l'accroissement humain a été, en 14 ans, de 39%. Pour tout le Delta Tonkinois, l'excédent annuel est de 60 à 100.000 Annamites.

Les émigrations spontanées et organisées, n'absorbent que 14.800 unités par an. L'émigration dans la montagne du Tonkin, (qui est 10 fois moins peuplée) pourrait être amplifiée. L'Annamite répugne très fortement à la montagne à cause de son insalubrité et parce que le sol ne se prête pas à la culture du riz.

L'auteur s'applique ensuite à définir le village du Delta Tonkinois d'un type uniforme et original. Il y en a 7,000 sur 7.5 % de la superficie totale du pays. Il forme un bloc verdoyant, clôturé de hauts bambous qui le protègent mieux que des murailles de pierre. Il s'administre lui-même, jouit d'une réelle autonomie politique, perçoit les impôts, possède des terres. Les édifices publics comprennent la maison commune, qui est en même temps le temple du génie du village, la pagode bouddhique, les temples des lettres et de la guerre, les autels aux morts. Les Annamites, très attachés à leur village, y mènent une vie sociale et religieuse d'une intensité extraordinaire. Ils habitent des maisons, d'aspect uniforme, simples mais solides et dignes, juste posées sur le sol et le plus souvent au toit de paille.

Les paysans du Delta Tonkinois vivent de la culture du riz. Il y a 500.000 hectares de rizières à deux récoltes. Le rendement moyen étant de 1.400 kilog. par hectare, il y a 22 millions de quintaux de riz pour tout le pays. Malgré son énorme densité, la consommation locale s'équilibre. La sous-alimentation est manifeste sous le rapport des éléments azotés et gras. Bien que le poisson sec ou frais soit un appoint très important, la viande de porc n'est point de tous les repas

pauvres. Les viandes de bœuf ou de buffle sont à peu près inconnues.

Le surpeuplement laisse disponible sur place une main d'oeuvre abondante qui fournit aux cultures alimentaires, aux cultures industrielles (sériciculture, poteries, vanneries, etc.) à la pêche, à l'élevage. Mais les Annamites du Delta vivent en économie fermée. Ils achètent et vendent peu. Leur contribution au commerce mondial est presque nulle. Le mouvement d'affaires avec les autres pays de l'Indochine et l'étranger peut être évalué à 300 millions de francs soit moins de 50 francs par paysan. L'indice de niveau de vie confirme ces faits. Une famille de cinq personnes d'aisance moyenne dépense 800 francs papier par an ; la même famille pauvre seulement 450 ou 500 francs, soit une dépense quotidienne de 2 fr. 15 ou de 1 fr. 35 à 1 fr. 20.

Le Delta Tonkinois surpeuplé trouve dans un travail intense le riz nécessaire à sa subsistance. La pauvreté et la sous-alimentation en viande et graisse n'affectent pas sa prolificité. L'équilibre moral et social reste remarquable. L'œuvre des autorités françaises doit se poursuivre avec prudence et sagesse, dans le cadre de cette civilisation traditionnelle Annamite qui a fait ses preuves.

A. 796.

DR. JOSEPH VASSAL.

Middle East

ASSAMESE GRAMMAR AND ORIGIN OF THE ASSAMESE LANGUAGE, WITH AN INTRODUCTION CONTAINING A SHORT HISTORY OF ASSAMESE LITERATURE. By KALIRAM MEDHI. 10 × 6 $\frac{3}{4}$, pp. cxxiii + 539. Gauhati : Published by the Author, 1936. Rs. 6.

It is perhaps a matter for surprise that the Assamese language should have had to wait so long for a full and comprehensive grammar, although other languages in India have been so fully dealt with by competent scholars. Assamese, it is true, has been to some extent noticed by Robinson in his grammar, printed at Serampore as far back as the year 1839,

and by Nathan Brown in *Grammatical Notices of the Assamese Language* (Sibsagar, 1848), and by Bronson in his *Dictionary of the Assamese Language* (Sibsagar, 1867), and lastly by G. F. Nicholl in his *Assamese Grammar* of 1885, which suffers from the same defect as the Bengali grammar by the same author, that it is in the Roman character only. Mr. Medhi's work could hardly be improved upon; it has been very fully documented throughout, and from the well reasoned discussions it contains shows the immense amount of industry and care which have been exercised in its preparation. Mr. Medhi is to be heartily congratulated on the result of what must have been many years' labour. The format and printing of the work, moreover, leave nothing to be desired, and the price is a most moderate one, i.e. in cloth Rs. 6 only.

The author says with reference to the origin and growth of the language that these "are not so simple and clear as we generally suppose". He discards the theory that Assamese is a daughter of Sanskrit, although later in his introduction he says "we may say that almost the whole of the Assamese grammar and vocabulary, except the elements of a few other languages, noticed later on, are to be found in Sanskrit". He adds: "Assamese, like Hindusthani, is Vedic or pre-Vedic Sanskrit, although it has greatly assimilated various other elements, notably of the Bodo group." It is a question, however, whether the author should not have written Hindi for "Hindusthani" in view of the fact that there is a very considerable admixture of Persian words in Hindustani. The author has not confined himself to the standard form of the language, but has noticed the dialects of Assamese in current use in the Brahmaputra Valley, e.g. the language of Lower Assam, which Assamese of the upper districts call "Dekhari". The spelling adopted is that of the Hemakosha, which has been long considered to be the standard dictionary of the language. There are four introductions covering cxxiv pages of print, all in English. These are most interesting and deserve careful study.

Turning to grammar the author finds that Assamese pronunciation is, in several particulars, peculiar and unlike that found in the modern vernaculars of Eastern India. He says: "Assamese has really no cerebrals." The Sanskrit cerebrals are pronounced in Assamese half-cerebral and half-dental, rather more dental than cerebral. "The Assamese pronunciation of the sibilants is peculiar in India and evidently a relic of the pre-Vedic Aryan pronunciation." The author quotes Mr. Brown, who says that the Assamese pronunciation of *sh* is akin to the Greek pronunciation of the Greek letter χ , e.g. *kes* ('hair'), *baršana* 'rain', *sāhi* ('sixty'), and *son* ('gold'). Here we may compare Nicholl's statement on p. 325 of his grammar. Attention is drawn to the remarks (pp. lvi, lvii, et seq.). Khasi does not belong to the Kuki-chin group of languages, but to the Mon-Khmer, of the Austro-Asiatic group, *vide* remarks of Sir George Grierson and Pater Schmidt of Vienna.

The Alphabet.—In the printed Assamese books the whole of the letters are the same as those used in Bengali except ঙ and ঞ. Nowadays Assamese frequently write ঙ, as in Bengali, instead of ঞ, and do not often distinguish ঙ from ঞ. The emissives : *h* (*bisarga*), *anusvār* ঞ and the *chandra-bindu*, or *anunāsik* (moon dot ঞ), are also in use. There are the same compound letters as in Bengali.

Pronunciation.—Here I cannot do better than quote from Nicholl. "The vowel powers are in many respects the same as in Bengali, but there are several points of difference, notably the short *a*, with its varying and conventional sounds, presents difficulties which are not easily overcome. This vowel fluctuates between the long and short *o* of *to-morrow*, and the meaning of a word depends on its proper utterance; thus *kalá* (= *kolá*) "black", but *kalá* (= *kōlá*) "deaf"; *mah* (= *moh*) "buffalo", but *mah* (= *mōh*) "mosquito". Much more could be written on the subject of pronunciation, and

indeed generally regarding this most interesting and valuable work, but unfortunately space does not permit.

In conclusion may I commend this grammar to all students of the Assamese language and to philologists and ethnologists generally.

A. 865.

P. R. GURDON.

THE ROAD TO OXIANA. By ROBERT BYRON. 8 × 5½, pp. viii + 341, ill. 16, maps 5. London: Macmillan, 1937. 10s. 6d.

The value of this work is that its author has visited and described authoritatively practically all the Moslem monuments in Iran and Afghanistan. He especially eulogizes the *Gumbad-i-Kabus*, situated to the north-west of Astrabad, the capital of the erstwhile Hyrcania; and he pours out in beautiful language his intense admiration for the exquisite mosque of Gauhar Shad at Meshed, which he considers to be the finest example of Moslem art in Central Asia.

Throughout the book the reader realizes that Mr. Byron's judgment is based on deep knowledge of his subject. Apart from this, his description of scenery is delightful, and his travel comments are interesting and amusing, although he certainly does not suffer Oriental red tape patiently. His illustrations are excellent and complete a really valuable book which distinctly fills a gap.

A. 847.

P. M. SYKES.

India

GAṆEŚA: A MONOGRAPH ON THE ELEPHANT-FACED GOD.

By ALICE GETTY. With an Introduction by ALFRED FOUCHER. 11½ × 9, pp. xxiii + 103, pls. 42, figs. 8. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936. 42s.

In her monograph on Gaṇeśa, Miss Getty presents a mass of carefully arranged information regarding the history of this strange deity, not only in India proper, but also in Greater

India and the Far East. The Introduction, from the able pen of M. Alfred Foucher, gives a lucid account in what manner Gaṇeśa must have risen from the crowd of animal-headed *gaṇas* to become first their lord and leader and, finally, the son of Śiva and Pārvatī. It is not surprising that Gaṇeśa is one of the most popular members of the Hindu Pantheon, considering that his chief function is the removal of obstacles. Hence his epithets *vighṇapa*, *vighṇanāśana*, etc. Obstacles may also present themselves in the acquisition of learning, as is testified in a well-known stanza from the *Pañcatantra* (*bahavaś ca vighnāḥ*). This explains why Gaṇeśa is often regarded as a patron of letters (pp. 4, 5). Legends relating to him are few in number; they evidently serve the purpose of accounting for Gaṇeśa's most conspicuous features—his elephant-head (pp. 6-7) and his single tusk (p. 15).

Miss Getty's book is illustrated by means of an imposing number of well-chosen and well-reproduced Gaṇeśa figures, in stone and metal, from India, Further India, Indonesia, Tibet, Turkestan, China, and Japan. While the author offers us such a wealth of iconographical materials, it would seem ungrateful to wish for more; yet we deplore the absence of the curious terra-cotta panel from Bhītargaon, mentioned by M. Foucher (p. xx). There is also the inscribed bronze image, still worshipped at Brahmor (Sanskrit Brahmapura), the former capital of Chamba State. The specimens from the Malay Archipelago, reproduced in plates 29-32, are very representative, and include some marvellous examples of Indo-Javanese art. The fine little bronze in the Leyden Museum (pl. 32a) we feel inclined to attribute to the Pāla School of Eastern India. The "bronze figure from Borneo" (pl. 32b) has a strange, almost spurious, appearance. We doubt whether it really comes from Borneo, which is not known otherwise to have produced bronze statuettes of Hindu gods. As to the little bronze from Bali, which was presented to the Kern Institute by Dr. Korn (not Kern!), the author is probably right in assigning it an Indo-Chinese origin. The

plates include a few reproductions of miniatures (two in colours) and drawings. Those of the frontispiece and plate 12, which are described as "Rajput", I would attribute to the Kangra School. In a fine miniature (pl. 11) from the "Bibliothèque Nationale", Gaṇeśa is shown seated between two female figures whom the author tentatively identifies as Buddhi and Siddhi. Cannot the lady with the *vīṇā*, sitting on a lotus-seat to the right of the god, be Sarasvatī? The other, standing with a chowree behind him, appears to be merely a menial. The text contains few misprints. *Bhāla candra* (p. 16, also in *Stotra*) should be *Bāla*°; for *Chantal* (p. 55) read *Changal*; for *Bhaṭṭārī-guru* (p. 60), *Bhaṭṭāra*°; in title of pl. 22c, read *Kaṇṭaka-Cetiya*.

We conclude this review by congratulating the authoress on the completion of her work which is a very welcome addition to our knowledge of Greater Indian iconography.

A. 745.

J. PH. VOGEL.

JAINA CHITRAKALPADRUMA. A Treatise in Gujarātī on Jain Art in Gujarāt from early times down to the 20th Century. By SARABHAI MANILAL NAWAB. 10 × 7½. pp. 16 + 232, pls. cvii. Ahmadabad, 1936.

The sub-title of this beautifully illustrated work represents it as being a collection of characteristic specimens of Gujarātī Jain art, and it is obvious that the illustrations, many of which are in colour, are the most important part of the book. These cover the complete development of pre-Mughal Indian painting as utilized by the Śvetāmbara Jains of Gujarāt for the embellishment of their manuscripts; it is curious that the Digambaras did not begin to illustrate their books till the seventeenth century. Although a few Vaishnava works are known, it is clear that the Gujarātī school flourished largely upon Jain patronage. It is not unique, however, for Buddhist works emanating from Eastern India exist, and in the Oriya country the style was preserved until the beginning

of the seventeenth century. It may be said that medieval Indian painting, including the work of both these areas, is distinguished by its use of the stylus and dye-colours on palm-leaf. Paper intrudes later as a substitute for palm-leaf without altering the style appreciably. It was left to the Mughals to introduce a new technique, Persian in origin, like all the fashions of their courts, the use of tempera colours on a ground prepared with lime. If it is convenient to create a subdivision of this school, so as to group together the proliferation of the fashion in numerous petty courts, and to call this subdivision "Rajput", it cannot be denied that these paintings are technically one with the Mughal paintings and distinct from the works of the older school of Gujarāt and Eastern India. That this school was not merely local or provincial is proved by the occurrence in the Gujarātī paintings of many motives and mannerisms which can be traced direct to the Byzantine tradition.

This volume comes from more than one hand ; for instance, an excellent chapter upon writing and writing materials is contributed by Muni Punyavijayaji. As a whole the text is good, though the presentation of the essential fact is sometimes a little obscure and often tantalizing in its bland reliance upon nominalism. The whole volume is, however, obviously the production of enthusiasts, and is in itself a valuable contribution. A condensed English translation would be welcome.

A. 682.

K. de B. CODRINGTON.

THE ASOKAN ROCK AT GIRNĀR. By HIRANANDA SASTRI.

Published under the authority of the Government of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda. Gaekwad's Archæological Series, No. ii, 11½ × 9, pp. viii + 58. Baroda : State Press, 1936. Rs. 1-3-0.

Dr. Hirananda Sastri, Director of Archæology in Baroda State, has achieved a very useful piece of work. He tells us that he found visitors who had been to Girnār returning

disappointed at not finding the means to understand the inscriptions. He has therefore issued the fourteen rock-inscriptions of Aśoka, as found at Gīrnār, with the inscription of Rudradāman and that of Skandagupta in the same place. The text is given in Devanāgarī, with a transliteration and an English translation. He does not pretend to originality, as the Aśokan portion, he tells us, is based on the transcript and translation of Hultsch, with only a few slight changes here and there. Similarly in the historical notes on Aśoka he has based his remarks on Vincent Smith. He never ventures to contradict this authority, and does not seem to be aware that Hultsch's translation is in conflict with Vincent Smith. Hence the same word is recorded in the index both as a river of South India and as Ceylon. There are some discrepancies between the Devanāgarī, the transliteration, and the translation of the inscription of Rudradāman. But as it is very difficult for the general reader to know where to find any trustworthy record or interpretation, the present production will be welcomed both as an introduction to the subject and as a convenient *vade mecum* for the visitor.

A. 823.

E. J. THOMAS.

DAŚOPANISHADS. With the Commentary of Sri Upanishad-Brahma-Yogin. Vol. I. Published for the Adyar Library (Theosophical Society), 1935.

We are indebted to the Theosophical Society for having made a considerable number of manuscripts in its possession accessible to a wide public by issuing commented editions of them. Thus, besides the present volume, which contains the first eight of the Major Upaniṣads, namely Īśa, Kena, Kaṭha, Praśna, Muṇḍaka, Māṇḍūkya, Taittiriya, and Aitareya, there have already appeared in this series the ninety-eight Minor Upaniṣads with the same commentary, and, in another volume, seventy-one more Upaniṣads, most of which had never been published before (Preface).

The commentator, Sri Upanishad-Brahma-Yogin, doubtless belongs to the Advaita school of Śaṅkara. His method, however, consists not so much in giving a proper sub-commentary on the lines of the Advaita school, but rather in boiling down, sometimes too much,¹ Śaṅkara's detailed explanations through similes which are such a valuable means of logical evidence.

On the other hand, B.'s commentary is a welcome contribution to our Upaniṣadic knowledge in that it supplies a deficiency of Śaṅkara's work by commenting also on the first three chapters in the second Āraṇyaka of the Aitareyāraṇyaka, the commentary on which, if it has existed at all, has at any rate not come down to us. In the editor's opinion, however, the fact that B. has commented on these chapters tends to prove that there is an Advaita tradition based on Śaṅkara also with regard to them. This seems to be confirmed by Śaṅkara himself, when, at the beginning of his *second* adhyāya (the fifth of the original Aitareyāraṇyaka) he refers back to his *first* adhyāya with the surprising words: "In this fourth adhyāya . . ."

A. 492

BETTY HEIMANN.

THE LEGACY OF INDIA. Edited by G. T. GARRATT, with an introduction by the MARQUESS OF ZETLAND. 7½ × 5, pp. xviii + 428, ¹ills. 24, map 1. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1937. 10s.

This small volume deals with the culture of India by means of a series of specialist studies. Hinduism is entrusted to Professor Radhakrishnan, language and literature to Dr. F. W. Thomas, while art and archaeology are dealt with by K. de B. Codrington. The Editor reserves for himself a brief essay on Indo-British Civilization. It is clear that the object of this work is primarily to focus information already available to scholars in well-known works; and, in some respects, this object has been admirably achieved. On the other hand, the obvious omissions are in some instances more remarkable

¹ Cf. e.g. in *Ati Up.*

than the contents. In thirty pages devoted to an exposition of Hinduism we learn very little of the fiercer aspects of the creed as practised by the Śaiva section of the community ; and the writer is content to sum up the character of a Hindu in the following words : " Everyone is a Hindu who strives for truth by study and reflection, by purity of life and conduct, by devotion and consecration to high ideals, who believes that religion rests not on authority but on experience " (p. 277). No reference here will be found to the generally accepted tests of respect for the Brāhmaṇ, reverence for the Vedas, and acceptance of the system of caste. If this definition of a Hindu is to prevail, it would hardly seem reasonable to claim Hinduism as the legacy of India. It may also be observed that Mr. R. P. Masani, in describing caste, almost entirely ignores the existing literature on caste as it at present exists, to which valuable additions have been made in recent years. He presents a picture which can with difficulty be held to portray the present system of caste prevailing in India, at least to those who are not thoroughly acquainted previously with its bewildering complexity. Perhaps, as the writer of the introduction seems to hint, the editor's own contribution lends itself most to criticism ; and the estimate of the results of the British connection which Mr. Garratt holds clearly requires modification. It would be extremely difficult to justify from the results of personal experience the conclusion that " towards the end of the nineteenth century it was becoming obvious that the English in India had nothing in common with the growing mass of educated Indians, and as a measure of their failure, they emphasized without much justification their special interest in the illiterate peasantry " (p. 403).

Such a sweeping indictment in a work of this description should not be allowed to pass without challenge.

It is also remarkable that even in an obviously brief account of Anglo-Indian literature no mention should be made of the beautiful poems of Laurence Hope, or the novels of Sarah

Jeannette Duncan. On the whole, this little work would have gained much by more cautious editing. We note that the much-disputed tradition of St. Thomas's visit to India is taken as an established historical fact (p. 259), and that the New College Jesuit who visited that country in 1539 appears both as Father Stevens and Father Stephens. The latter is the correct spelling.

A. 877.

R. E. ENTHOVEN.

1. TATTVABINDU WITH TATTVAVIBHĀVANĀ. Edited by V. A. RAMASVAMI SASTRI. Annamalai University Sanskrit Series, No. 3. 10 × 6½, pp. xix + 197 + 161 + 57. Chidambaram : Annamalai University, 1936. Rs. 3.
2. SVARASIDDHĀNTA CANDRIKĀ. By ŚRĪNIVĀSAYAJVAN. Edited by K. A. SIVARAMAKRISHNA SASTRI. Annamalai University Sanskrit Series, No. 4. 10 × 6½, pp. x + lvii + 473. Chidambaram : Annamalai University, 1936. Rs. 5.

The Annamalai University Sanskrit Series had not previously come to the notice of the present reviewer ; of the two volumes named above the first is an edition of a tract by Vācaspati Miśra, which, though published once long ago, is still little known, accompanied by a hitherto unknown commentary, and deals with the various Pūrvamīmāṃsā theories in explanation of the association between a word and its meaning. The second is a late seventeenth century commentary on those *sūtras* of Pāṇini which lay down the rules of accentuation ; it takes its illustrations almost entirely from the *Yajurveda*. In both cases, so far as I can see, the Sanskrit text is competently edited, but both editors follow the bad habit, much too prevalent in India, of prefixing a lengthy introduction of a roving character, which has little or no relevance to the text being edited. In neither case is the matter so intruded of any real value or originality, and the editors would have been better advised to use the space for the

further elucidation of the texts ; the first might have been translated in full for instance, and the more interesting points raised by the second might have been discussed and elaborated.

A. 786, 787.

E. H. JOHNSTON.

ÉTUDE SUR LE MAHĀVAIROCANA-SŪTRA (DAINICHIKYŌ). By R. TAJIMA. Ouvrage subventionné par l'Institut de Civilisation Indienne et l'Institut d'Études Japonaises de l'Université de Paris, et par la Société Japonaise pour le Développement des Relations culturelles internationales. $9\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xx + 186 + 13, pls. 12. Paris : Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1936.

Professor Tajima's essay has not only the good credentials given above, but the excellent backing of having been inspired by Sylvain Lévi, his *vénéré maître*, not to mention endorsement by Messrs. Foucher, Honorat, and Satsuma. It consists in an introduction on the so-called esotericism of the school of Shingon (or Mantra) Buddhism, as introduced into Japan from China about A.D. 806 by Kobo Daishi (disciple while there of a disciple of Amoghavajra), followed by a description of the titular Sūtra, known in Japan as the Dainichikyō. This is followed by a "general study" of the Sūtra, by a translation of the first chapter, an analysis of the same, and a résumé of the remainder.

There is never an end to man's manipulations of words : Dainichikyō is the Japanese corruption of Daibirushana, which is the Chinese corruption of Mahā-vairocana, great illuminator, i.e. the sun, and a patronymic, as we know, of the Buddha. The Sūtra appears to have been adopted by the Shingon "school" (which I prefer to "sect", the more usual term), but to have been oddly passed over by "Western specialists"—a fact which my own inquiries endorse.

The essay seems to be a very finished, very careful specimen of Eastern scholarship, sharpened, widened by contact with French Indological culture. The author, so far as I can judge,

has no reason to blush for his courage in speaking to us in French. And in his translation he gives us Sanskrit and Tibetan originals at every step. He does well, for who could have guessed that “de la non-existence et de l’existence à la fois” was, in the text, an opposing of *śūnyatā* and *bhava*, “vacuity” and “becoming”? I would only demur to his partiality for capitals—why should “heart”, “passions,” “earth,” “time,” etc., get thus a peacock-feather sublimity? Nor do I like “cœur” (heart) for *citta* (mind). It is true that “inwardness” would seem to be more present here than in Pāli exegesis. But *hṛdaya* also meant that, and was to hand, a matter our Pāli translators have failed to note. At the same time there is this excuse for a French translation, that no such word as *mens* “mind” is to hand.

The substance of the first chapter for a purely imaginative creation like this Sūtra, is the lofty, impressive idea of the “man”, under the name of Vajradhara (lightning-bearer), questioning the deified Buddha on all the deepest things we fain would know. That the man is told the source of enlightenment lies within his own nature in the self—here called *citta*! a curious survival of Hinayāna—is noteworthy. It is older than Hinayāna; it is older than pre-Hinayāna Buddhism.

A. 742.

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

ASPECTS OF BENGALI SOCIETY FROM OLD BENGALI LITERATURE. By TAMONASH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 6 $\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xl + 371, pls. 5. Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1935.

The title of this book, which is published under the auspices of the University of Calcutta, would lead one to suppose that it dealt mainly with the manners and customs and the social life of old Bengal. As a matter of fact, it contains chapters on the birds of Bengal, Bengali architecture, shipbuilding and commerce, musical instruments and weapons. Other subjects dealt with are clothing, ornaments, cookery, games, religion,

education, and the castes. Only one short chapter is devoted to manners and customs, and this one chapter, of twelve pages, has to suffice for such a medley of subjects as ordeals, marriage and dowry, *jaypatra*, charms, freedom of women, garland and sandal-paste, passport, penance, fondness for the dog, and luxuriant hair.

The period covered is only very vaguely defined. The works from which information is drawn "roughly cover a few centuries—possibly those between the tenth and the eighteenth centuries" (p. xxii). There is no discussion of the date of the different works, and in most cases there is not even any indication of the author's opinion on the point. It is doubtful whether any of the works referred to can be dated so early as the tenth or even the eleventh century.

No attempt has been made to distinguish between conditions prevailing in one part and those prevailing in another part of the eight centuries under review. One would particularly like to know at what point, if at any, in the history of Bengal, "girls were equally educated with the boys" (p. xxxvii). A good example of the loose chronology of the book is the statement on p. 86 that "Bengal was under Mahommedan rule for nearly eight centuries."

It is unfortunate that the writer's knowledge of English is so inadequate that at times it is very difficult, if not impossible, to guess what he means. There is a "bibliography", but it contains in most cases no indication of editions or place of publication. Page references are of no use unless one knows what edition is meant. The author says he has in some cases used old Bengali manuscripts, but he has not told us anything about these manuscripts or where they are to be found.

The faults and defects of the book are the more to be regretted as it contains such a large amount of interesting and valuable information which might be very useful to students if it were arranged and treated in a more scholarly and critical manner.

LA PEINTURE IRANIENNE SOUS LES DERNIERS 'ABBASIDES
ET LES ÎL-KHÂNS. By IVAN STCHOUKINE. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ + 9.
pp. 188, pls. xlv, figs. 134. Bruges: Imprimerie Ste.
Catherine, 1936. £2 10s.

The study of Persian miniature painting has made such progress in recent years that a detailed survey of some part of the subject matter, such as illuminated manuscripts of the *Shāh-nāma* or of a restricted period is now the course most likely to yield fruitful results. No period contains more unsolved problems or involves more interesting questions than the earliest from which we have any surviving miniatures. This is the subject treated in a new book published by the well-known authority on Indian and Persian painting, M. Ivan Stchoukine, under the ægis of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. Its title, *La Peinture Iranienne sous les derniers 'Abbāsides et les Îl-Khāns*, is explicit and indicates the author's inclusion of the manuscripts of the so-called Mesopotamian school as Iranian. The same decision was made by the Committee of the Persian Exhibition in London, in 1931, and is certainly justifiable in view both of the connection of the miniatures of this period with the earlier art of Iran and also of the thorough Iranianism of the court of Baghdad under the 'Abbāsids.

M. Stchoukine has given a *catalogue raisonné* of thirty-one illustrated manuscripts produced between A.H. 605 (A.D. 1209) and 755 (1354) and now in the libraries of Cairo, Paris, Leningrad, Istanbul, London, New York, Edinburgh, Oxford, Vienna, Madrid, and Rampur. Three of the most important are widely divided amongst many collections. Such a catalogue will be of great service to any future student of the subject. There is only one important omission from it, a manuscript of *Kalila wa Dimna*, from which miniatures are to be found in a number of French and American collections. It is of crucial importance even though the date, 1237, usually attached to it cannot probably be substantiated. It cannot, however, be put later than the end of the thirteenth century.

The miniatures in this catalogue are the material on which M. Stchoukine has based his study. It is preceded by a critical survey of the literature on the subject, since it began to be studied in the West about thirty years ago, and by a résumé of archæological evidence for the practice of painting in Iranian lands from the beginning of the Sasanian period. This is summed up by the author in these words: "*L'Iran sâsânide possédait une peinture florissante que la conquête arabe ne détruit pas entièrement. Les traditions de cet art s'étant conservées, refleurissent rapidement sur le sol natal.*" All the evidence here collected by M. Stchoukine goes to show that painters were patronized by the 'Abbāsids and that there was opportunity for them to be influenced by Sasanian painting, examples of which were undoubtedly at hand for them to imitate. What do we know of this Sasanian style? Though our knowledge is still only fragmentary, everything goes to show that it was an illusionistic figure style, whose connections were with the lands of the eastern Mediterranean. Nothing could be further removed from the Persian miniature style as it ultimately developed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; a style of concepts set down in a colour pattern, essentially on one plane, without attempt at illusion or interest in movement. If we grant, as we must, that both these styles should be called Iranian, how are we to explain the apparently complete break in tradition in painting, in view of a cultural continuity which is none the less marked in spite of the adoption of the modern Persian language and the Arabic script?

The actual break in Iranian painting tradition occurred, not at the time of the Arab conquest, but in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries at the time of the Mongol conquests. Such cataclysmic events might well have caused a breach in national life. But it is well known that Iranian culture passed through this period without suffering any such break. Nor is it the case that the earlier art is broadly that of the west of Iran, the later, that of the east. The typical Timurid style

first took its rise in the kingdom of Jalā'ir sultān, centred at Baghdad and Tabriz.

The problem of the evolution of the Timurid style out of the Mongol is thus a comparatively simple one. M. Stchoukine finds the clue to be the "Demotte" *Shāhnāma*, that superb copy of the Book of Kings, large in size and in the breadth of handling, from which eighteen pages formed a magnificent group at the Burlington House Exhibition of 1931. He accepts the date of about 1330 put forward by Mr. Wilkinson and the reviewer, and points out that this would agree with the date of the revival of the library at Tabriz under Ghiyath al-Dīn. This was destroyed in 1336 and he assumes that the book, being then unfinished, was completed for the first Jalā'ir, Shaykh Hasan-Buzurg, who is known from the literary sources as a patron. This suggestion is not only convincing in itself, but provides just that historical connection which is demanded by stylistic continuity. M. Stchoukine further distinguishes in the miniatures of this manuscript, of which fifty-five are known to him, three phases (1) the decline of Chinese influence (2) the Iranian recrudescence, (3) the decadence of the Mongol school. In general these three characteristics are more or less present throughout the book, while in some miniatures one element is stronger, in another, another. What was happening was the digestion of Chinese influence. But there really seems no reason why miniatures representing different stages in this process should not be contemporaneous, for no doubt a large number of artists was employed on the book. No political event, like the replacement of the Īl-khānī rulers by Uzbeks, was likely to have a profound effect, and in fact, in the miniatures from a *Kalila wa Dimna*, now preserved at Istanbul in the University Library (Stchoukine, No. xxx) (which must be placed, on costume and textile design, somewhere about 1370 rather than about 1350) still show a very strong and only partly digested Chinese influence.

M. Stchoukine's book is perhaps of greatest value in stressing the continuity of tradition in Persian miniature painting during

the fourteenth century. In arguing for an equal continuity during the preceding centuries he seems to us to be on more doubtful ground. The evidence of Sasanian and early Islamic metal work which M. Stchoukine uses to support his thesis is by no means so clearly on his side. In a recent study of part of this material in the *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Dr. Kurt Erdmann has traced the treatment of one subject, the hunting scene, on the silver dishes from the early Sasanian period to about the twelfth century. His arrangement of the material reveals a remarkable conservatism of iconography coupled with just that fundamental change from a naturalistic to a decorative art which has been suggested at the opening of this review as characteristic of the passage from the Sasanian to the Timurid period. And in this connection it is worth noting that precisely some of those dishes which M. Stchoukine uses as evidence for the occurrence of the conventions of the miniature painters of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the earliest Islamic period, are placed by Dr. Erdmann from one to several centuries later (cf. pls. xxiii*a* and *b*, xxv*ia*). Though we are far from wishing to deny any Sasanian influence in the earliest Iranian miniature painting known to us, we still consider the origin of this school to be an unsolved mystery.

M. Stchoukine's book is an important treatment of this problem, which is of interest to historians as well as specialists and art lovers. It is the first treatment of the subject on a scale large enough to allow details to fall into place and the lines of a challenging theory to emerge. For its consideration our greatest need is a full study of Sasanian art. It may well be that such study would show it with connections, through Parthia, with the Mediterranean world more prominently than with the older art of the Iranian plateau or of Mesopotamia. Only when this has been done will it be possible to assess the proportions of east Mediterranean and autochthonous elements in the 'Abbāsid style.

Art, Archaeology, Anthropology

ANCIENT CHINESE BRONZE MIRRORS. By R. W. SWALLOW.

8 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xii + 78, ills. 103. Peiping: H. Vetch, 1937. 12s. 6d.

Several of the best among the few critical writings on Chinese mirrors the author of this book seems not to have consulted—the pioneer studies of Tomioka Kenzō, for instance, and two articles by Lo Chên-yü in the first series of his *Liao chü tsa chu* 遼居雜著, published in 1929. But the most important in a European language is Professor Karlgren's essential work, "Early Chinese Mirror Inscriptions," which appeared in Stockholm three years ago in the sixth *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*. Had Mr. Swallow been acquainted with the last-mentioned, his translations might have been better.

The book under review contains much interesting matter and good photographs of 103 mirrors, many of which have not been published before. A prominent feature is the author's assumption, hardly justified, that a large group should be associated with either the Ch'in State or the short-lived dynasty which preceded the Han. In an appendix Mr. S. J. F. Jensen, of Shanghai, gives the metallic composition of six mirrors of various periods, affording a useful comparison with the results from the analysis of eight mirrors reported by Mr. Chikashige Masumi in the *Journal of the Chemical Society*, of 1920, though the latter are not mentioned.

A. 870.

W. PERCEVAL YETTS.

Cuneiform

A DICTIONARY OF ASSYRIAN CHEMISTRY AND GEOLOGY. By

R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON. 9 × 6, pp. xlviii + 266.

Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936. 21s.

Twelve years ago, in his *Assyrian Herbal*, Dr. Thompson published the results of his long researches into the names of plants found in cuneiform texts, particularly in the scientific bilingual lists from the Nineveh library, and thereby

established his authority in this department of learning. Shortly afterwards his book *On the Chemistry of the Ancient Assyrians* investigated the ingredients, methods, and products of the glass-makers as set forth in their surviving recipes ; these two studies laid the foundation for the work which he now presents in the more readable form conferred by the typography of the Clarendon Press. The principal part, as the title implies, is a complete list of all the substances which the Assyrians designated by the signs for "stone" and "earth", the former of which, if Dr. Thompson's results are correct, has to be understood in a very wide sense, for it would include not only glass but a number of chemical products including colouring matters. This list is not ordered alphabetically in the usual dictionary form, but follows generally the grouping of the Assyrian texts which were arranged on a natural basis. With a few exceptions each term is made the subject of a discussion aiming at its identification, so that the main part of the book is really a collection of articles in which philology and natural science (including medicine) co-operate in the task of discovering what stones and chemicals were known to the Assyrians, and what uses they made of them.

A long introduction is devoted to more general subjects, such as the methods of the Assyrians in classification, the glass-makers' texts, earlier and later, the kinds of beads and means of colouring stones, and the transmission of Babylonian names of things to the classical and the modern world, which shows a number of very remarkable derivations, some perhaps hazardous, but the majority hardly to be doubted. And here it may be added, since the author's readiness to appeal to other languages, even the non-Semitic, might be criticized, that he always gives fair warning if he is drawing a long bow, and is more often justified by the soundness of his method, which is to rely more upon the facts of nature than upon a deceptive resemblance of words. It is hardly necessary to say to instructed readers that Dr. Thompson's knowledge of all

that pertains to Assyrian science, whether of natural things, medicine, or technology, is unrivalled, and therefore a book such as this becomes at once a standard work of reference upon the matters with which it deals. Sections that will be read with particular interest are those which concern the probable use of sulphuric acid (p. 102), the distinction of stones according to their action under acid (p. 140), a Babylonian origin of the word "cobalt" (p. 95), magnetic iron (p. 85), and the "geodes group" (pp. 105 ff.). The author has anticipated on p. xxxvi of the Introduction a criticism that the word "stone" is given an unreasonable extension by some of his results; on the other hand, there are materials well known to the Babylonians which are not accounted for here, shell and obsidian being the most conspicuous. *ELTEG* is probably not a correct value of the sign generally so transcribed, and in the author's now well-known discovery the word for "sulphur" should surely be read *kibir-id* (despite the hybrid form) rather than *kibir-nari*; the second part survives in the name of the town Hit on the Euphrates. *Šurru* and *naglabu* (p. 126) are both used also for parts of the body, and, if correctly identified here, there is probably an allusion connecting the two senses which we do not see. And, although the ingenious explanation of *aban kašari* (p. 189) as pumice is no doubt ultimately right, there is some difficulty in connecting a word *kašaru*, required to mean "rub", and *kuššarru*, which is a Sumerian loan-word meaning "a writer on (not a preparer of) skin". The book ends with a transcription of the Assyrian bilingual lists, and full indexes of the things referred to and of the words quoted from a number of Oriental and other languages. It is perhaps worth noting that the pagination of the abbreviations and indexes is incorrectly stated in the table of contents.

Islam

THREE TREATISES ON MYSTICISM. By SHIHĀBUDDĪN SUHRAWARDĪ MAQTŪL. With an account of his Life and Poetry. Edited and translated by OTTO SPIES and S. P. KHATAK. Bonner Orientalistische Studien, Heft 12. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, pp. 52 + 121. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1935.

The famous Persian philosopher and mystic, who was convicted of heresy and executed at Aleppo in A.H. 587, composed most of his works, including the *Hikmatu 'l-ishrāq* and the *Hayākilu 'l-nūr*, in the classical language of Moslem philosophy; but among his *opera minora* are several allegories written in his native tongue, which appear to be the earliest Persian prose examples of their kind, though Avicenna and others, as is well known, had already cultivated the same style in Arabic. There are now five tractates by Suhrawardī available to those interested in the method of imparting mystical knowledge by means of a "myth". One, entitled *Mu'nisu 'l-'ushshāq* ("The Lovers' Friend"), was edited recently by Professor Spies; another, *Awāz-i par-i Jibrā'il* ("The Sound of Gabriel's Wing"), has been published together with a Persian commentary in the *Journal Asiatique* (July-September, 1935); and the work under review contains three more: *Lughat-i mūrān* ("Ant-language"), *Safir-i Sîmurgh* ("the Note of the Sîmurgh"), and *Tarjama-i Lisāni 'l-Ḥaqq*, a Persian translation, or paraphrase, of Avicenna's *Risālatu 'l-tayr*, to which is appended the commentary of 'Umar ibn Sahlān al-Sāwajī (circa A.H. 540). The volume also contains a copious biography of Suhrawardī, extracted from Shahrāzūrī's *Nuzhatu 'l-arwāḥ*: this is important, as Shahrāzūrī (ob. circa A.H. 650) belonged to the Ishrāqī school.

While the editors may claim full credit for their industry and enterprise in collecting all this new material, they cannot be congratulated on the way they have produced it. Even if

we ignore obvious misprints, the short lists of corrigenda (pp. 52 and 90) are very far from being complete. It would waste time to demonstrate what the reader can so easily observe. Inaccuracy is a mild term for mistranslations such as "He vacated a house for me who am one of the broken-hearted" (p. 26), representing the *ḥadīth qudsī* فَرِّغْ لِي بَيْتًا
 اَنَا عِنْدَ الْمُنْكَسِرَةِ قُلُوبِهِمْ In other respects too the English version leaves a good deal to be desired.

A. 535.

R. A. NICHOLSON.

Miscellaneous

RICHARD BURTON, EXPLORER. By HUGH J. SCHONFIELD.

8½ × 5½, pp. 303, pl. i. London: Herbert Joseph, Ltd., 1936. 15s.

This short "Life" gives a summary account of Burton's chief exploits, and some idea of his peculiar temperament. It is readable and will probably satisfy the wants of that "large number of people of culture and wide reading" whom the author has found to be ignorant of Burton's name and achievements. It neither replaces nor appreciably supplements the existing longer lives.

The writer's style has something of an exotic tang and is at times a little distressing. One example must suffice: "Yet the grim determination of the man would not suffer him to lift beseeching hands towards the iron-bound heavens." Shades of Burton, what a suggestion!

A certain atmosphere of gloom must emanate from any life of Burton. The publisher has done his best to dissipate this by a touch of humour. On the cover of the volume, ostensibly as an appropriate adornment, is stamped a

medallion consisting of an inscription in meretricious Arabic characters. The inscription, being interpreted, reads : " The Ruba'iyāt of the Sage 'Umar Khayyām." But how many of the " people of culture and wide reading ", for whom he is catering, will detect the joke ?

A. 727.

D. L. R. LORIMER.

The thanks of the Society are also due for the following volume :—

THE FLIGHT OF AN EMPRESS. By WU YUNG. Edited by
IDA PRUITT ; with introduction by K. S. LATOURETTE.
London : Faber and Faber, 1937. 8s. 6d.

OBITUARY NOTICES

Professor Stephen Herbert Langdon

By the death of Professor Langdon Oxford has suffered a grave loss, and another link with the second generation of the pioneers of Assyriology is broken. By a fair reckoning he should have had at least two lustres more of vigorous research in front of him, probably the most valuable decade of his whole life, and his loss becomes thereby the greater tragedy for science.

He was born on May 8, 1876, on a farm in Ida township, Monroe County, Michigan, his father being George Knowles Langdon and his mother's maiden name Abigail Elizabeth Hassinger. He came of pioneer stock, his great grandfather being supervisor of the township in 1848 and 1850, and his grandfather owning a large farm in Eastern Ida. Here he attended the country school, and then entered the Monroe High School, where, according to my authority, it is said that his father, intending him and his brother to carry on the farm, was opposed to his learning Latin, on the grounds that a dead language would be of no service in farming; but other counsels fortunately prevailed, and after the young scholar had graduated in 1891 he taught in a country school for a time, determined to save enough money to take him to college.¹

Naturally it was to the University of Michigan that he went, where he received the degree of B.A. in 1898, followed by the M.A. in the following year, and from this point his steps were led towards Assyriology, which was to become the absorbing passion of his life, fostered here by Professor J. A. Craig, who was editing cuneiform texts on religious and astrological subjects.

¹ I am indebted to a most appreciative article by Miss Gertrude Golden in the *Monroe Evening News* of December 12, 1935, for some of the details in the foregoing paragraph of Professor Langdon's early life, and to Dr. Montgomery, of the University of Pennsylvania, for other information.

The young student had, however, leanings towards theology, and for this reason, in 1900, he entered the Union Theological Seminary, New York City, ultimately, in 1905, being ordained Deacon in the American-Anglican Church, Paris; but happily he had meanwhile taken up the study of Semitic languages in Columbia University, which were ultimately to lead him to the Oxford Professorship. It was the Theological Seminary which brought him into touch with the two scholars, Francis Brown and Charles Briggs, who, with Canon Driver, the Regius Professor of Hebrew in Oxford, had brought out a new edition of Gesenius' great Hebrew dictionary. At Columbia he was guided by Professors Gottheil and Prince, the latter doubtless encouraging the trend of the younger man towards Sumerian, which he was presently to make his special study. He was examined for his Doctorate by the Faculties of Semitic and Greek in 1904, and went to France as an International Fellow of the University, where he was thus brought directly into touch with European scholarship in the persons of Professors Scheil and Fossey, both of them most distinguished Assyriologists. From this point began his long succession of publications, which, during thirty-three years of productivity, include between twenty and thirty volumes, apart from very numerous articles in scientific journals, beginning with his *Annals of Ashurbanipal* in 1904.

In 1905 he submitted his thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Columbia, *The Building Inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian Empire*, and it is delightful to see all the vigour of youth expressed in the claim which he makes (indeed, not without some justification) that it represents the first attempt to apply the rules of literary criticism to the compositions of the Neo-Babylonian School of scribes. Like most theses, it contained nothing strikingly new, but it shows a great sense of what such a book should be, both in form and style, and was a worthy forerunner of his future work. The fact that he mentions having found an unpublished duplicate of one of his texts in the Louvre (which he was able to use with good

advantage) shows that he had recognized the importance of handling the clay early, a postulate laid down by the earliest cuneiform scholars as essential in the making of an Assyriologist.

I learn from Professor J. Dyneley Prince, who has been so good as to give me the details, that Langdon was his student in Assyrian before and after taking his Ph.D. from Columbia. It would appear that Langdon was at first inclined to accept Halévy's theory of "cryptographic writing" for Sumerian, but later recognized its agglutinative character and relinquished his first trend. "He was," says Professor Prince, "a great scholar with a fixed purpose from which he never swerved."

Thereafter he went to Leipzig, and in 1908, when Miss Mary Wallace Shillito, generously recognizing the needs of Assyriology in England, founded the Shillito Readership in the University of Oxford, Langdon was the first to hold office. The Readership was permanently established in 1911 with a gift of £10,000 from Miss Shillito; Langdon was given an honorary degree in 1910, and was constituted Professor in 1919, after the retirement of Professor Sayce. Incidentally he was made Curator of the Babylonian Section of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, where he spent no little time from August, 1916, onwards, in preparing and publishing tablets in the collections. He became naturalized as an Englishman in 1913, and married in 1925, May, the younger daughter of Mr. Thomas Gregory of Cardiff.

To estimate the value of each of his books in detail would be beyond the limit of the present notice, but it is permissible to discuss a few of them. Much of his work was on those most difficult texts of all, the Sumerian hymns, and in this his careful habit of mind, of documenting every publication which appeared, provided him with that essential base, which every scholar must have, on which to start the exercise of his own knowledge and capacity. It was a task which demanded scholarship, eyesight, and above all determination and

courage in this branch of a study, and the value of Langdon's work, which will form a nucleus for fresh editions, is incalculable, and, indeed, one has only to look round the shelves of the Sayce Assyriological Library in the Ashmolean to be reminded, *si monumentum requiris*. Each work on Sumerian is indicative of his capacity. It was in 1914 that he noted the very important Sumerian tablet which he published in 1919 under the title *Le Poème Sumérien du Paradis*, a most difficult text, in which he, as befits a scholar, modestly admits the probability of errors in his publication.

On the Semitic side he published an admirable edition (both transliteration and translation) of the great Babylonian Epic of Creation. As always, he spared no pains to consult original documents in the British Museum, and the result is a most convenient and modern scholarly book, for which all Assyriologists have been grateful. Nor must his publication of a unique tablet of the Gilgamesh Series be forgotten, a large tablet of the older recension of the latter Epic, which was in the collections in Philadelphia. His most ambitious work, perhaps, is his *Semitic Mythology*, 1931, and in undertaking a study of what is now a vast subject he was hampered by the demands of the Series in which it formed part, which attempted to compress into one volume material which might well need a dozen. He himself saw this, and, as he says, had been embarrassed by the difficulty of selecting what was strictly essential; but he certainly manages to lay a large collection of facts before his public in an interesting way, and to marshal new data in such a fashion that the book must be studied by all who would concern themselves with Semitic religion. At the same time there are points open to criticism at all events in one direction where, perhaps owing to his earlier training, he tried to maintain the theory of a belief in primitive monotheism. Obviously he must of necessity make mistakes in a study in which he published so much, but, then, no one who never made mistakes ever made anything. I am reminded of a great passage in *Tristram Shandy*: "‘A

soldier,' cried my Uncle *Toby*, 'is no more exempt from saying a foolish thing, *Trim*, than a man of letters.' 'But not so often, an' please your honour,' replied the corporal'' Assyriologists are no more exempt than others, and it is not for me to pose as a critic.

After the War, when British interests in Mesopotamia encouraged excavations in that country where we had expended so much blood and treasure, at Langdon's instance Oxford was not behindhand in inaugurating diggings on a site of first-class importance. He extended his energies to raising funds for an expedition, which he regarded as part of the necessities of modern Assyriology, and, with the Field Museum of Chicago, enlisted the help of Mr. Weld-Blundell (afterwards Dr. Herbert Weld), who shouldered the burden of financially supporting the Oxford share of the expedition. The site chosen was Uhaimer (Kish), some few miles east of Babylon, and Dr. Ernest Mackay was put in charge in 1923.

Langdon himself went out for two seasons as Director, in 1923 and 1925. Whether this was advisable from the point of view of his health may be doubted; he had never been to the East before, and Mesopotamia is a hard country in which to serve an apprenticeship. But it was in keeping with the courage of the man, and it was not until he nearly died from a severe attack of jaundice that he refrained from going out a third time. M. Watelin succeeded Mackay in 1926, and conducted the excavations until his death in 1934, and in this year, owing to the exacting new laws concerning excavations in Iraq, the Oxford Field expedition, in common with many others, at once ceased. These new laws, so different from their generous predecessors, were not only ungrateful to the memory of Miss Gertrude Bell, who was the prime mover in everything relating to the national collections in Iraq, but also unscientific in their claims on any fresh discoveries made in the half-excavated libraries, with all their jumble of broken antiquities, especially cuneiform tablets, pieces of which were already preserved in European Museums awaiting

what are technically called "joins", that is, the other fragments necessary to complete them. It was hardly a matter for wonder that Langdon, disappointed in this fundamental alteration in the position, should have closed down, "owing," as he says, "to the unfavourable attitude of the Department of Antiquities of the Government of Iraq in regard to the division of archæological objects and other threatening regulations, which would harass the work of the excavator." Indeed, it may be said that these laws have cost Iraq thousands of pounds, both in loss in wages and other expenses in excavating, and in the decreased interest of the tourist, who prefers to see diggings actually in progress rather than formless and uninteresting mounds. But the Kish excavations, carried on for less than ten years, had been very fruitful in the discovery of buildings, prehistoric antiquities of immense interest, and above all a wonderful collection of pictographic tablets, which Langdon himself admirably edited.

An amusing passage from Miss Bell's own letters shows the former treatment of Professor Langdon himself at the first of these Rhadamanthine and unilateral divisions of spoil: "'Who decides,' said the Professor, 'if we disagree?' I replied that I did, but he needn't be afraid for he would find me eager to oblige. I said: 'Come on, Professor, you'll see how it works out.' So we went to his tent, where all the tablets were exposed. There was one unique object, a stone tablet inscribed with what is probably the oldest known human script. The Professor positively pressed it on me. . . . The Professor got what he longed for, a mother of pearl inlay representing a milking scene."

By his two seasons' actual control in the field at Kish Langdon showed himself to be an antiquary of the old school, which held it proper that the chief excavator should understand the language of the people whose records he is digging; our knowledge of the ancients is poor enough in any case, but miserably jejune without that last and almost only intimate

familiarity between them and us. Excavations on Greek sites to this day demand the old habit; but in Mesopotamia, after the inauguration of the German diggings at the end of last century, it had become the fashion to depose the scholar (called thenceforth with due vagueness "epigraphist") to a seat below the salt, which perhaps explains the trend of the more modern interest to prehistory.

So much therefore for Langdon's energy in so many directions, as scholar and excavator, whereby he was to become Professor, and a Fellow of the British Academy. His activities on behalf of the R.A.S. were endless; he was a Member of the Council, and wrote many articles for the *Journal*. Personally he was the kindest of men, and no trouble was too great for him to take in helping those who appealed to his wide knowledge of cuneiform. As the writer of a notice in the *Oxford Magazine* says, he rejoiced in the successes of his pupils, and he counted among them nine professors, three readers, and two lecturers, and I cannot do better than append here what one of his latest pupils says: "As one who has worked under Professor Langdon for nearly four years, I am glad to have the opportunity to express the sense of personal loss with which his sudden death affected me. His enthusiasm for the subject to which he devoted all his energies was a constant inspiration, and he was always ready to take endless trouble in solving any problem that arose in connection with the work of his pupils. It is not for me to criticize his work, but it always seemed to me to be the great virtue of his scholarship that he never ignored any branch of learning which might bear upon his subject, and thus, owing to the peculiar material which the Assyriologist studies, his interests ranged from astronomy to the anatomy of human speech, and from comparative law to the philosophy of the soul, though it was primarily in the spheres of philology and of Sumerian religion that he claimed to speak as an authority.

"But one thinks of him perhaps even more as one who took an immense enjoyment in the simple things of life. At golf

he had his own inimitable style, but his pleasure in the game was always fresh. He had a fund of stories about his own experiences, mainly in connection with his excavations at Kish, and his laughter was of that spontaneous kind which infects all who hear it. That his life should thus be cut short will be a real grief to his many friends, who remember him for these things."

Langdon's career, which began in surroundings where academic learnings were discouraged and ended in an Oxford Professorship, is hardly less than heroic.

R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON.

Hon. Desmond Parsons

At Zurich, on 4th July, Desmond Parsons died after suffering for two years from an illness which seemed to have been the outcome of hardships while travelling in China. Though aged only 26, he had made active advances in the study of Chinese civilization which was his chosen work. Having visited places of archæological moment in the provinces of Honan and Shensi, he made a journey to Tunhuang in difficult circumstances, examining the geographical features of the ancient highway to the West along the Kansu corridor. Some misunderstanding by the local authorities led to his arrest, and he was released at Lanchou only after diplomatic intervention. Before that he had managed to take over 120 photographs in the famous Buddhist cave-shrines at Tunhuang, including certain wall-paintings which had not yet been recorded. Copies are preserved in the Courtauld Institute, and in the collections of Harvard University and several American museums.

Possessed of an unusual capacity for observation and of a fine scholarly instinct, he would doubtless have contributed ably to the Chinese studies he loved. His charming personality and transparent honesty of purpose claimed the admiration of all who knew him.

W. PERCEVAL YETTS.

Dr. Kashiprasad Jayaswal

In Dr. Kashiprasad Jayaswal the Society has lost prematurely a member whose energy and enthusiasm had won him wide recognition in India, and some of whose original speculations and discoveries, as well as his more normal contributions to learning, had been approved by Indologists in general. References in standard works, such as *The Cambridge History of India* and Professor de la Vallée Poussin's admirable volumes in the *Histoire du Monde*, not to mention reviews and articles contained in Orientalist journals, show that his activities were appreciated by scholars: and it was to be expected that with increasing circumspection his insight and vigour would accomplish a work of permanent value.

Returning from Oxford, where he had been a member and Honorary Scholar (1910), of Jesus College, as well as Davis University Scholar in Chinese, to a professional career as a barrister, first in Calcutta and later in Patna—he held also in Calcutta an university appointment as Lecturer in Ancient History—he quickly acquired through some notable articles published in the *Modern Review* and elsewhere a reputation for original research. In the foundation of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, instituted by Sir Edward Gait, then Governor, he took an active part, becoming a member of its first Council. With its *Journal*, now in its twenty-third volume and distinguished by scholarly efficiency and regularity of issue, he was closely associated from the beginning and during some sixteen years, until his death, he was its editor. He was a frequent contributor of extensive articles; and of the general activities of the Society he may be said to have been, despite the distractions of a busy professional life, a mainspring. He took a keen interest in the archaeological exploration of Patna, and himself carried on excavations which led at times to notable finds, now preserved in the Patna Museum. For that Museum, working in conjunction with the

late Rakhaladas Banerji, he procured a cast of the famous Hāthīgumpha Cave inscription of Khandagiri in Orissa. A joint edition of the inscription, with translation and commentary, was published first in the Society's *Journal* (1917) and again, after a number of further studies, in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. xx; it comprises some marked improvements in reading and interpretation. In 1917 Jayaswal was selected to deliver the Tagore Law Lectures in Calcutta. When the sixth All-India Oriental Conference (1930) met in Patna, he was elected President of the Reception Committee, and at the inaugural meeting he delivered an eloquent and informative address. A much more elaborate discourse, surveying the progress of Indologist studies, signalized his presidency of the Conference at its Baroda meeting (1933). In 1935 he paid a visit to England, on which occasion he lectured before the Royal Asiatic Society on finds of Maurya coins and symbols resulting from the Patna excavations. The same year brought him recognition, in the form of Honorary Doctorates, from the universities of Patna and Benares.

Probably the most notable of Jayaswal's writings is to be seen in his contributions to the *Modern Review* (1912-13), on the subject of non-monarchical states in ancient India, to which phenomenon attention had been drawn by Professor Rhys Davids in his *Buddhist India*. Jayaswal showed how the procedures of the Buddhist Saṃgha shed light upon the administration of those states. The topic retained his interest, and the states in question, concerning which he elicited much new information, occupy a large space in his extensive, but not in all features quite sound, treatise on *Hindu Polity* (1924), a matter in which he was a pioneer with many followers. In the meanwhile he had published a number of papers dealing with Nanda, Maurya, and Śuṅga chronology, and also with difficult early inscriptions, wherein he was, no doubt, too ready to find in obscure passages mention of historical names. Other inscriptions, of a less debatable character, he edited with commendable versions and discussions in the *Journal*

of his Society, and in *Epigraphia Indica*. Useful work on normal lines is contained also in his edition (1924) of a *Smṛti* text, the *Rājanīti-ratnākara* of Caṇdeśvara, and in the two stout volumes of *A Descriptive Catalogue of [Sanskrit] Manuscripts in Mithilā*, compiled in collaboration with Dr. Ananta-prasad Śāstrī (1927-). He also edited with historical commentary the famous *Yuga-purāṇa* of the *Garga-saṃhitā*.

With the last-named may be associated the volume (1934) too optimistically entitled *An Imperial History of India in a Sanskrit Text* [c. 700 B.C.—c. A.D. 770], which is a for the most part successful attempt to identify and fix chronologically the kings and dynasties obscurely (often only by initials) particularized in a Buddhist Tantra work, *Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa*, published at Trivandrum in 1920-5. In this volume he was assisted by the Ven. Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana, who enabled him by the aid of an old Tibetan version to correct the Sanskrit text. Jayaswal enthusiastically supported his friend's very fruitful efforts to procure old Sanskrit MSS. by journeys into Tibet. In his last years he himself visited Nepal, and he contributed to the *Journal* in 1936 a long article (subsequently published separately) on the chronology of the country "from 600 B.C. to A.D. 880".

Along with *Hindu Polity*, the volume of Tagore Law Lectures (1930) and *The History of India*, A.D. 150 to A.D. 350 (1933) constitute the most elaborate and characteristic group of Jayaswal's writings. Both contain speculative elements, and the former of the two will in places evoke protests from scholars, while the latter has been strongly criticized by numismatists. But Jayaswal's works, dealing with difficult problems and obscure periods, do not leave matters where he found them: the two books embody important conceptions, concerning the composition and date of the "Laws of Manu" and concerning the history of the Nāga and Vākāṭaka dynasties; furthermore, they comprise valuable new particulars, and in regard to the two dynasties

the author himself brought to light some new archæological materials.

Dr. Jayaswal's sanguine and vigorous temperament, which made him a loyal friend, manifested itself also in a decidedness of view and a promptness in disposing of divergent opinions, which, together with a touch of patriotic bias—in historical studies no more a virtue than is its opposite—affected some critics unfavourably. That natural vigour carried him through an operation for carbuncle, which became necessary in the early summer of the present year, and maintained a long struggle, terminated in August last.

Our deep sympathy goes to his widow and children.

F. W. THOMAS.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Lantern slides of Assyriological and Babylonian Subjects

PINCHES BEQUEST

The late Dr. T. G. Pinches, a Member of the Society for upwards of fifty years, left directions that a collection of his Assyriological and Babylonian Lantern Slides should be held in trust by the Royal Asiatic Society for the use of Students.

Dr. Pinches bequeathed them in the hope that they may promote an interest in such subjects among Students in this country. The Society has accepted the trust, and will hold the slides available for the use of bona fide Students, Lecturers, or Educational Institutions such as the Victoria Institute. There are nearly 400 slides, which were catalogued by the late Professor S. H. Langdon. Requests from orientalist should be sent to the Secretary, with necessary references for the consideration of the Council.

Dr. Pinches also left nine simple Babylonian Seals, together with the copy, transcription, and translation of each, prepared by himself for the same purpose. These are available for loan under the same conditions as the slides.

Notices

Mr. Sadāshiva L. Kātre, Assistant Curator of the Oriental MSS. Library, Mādhava College, Ujjain, informs us that the Library has recently acquired an undated, but apparently a century old, MS. entitled *Kautsavvyākaraṇa*. He writes that, in spite of the title and ascription, the work is generally identical with what Whitney published in *JAOS*. vii (1862), on the basis of a single MS. in the Berlin Library, as the *Atharvaveda-prātisākhya*, some colophons of which describe it as *Saunakīyā Caturadhyāyikā*.

Dr. Quaritch Wales, Field Director of the Greater India Research Committee, is leading a mission to Malaya at the invitation of the Government, to carry out the first scientific investigation of ancient Indian settlements in Kedah and Perak. The field work is expected to take a year.

We have to announce with great pleasure that our distinguished member, and former Vice-President, Dr. F. W. Thomas, has been elected to preside at the forthcoming (9th) Session of the All-India Oriental Conference to be held at Trivandrum under the patronage of H.H. Sir Bala Rama Varma, G.C.I.E., Maharaja of Travancore, in December next.

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No. 5127, vol. 191, of 24th July, 1937, contains some more illustrations and descriptions of the Lo-yang tomb-tiles (see 24th October, 1936), by the Rt. Rev. William C. White, Professor of Chinese Archaeology in the University of Toronto. The find is dated, by the author, during the period of the "Warring States", about the third century B.C. The tiles are rectangular and triangular, and include representations of the arms and dresses of the period.

In No. 5128 is a report by Professor John Garstang, Director of the Neilson Expedition to the Near East from the University of Liverpool, on the discovery of an Imperial Hittite monument south of Taurus, a rock-carved figure of the bearded warrior king Muwatalli, on a cliff face beside the River Jeihan, 60 miles east of Tarsus, in Cilicia, attributed to the twelfth century B.C. Behind the rock is an extensive mound, the largest in Cilicia, marking the site of an important city.

No. 5130 of 14th August, 1937, gives a description from the pen of Professor A. M. Blackman, a member of the R.A.S. and the Director of the Excavations, of recent finds at the old fortress at Sesebi, or Sese, situated about a couple of hundred yards from the River Nile in Nubia, the walls of which still rise to a height of some 16 feet. The fortress was probably built by Amenophis IV, before he took the name of Akhenaten.

In No. 5131 there appears an illustrated description of the find in a newly discovered Nabataean temple on the hilltop at Khirbet et-Tannar, in the Tafleeh district of Transjordan, indicating the eclectic Nabataean culture influenced by Syria, Greece, Egypt, and Rome.

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 1895 *YUSUF-ALI, A., C.B.E., I.C.S., M.A., LL.M., *c/o Lloyds Bank, Ltd., Bombay, India.*
- 750 1928 §ZETLAND, The Most Hon, the Marquess of, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., *Aske, Richmond, Yorks, and 23 Down Street, W. 1.*
 1935 †ZOETE, Miss B. D. de, *c/o Walter Spiess, Bali, E. Indies.*
 1932 *ZWEMER, Dr. S. M., *The Theological Seminary, Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.A.*
-

Foreign Extraordinary Members

- 1934 H.M. The King of Siam.
 1932 H.R.H. Prince Damrong of Siam.
 1932 H.E. The Chinese Ambassador.
 1932 H.E. The Egyptian Ambassador.
 1932 H.E. The Japanese Ambassador.
 1932 H.E. The Turkish Ambassador.
 1932 H.E. The Afghan Minister.
 1932 H.E. The Iranian Minister.
 1932 H.E. The Iraqi Minister.
 1934 H.E. The Nepalese Minister.
 1932 H.E. The Saudi-Arabian Minister.
 1932 H.E. The Siamese Minister.
-

Honorary Members

- 1926 Professor Dines Andersen, *Copenhagen*.
 1937 Professor Jules Bloch, *Sèvres*.
 1937 Professor Carl Brockelmann, *Breslau*.
 1936 Professor Georges Coedès, *Hanoi*.
 1930 Professor Dr. August Fischer, *Leipzig*.
 1918 Monsieur A. Foucher, *Paris*.
 1936 Professor Wilhelm Geiger, *Munich*.
 1933 Professor Dr. Ernst Herzfeld, *Princeton*.
 1902 Professor Houtsma, *Utrecht*.
 1923 Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, L.H.D., Ph.D., LL.D., *New York*.
 1912 Professor Hermann Jacobi, *Bonn*.
 1929 Professor Bernhard Karlgren, Ph.D., *The University, Göteborg, Sweden*.
 1930 Professor Dr. Sten Konow, *Oslo*.
 1902 Professor Lanman, *Cambridge, U.S.A.*
 1909 Professor Dr. H. Lüders, *Berlin*.
 1927 Professor Louis Massignon, D.Litt., *Paris*.
 1923 Professor Carlo A. Nallino, *Rome*.
 1930 Professor Miguel Asin Palacios, *Madrid*.
 1923 Professor Paul Pelliot, *Paris*.
 1920 Professor L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Brussels*.
 1935 Mirza Muhammad Khan Qazvini, *Paris*.
 1923 Professor Nikolaus Rhodokanakis, *Graz, Austria*.
 1923 Professor Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar, C.I.E., M.A., *Darjeeling*.
 1923 Père Vincent Scheil, O.P., *Paris*.
 1923 Professor Th. Stcherbatsky, *Leningrad*.
 1910 Professor K. L. Tallqvist, *Helsingfors*.
 1937 Professor Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, Hon.C.I.E., Ph.D., *Leiden*.
 1936 Professor A. J. Wensinck, *Leiden*.
 1936 Professor H. E. Winlock, *New York*.

Gold Medallists

N.B.—The Gold Medal was founded in 1897

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| 1897 Professor E. B. Cowell. | 1918 V. A. Smith. |
| 1900 E. W. West. | 1922 Professor H. A. Giles. |
| 1903 Sir William Muir. | 1925 Rev. A. H. Sayce. |
| 1906 G. U. Pope. | 1928 Professor D. S. Margoliouth. |
| 1909 G. A. Grierson. | 1932 Sir Aurel Stein. |
| 1912 J. F. Fleet. | 1935 Sir E. Denison Ross. |
| 1915 { Mrs. Agnes Smith Lewis.
{ Mrs. Margaret Dunlop Gibson. | |

Burton Memorial Medallists

N.B.—The Medal was founded in 1923

- | | | | |
|------|---------------------------|------|-----------------------|
| 1925 | H. St. J. Philby. | 1934 | Miss Freya Stark. |
| 1928 | Sir Harold A. MacMichael. | 1937 | Sir Arnold T. Wilson. |
| 1931 | Bertram S. Thomas. | | |

Library Associates

- | | | | |
|------|---------------------------------|------|-------------------------|
| 1935 | Sir Charles Bell. | 1935 | Mrs. W. P. Ker. |
| 1936 | Rai Bahadur Prof. S. K. Bhuyan. | 1927 | Sir H. J. Maynard. |
| 1934 | Miss Bodé. | 1936 | Miss V. Morrison-Bell. |
| 1935 | Mr. G. Brackenbury. | 1935 | Miss B. H. Parker. |
| 1934 | Miss H. Carey. | 1936 | Miss J. Penny. |
| 1934 | Miss R. Clay. | 1937 | Miss E. H. Ramsden. |
| 1935 | Mr. S. H. Gokhale. | 1935 | Miss Chao-Yueh Tseng. |
| 1936 | Mr. S. H. Hansford. | 1935 | Mr. A. Upham Pope. |
| 1936 | Mr. Serajul Haque. | 1934 | Mrs. G. C. M. F. Young. |
| 1936 | Miss A. C. Hayter. | 1935 | Miss B. D. de Zoete. |
| 1936 | Mrs. E. T. Hibbert. | | |

Student Associates

- | | | | |
|------|------------------------|------|-------------------|
| 1936 | Mr. V. R. Deoras. | 1935 | Mr. J. W. Layard. |
| 1935 | Mr. K. J. Dover. | 1937 | Miss Rose Quong. |
| 1935 | Miss A. K. S. Lambton. | | |

Borrowing Members

- | | | | |
|------|-----------------------|------|-------------------|
| 1937 | Mr. A. F. L. Beeston. | 1936 | Mr. E. B. Howell. |
| 1935 | Rev. E. J. Bolus. | 1937 | Miss W. Lamb. |

Branch and Associate Societies

- The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- The Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
- The Bombay Branch of the R.A.S.
- The Burma Research Society.
- The Ceylon Branch of the R.A.S.
- The Korea Branch of the R.A.S.
- The Madras Literary Society and Auxiliary of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- The Malayan Branch of the R.A.S.
- The Mythic Society, Bangalore.
- The North China Branch of the R.A.S.
- The Asiatic Society of Japan.

LIST OF LIBRARIES AND NON-MEMBERS

SUBSCRIBING TO THE

JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|----|
| Aberdeen : University Library. | Bhagalpur : T. N. Jubilee College. | |
| Adelaide : Public Library. | Bhavnagar : Samaldas College. | |
| Agra : St. John's College. | Birmingham : Public Library. | |
| Agra : University Library. | Bombay : Elphinstone College. | 30 |
| Algiers : Bibliothèque Nationale. | Bombay : Jamjetsee N. Petit | |
| Algiers : Bibliothèque Universitaire. | Institute. | |
| Allahabad : North India Christian | Bombay : University Library. | |
| Tract Society. | Bonn : The University. | |
| Allahabad : University Library. | Boston : Museum of Fine Arts. | |
| Amsterdam : Kirberger and Kesper. | Boston : Public Library. | |
| 10 Anantapur : Ceded Districts College. | Brighton : Public Library. | |
| Ankara, Faculté d'Histoire et Géographie. | Bristol : The University. | |
| Ankara : Grand National Assembly. | Budapest : University Library. | |
| Azamgarh : Shibli Academy. | Cairo : Egyptian Library. | |
| Azerbaijan : State University. | Cairo : Institut Français. | 40 |
| Baku : Sownarkon Aserbaidjana. | Calcutta : Imperial Library. | |
| Baltimore : Johns Hopkins University | Calcutta : Indian Museum, Archaeo- | |
| Library. | logical Section. | |
| Baltimore : Peabody Institute. | Calcutta : Presidency College. | |
| Bangkok : Science and Art Book- | Calcutta : Ripon College. | |
| store. | Calcutta : St. Paul's College. | |
| Bankipur : Patna College. | Calcutta : Sanskrit College. | |
| 20 Barcelona : Bosch, Libreria. | Calcutta : University Library. | |
| Barisal : Brojomohun College. | Cambridge : Galloway and Porter. | |
| Beirut : American University. | Cambridge : Harvard College. | |
| Berkeley : California University | Canton : Sun Yat Sen University | 50 |
| Library. | Library. | |
| Berlin : Asher and Co. | Cawnpore : Gaya Prasad Library. | |
| Berlin : The University. | Chester, U.S.A. : Bucknell Library. | |
| Berlin : Weber and Co. | Chicago : The John Crerar Library. | |
| | Chicago : Newberry Library. | |

- Chidambaram : Annamalai University.
- Cleveland : Public Library.
- Constantinople : Robert College.
- Copenhagen : Royal Library.
- Cuttack : Ravenshaw College.
- 60 Dacca : The University.
- Delhi : Central Asian Antiquities Museum.
- Denver : University Library.
- Detroit : Public Library.
- Durham, U.S.A. : Duke University.
- Edinburgh : Public Library.
- Edinburgh : Jas. Thin.
- Evanston : Hibbert Old Testament Library.
- Florence : Biblioteca Nazionale.
- Frankfurt a.M. : Auffarth and Co.
- 70 Frankfurt a.M. : Baer and Co.
- Frankfurt a.M. : Bibliothek für neuere Sprachen und Musik.
- Frankfurt a.M. : Rothschild'sche Off. Bibliothek.
- Freiburg : Literarische Anstalt.
- Freiburg : The University.
- Fukuoka : Kyushu Imperial Univ.
- Gauhati : Cotton College.
- Giessen : University Library.
- Giza : Central Library.
- Giza : Egyptian University.
- 80 Glasgow : Jackson, Wylie and Co.
- Glasgow : Mitchell Library.
- Gothenburg : Wettergren and Kerbers.
- Göttingen : Semitistisch-Islam Seminar.
- Göttingen : Universitäts Bibliothek.
- Greifswald : University Library.
- Hague, The : Van Stockum and Son.
- Haverford, U.S.A. : College Library.
- Hiroshima : University of Literature and Science.
- Hong Kong : The University.
- 90 Hyderabad : Nizam's College.
- Hyderabad : Nizam's Govt. State Library.
- Hyderabad : Osmania University College.
- Illinois : The University.
- Indiana : The University.
- Ishihama, J., Esq., Osaka.
- Ithaca : Cornell University Library.
- Jerusalem : Director of Antiquities.
- Johannesburg : Public Library.
- Junagadh : Bahaiddin College.
- Kabul : Représentation Plénipo- 100
tentiaire.
- Keijo, Chosen : Imperial University.
- Keijo, Chosen : Miyasaki, Isoki.
- Kiel : The University.
- Kiew : Wseukrainsk Akad Nauk.
- Königsberg : State Library.
- Kotagiri : Arch. Survey Dept.
- Kreuzlingen : Schmid et Cie.
- Krishnagar : The College.
- Kumbakonam : Govt. College.
- Kurseong : Indian Academy, St. 110
Mary's College.
- Kyoto : Indian Philosophy.
- Kyoto : Ryukoku University.
- Kyoto : Suwa, G.
- Lahore : Forman Christian College.
- Lahore : Government College.
- Lahore : Panjab Public Library.
- Lahore : Panjab University.
- Lahore : Standard Book Depot.
- Lahore : Times Book Depot.
- Leipzig : The University.
- 120 Leningrad : Nautschn.-Bib. Ka Univ.
- Leningrad : Public Library.
- Lincoln : University of Nebraska.
- Lisbon : Biblioteca Nacional.
- London : Athenæum Club.
- London : H.M. Stationery Office.
- London : London Library.
- London : Probsthain, A.

- Longmans, Green & Co.
130 Lucknow: Provincial Museum.
 Lucknow: University Library.
 Lund: Kungl. Universitets
 Biblioteket.
 Lyons: University Library.
- Madison: Drew University.
 Madras: Archaeological Survey.
 Madras: Connemara Public Library.
 Madras: Oriental Manuscripts Library.
 Madras: Presidency College.
 Manchester: John Rylands Library.
140 Manchester: The University.
 Manila: Bureau of Science.
 Melbourne: Victoria Public Library.
 Michigan: The University.
 Manchoukuo: Messrs. Manshu-
 Kyoiku-Kenkyusho.
 Manchoukuo: Statistic Bureau.
 Minnesota: The University.
 Miye-Ken: Jingu Kogakukan.
 Montreal: McGill University.
 Moscow: Bibliothèque Imeni Lenina.
150 Moscow: Bib. Narkom Wnssehtorga.
 Moscow: N.I. Int. Boljschogo.
 München: The University.
 Muzaffarpur: Greer Bhumihar
 Brahman College.
 Mysore: University Library.
- Nagpur: The University.
 Nanking: Institute of Chinese
 Cultural Studies.
 Nanking: Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
 Nanking: The University.
160 Naraken: Tenri Library.
 Neuchatel: Delachaux et Niestlé.
 Newcastle-on-Tyne: Public Library.
 New York: Columbia University.
 New York: Dr. Gilmore.
 New York: Genl. Theological Sem-
 inary.
 New York: Metropolitan Museum of
 Art.
 New York: Public Library.
 New York: Union Theological
 Seminary.
- New York: Westerman and Co.
 Nova Goa: Com. Perm. de
 Arqueologia.
- Ootacamund: Govt. Epigraphist. **170**
 Osaka: Asahi Shimbunsha Library.
 Osaka: Foreign Language School.
 Oslo: Cammermeyer's Bokhandel.
 Oxford: B. H. Blackwell and Co.
 Oxford: Indian Institute.
- Paris: Inst. Nat. de France.
 Paris: Klincksieck, Librairie.
 Paris: University Library.
 Patna: Behar National College.
 Pavia: Facolta di Lettere-e-Filosofia. **180**
 Peiping: College of Chinese Studies.
 Peiping: National Library.
 Peiping: Tsing Hua University
 Library.
 Peiping: Yenching University.
 Peshawar: Islamia College.
 Philadelphia: American Philoso-
 phical Society.
 Philadelphia: Free Library.
 Philadelphia: University of Penn-
 sylvania.
 Pittsburg: Carnegie Library.
 Poona: S.P. College. **190**
 Prague: Public and University
 Library.
 Pretoria: University Library.
 Princeton: Theological Seminary.
 Princeton: University Library.
- Rajshahi: The College.
 Rangoon: University Library.
 Rostock: Stillersche Hof and Uni-
 versitäts Buchhandlung.
- Saga-ken: Saga-Koto-Gakko
 San Francisco: Public Library.
 St. Paul: James Jerome Reference **200**
 Library.
 Seattle: Rupp, O. B.
 Seattle: Washington Union Library.

- Sendai : Library of Coll. of Law and Literature.
 Shanghai : Science Institute.
 Sotheran, H., London.
 Stechert, G. E. & Co., London.
 Stockholm : Nordiska Bokhandel.
 Sydney : Public Library, N.S. Wales.
 Sydney : Royal Society of New South Wales.
210 Sylhet : Marari Chand College.
 Taihoku : Imperial University Library.
 Tashkent : Sr-As. Gos. Public Library.
 Teheran : Légation de France.
 Teheran : Ministère de l'Instruction Publique.
 Teheran : Ministère des Affaires Étrangères.
 Tiflis : Gos. Univ. Bib.
 Tokyo : Foreign Language School, Kanda.
 Tokyo : Imperial University, College of Literature.
 Tokyo : Indian Philosophy.
220 Tokyo : Komazawa-Daigaku.
 Tokyo : Peers' School.
 Tokyo : Sodoshu-Daigaku.
 Tokyo : Toho-Bunka-Gakuin.
 Tokyo : University of Literature and Science.
 Tokyo : Waseda University Library.
 Tokyo : Yamanaka Shoten.
 Toronto : University Library.
 Triplicane : Madras University Library.
 Trivandrum : Public Library.
 Tübingen : The University. **230**
 Turin : Casanova et Cie.
 Twietmeyer, Herr A., Leipzig.
 Ulan Bator : Utschenij Komitet Mongolii.
 Utrecht : University Library.
 Vienna : Gerold and Co.
 Vladivostock : Bib-ka Daljne Vost Gos Univ.
 Waltair : Andhra University.
 Wakayama-ken : Koyasan College.
 Warsaw : Centrale des Journaux étrangers.
 Warsaw : Gebethner and Wolff. **240**
 Washington : Library of Congress.
 Würzburg : University Library.
 Zamlek : M. Raoul Curiel.
 Zürich : Bibliothèque Centrale.

Note.—There are other libraries which subscribe through their booksellers. The Secretary would be much obliged if the Librarians of such libraries would kindly send their names to be added to the above list.

SUMMARY

	June 30, 1936.	June 30, 1937.
Resident Members (including S.B.A. 2) .	89	89
Resident Compounders (S.B.A. 2) . .	14	16
Non-resident Members (S.B.A. 13) . .	485	474
Non-resident Compounders (S.B.A. 2) .	94	96
Library Associates	21	25
Student Associates	3	5
Borrowing Members	1	4
Honorary and Extraordinary Members .	41	42
	748	751
Subscribing Libraries, etc. . . .	250	244
Total	998	995